Race Problem - 1934 I

Africa

THE NEEDS OF KENYA COLONY

Inadequate Reforms

By Archdeacon Owen.

Looking back over more than sixteen years spent in the Kavirondo Reserve in Kenya, it is possible to see clearly some of the results of the long agitation in which the "Manchester Guardian" has taken a leading part, to secure more enlightened Government policies for the development of the native peoples. Friends of Africans must ever be grateful for the way in which the "Manchester Guardian," year after year, has tirelessly worked in the interests of better administration in Kenya. Its voice has been potent, when others' voices cried in vain.

Contrasting 1920 with 1934, the improvement is marked. Then, forced labour for private employers was fairly common, now it does not exist; then, forced unpaid labour on roads was universal in the Reserves, and women and children formed the majority of those in the road gangs; now it is a rare thing to see women or children at work on roads, and much of the labour which used to be forced and unpaid is now voluntary paid labour. Here and there forced unpaid labour is still called out, but more and more the policy is to do away with it. Then, there was no channel for the expression of African opinion, or for enabling the natives to have a part in the conduct of their own affairs. Now the local native councils are in existence all over the country, doing much useful work, and only waiting for the elimination of the spiritless, toadying type of member to become powerful instruments for native welfare.

Then, medical services for the Reserves were practically unknown; now a real service is being performed by organised medical work in every Reserve Then, the tide of public opinion was definitely against the education of the African, except on technical lines which would minister to the building up of the life of the European community. Now the foundations of an educational system have been laid, supported from public funds, upon which future years can build an edifice adequate for the need.

Then, the most important function of the African male was to become a wage-earner in European agricultural activities; now the example of Uganda is being followed, and Government policies definitely foster the growth of a peasantry producing its own wealth from the soil. Even coffee, that one-time reserved crop—reserved, that is, for European growers,—is now to be open to Africans. Then, there was not a single member of the Legislative Council outside the ranks of officials to represent African interests; now there is at least one, and the representations made to the Secretary of State on his recent visit must result in an additional member being added to the Council.

But these reforms, notable though they are, and won at the cost of much controversy, still leave much to be achieved. Breaches of labour contracts are still penal offences; taxation is still most unevenly and unfairly distributed; some methods of tax collection are harsh and brutal, the revival in 1933 of the practice of burning the homes of tax defaulters being specially regrettable. The administration of justice in the lower British and African courts cries aloud for reform. The game laws still leave the African helpless, while his crops are destroyed by protected elephants, without compensation from the department which protects them. The Kipande, or registration form, still exists to arouse the resentment of thousands of Africans yearly and to bring punishment on them. There still remains unrepealed the disastrous Ordinance amending the Native Land Trust Ordinance, by which pledges given to safeguard Africans in the use and enjoyment of their ancestral lands were wiped out; and Area No. 2 in the Kavirondo Reserve is shortly to be thrown open to gold prospectors.

In spite, then, of the reforms won, the outstanding facts to-day are (1) an alarming growth in criminal offences and crimes of violence on the part of Africans, and especially amongst juveniles in the towns; (2) a much more marked outspokenness in the manner in which African political organisations formulate their criticisms of the Administration; (3) on the whole, a widening, by the African, of the breach between himself and the European.

This is well illustrated by a new feature in Kenya, the rise of native religious organisations, dissociated from European guidance or control. The leaders of these sects have had the wisdom to guide the urge to revolt into channels which do not carry any civil penalty, and are seeking in freedom of religious organisation to assert their desire to develop in a free atmosphere. Unhappily, members of these independent sects have already come into conflict with the forces of law and order in the civil sphere. Ten deaths resulted in Kavirondo from a conflict between a sect and its pagan neighbours, the real passion to which the conflict gave expression being aroused by rival claims to the land.

It is, of course, beyond controversy that some of the causes which combine to estrange the Kenya African from his rulers are outside the Government's control. We have brought the tribes within the sphere of the economic life of the great world, and the world depression has hit them badly. This, on top of several years of plagues of locusts and short rains, has really reduced large numbers of Africans to the border-line of food insufficiency, if it has not carried them over it. Many thousands have only one meal a day.

In the face of this widening breach between African and European in Kenya it is most unfortunate that the Secretary of State did not go out of his way to see representatives of at least one African organisation. The Africans know that in spite of his severe illness at Nairobi he did, on recovery, interview some people, including the Nominated Member for Native Interests on the Legislative Council. The fact that no Africans were allowed to put their case personally before the Secretary of State has created the worst impression. When every allowance has been made for the Secretary of State, it is but reasonable to suppose that had Africans been more influential he would have seen them. This, at any rate, is how responsible Africans look at it.

One new organisation in Kenya holds out hope of being able to do something to draw Africans and Europeans together. The Kenya Missionary Council, which comprises all the Protestant missions working in the colony, has recently formed a Committee of Racial Relationships. At first intended only to include missionary members, it has been decided to extend this to include men of goodwill of all sections of the community. Already it has got into touch with African organisations, such as the Kikuyu and Kavirondo associations, and while these organisations are frankly waiting for good results before they develop any enthusiasm for its activities, there is good reason to hope that it may bring Africans and Europeans together in a way hitherto unknown in the colony.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT GENERAL.

Farm Sterkfontein,
221 Jouberts Street,
Volksrust, Transvaal.

Skanza Lucas Motsa

(Continued from last week)

The organisers of the African National Congress have been duly authorised by the last General Conference to collect from the Chiefs and all other members of the National Congress all other monies or special contributions for the National Fund to be known as "Isivivane or Isithabathaba". Every member of the Congress was requested to make a contribution of at least 5s. plus a further contribution at the rate of 1s. per month until the full amount of One Sovereign shall have been paid by such member. The Chiefs are respectfully requested to contribute each the sum of £5. All these contributions shall be paid to the Chief Secretary to the Treasury Committee of the Congress. Mr S. B. Macheng P. O. Box 73, Native Location, Randfontein. What we urgently desire is the active co-operation between these organisers and the Vice-Presidents of the Congress, in charge of their respective Provinces, and both the organisers and the Vice-Presidents to render full reports of the work done within their Provinces to the General Secretary of the African National Congress for his Report to the General Conference. All the Provincial Presidents should have a common policy, in the management of the affairs of the various Provinces. They should work in close consultation and co-operation with the President General. There is no sense and it is highly unconstitutional for any Provincial President to run his own Province independently of the other Provinces, "UNITY IS STRENGTH".

THE STATUS BILL.

Lastly I jusst wish to mention that there is now before the Union Parliament a serious proposal to amend the South African Act of Union, of 1909. The proposed Bill besides annexing, as it were the old Natal and the Cape to the old Transvaal and the Orange Free State Republics proceeds to exclude the rights and the powers of Great Britain from this country as follows:— "CLAUSE 2. The Parliament of the Union shall be the sovereign legislative power in and over the Union, and notwithstanding anything in any other Law contained, no Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and Northern Ireland passed after the 11th day of December, 1934, shall extend or be deemed to extend to the Union as part of the Law of the Union, unless extended thereto by an Act of the Parliament of the Union.

The proposed Bill allows His Majesty, King George, V. to be the King of South Africa and as such to act on the advice of his Ministers in the Union. I also note that the Bill incidentally abolishes the status of British subjects in this country.

Our chief concern as Africans is that we are not represented in the present Union Parliament in any shape or form, it is only natural that we should be most apprehensive when we see the Union Parliament preparing to take away our British status of "British subjects" without giving us Africans any equivalent status in the new State of South Africa,

It is most desirable that all the Provincial Presidents should get into close contact with all the Local Branches of the Congress within their respective Provinces and make sure of their active support. The Provincial Presidents together with the President General and other members of the National Executive should meet and ask the Secretary for Native Affairs to be good enough to arrange that His Honour, the Minister of Native Affairs may receive us as a deputation of the African National Congress, to express to him and to the Honourable Prime Minister, if possible, all our fears with regard to this measure and to state the Natives' point of view with regard to the other Bills which are now before the Union Parliament and which especially effect the Natives.

In closing I beg to pray all our leaders to sink their personal differences and to co-operate with me in this common duty of leading our people under one common policy and

toward one goal.

Nkosi Sikelela — Morena Hlohene
Lefatsa AFRIKA.
P. KA I. SEME.

President General, African National Congress.

UNFAIR TREATMENT OF NATIVES.

Ilanga Lase Natal
4-13-34

IT is quite time that attention should be drawn to the methods by which Native Education is treated by the Union Government. The increase in the European education vote in 20 years is over 500 per cent. But as regards Natives the Government decided that the sum spent on their education in 1921 (viz. £340, 000) should become a block grant, and further instructed the Provinces that they were not to levy taxes on Natives. That means that the vote for Native Education has not been increased during the last 13 years whereas the European vote has increased 500 per cent in 20 years. Even if the increase for Natives is not placed in the same ratio as that for Europeans there should at least have been some considerable increase.

Again, out of the £1 Poll Tax levied on all male Natives between the ages of 18 and 60, one fifth (that is 4s. 2d. in the £1) was to be devoted to "Native development." But against this amount, all expenditure on Education, Agriculture, Nursing, and other heads is charged, so that the fund is now hopelessly insolvent, with a debt of £140,000. Does the Government consider that it has discharged its duty to the Native papulation of the Union (between four and five millions) by such methods? Is it quite unable to devise other methods?

Under the Act levying the Poll Tax provision is made for Magistrates to exempt from taxation such Natives as are found to be unable to pay the tax. This fact, however, is not known to the majority of the Natives, and consequently very few applications are made for exemption, the result of which is that in many instances the tax presses hardly upon them. This fact should be made widely known to the Natives, as Magistrates cannot be blamed for not exercising their discretion when the facts are not made known to them.

The Treasurer is now in possesion of a huge surplus of over £4,000,000, and in fairness to the Native teachers, the cuts in their salaries should be restored to them, as has already been done with the European teachers. This is only common justice.

One more point may be touched upon, though there are many others that might be mentioned. An Indian is not called upon to pay Income Tax unless he is in possession of an income exceeding £250 per annum. But no such exemption is allowed the Native as regards the Poll Tax. This is an unfair discrimination in favour of a race alien to the soil of South Africa.

NATIVES AND CONSTITUTION BILLS.

Ilanga Lase Natal
4-13-34

We had thought racial strife had already come to an end when the British Government had assured this country of its right to self-governmentin various matters which had been a cause of considerable contention in former years. In fact on many occasions General Hertzog had given expression to the complete satisfaction with their status under the British Crown. We therefore fail to see what the reason is for the necessity for the Bills now before Parliament. The Afrikanders in this country have everything that their heart may desire. Their numbers give them preponderance over the English-speaking section and they are taking advantage of this position with all alacrity.

While it is well-known that the Native of this country has no say in political matters yet it seems to us we are entitled to be considered as possessing souls like the other privileged sections of the population and although we cannot express our views through the vote we assume it is only fair that our views should be given consideration on a matter which in our opinion vitally concerns us and our destiny in this country. When this country was taken from Native rulers it was with the assurance that the Natives' lot would be an improved one. This was gladly accepted and ever since then there has been no serious complaints against our rulers. Now for reasons unknown to us we understand the title of His Majesty to arbitrate in the great questions of this country is being cleverly assailed under the guise of assurances that this does not mean what the words purport. There has been also talk of doing away with the phrase "British subjects" in this country. Again it is to be wondered at why there should be any complaint on this score as already Britishers are not eligible to positions in the civil service when they come to this British Dominion unless they are bi lingual. All these differentiations have been magnaminously acquiesced in. To speak the truth, this country is practically a republic in everything but in name. It would seem that racialism will never disappear in this country if there is still a considerable section of the population which entertains any regard for their homeland. But what strikes us as strange is the fact that those who originally came from Holland and Germany still show regard for their countries and their various people and hence we cannot see why it should be viewed as objectionable if the British subjects evince the same love for their country and its institutions. Again the monster of racialism is at work here. In face of these movements and Bills for the alteration of the constitution the Natives of this country feel they have adequate cause to be uneasy as even heretofore when the country is in name British their interests are not considered as they should be because of the preponderant opinions of those who are in the majority, whose sympathies are altogether against Native development and who frequently voice the opinion that the Natives' place is on the farm working for the European landowners and should not be at school like the Europeans. The differentiation against them in industry and their being replaced by white labour at a higher rate of payment whereas it is asserted that the public coffers are empty to assist Native Education, etc. all these give cause for considerable uneasiness as to the future of the Native population should this country assume a Republican form of Government. They will be proverbially out of the frying pan into the fire.

CLASH ON THE NATIVE PROBLEM.

Ilanga Lase Natal
4-13-34

WITH the effluxion of time it must be expected that views and opinions regarding what is called the Native problem will undergo modifications of a more or less important character. South Africa is a country of quick changes; events have invariably followed each other closely, and in the process many public men, particularly politicians, have fallen by the wayside. The history of this country supplies ample evidence of this, and it is only natural to suppose that in the controversy that will rage round the solution of the Native question many new and interesting incidents will be recorded.

Meanwhile it is important to note what is happening in this year of grace. We have often stressed the fact that public opinion on this great question is undergoing a marked change, that there is quite a new outlook, and that those who formerly regarded the Native merely as a hewer of wood and a drawer of water are beginning to realise that he is also a human being. This in itself marks a tremendous advance, and may be accepted as an indication of a just and tolerant outlook. Many people, possessing little more than a superficial knowledge of history and traditions of our people, have had the temerity to put foward all kinds of fantastic proposals for their betterment both socially and economically, while others, fired by an enthusiasm that denotes their earnestness, have endeavoured to point the way to Utopia.

For this and other reasons it is interesting to consider the views recently put forward by Mr. Pirow, the Minister of Railways aud Harbours, in discussing the ideal of a white civilisation as something peculiar to South Africa. Addressing a

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meeting of the Afrikaans Culture Society in Capetown a few weeks ago, Mr. Pirow declared that however far Natives might develop, and in whatever direction, and however great the obligations of the white people were towards Natives - and they were great - South Africa would put the interests of white civilisation in all respects first. He spoke of the clash which must come between the admission of Native equality, and the view that the Native would be given full rights and opportunities, but never equality. There were signs, said the Minister, of the establishment of permanent white populations elsewhere, especially in British Africa, and these people were looking more and more to the Union for a solution of the Native problem. "They will look to us for inspiration and help in maintaining their position, which in some cases will not be too easy," he added.

It will at once be seen that Mr. Pirow, who is invariably very outspoken, postulates a position that demands close attention. He is anything but ambiguous regarding the prospect of a clash on the Native question and emphassies the responsibility resting upon the Union in that connection. But when the Minister talks of equality, it is important to consider the extent to which that privilege is sought. For our part we have yet to learn that the Bantu races in the African continent aim at equality. It is equally certain that white civilisation in South Arica never has seriously entertained it, and probably never will. Possibly in speaking of equality Mr. Pirow was thinking only of political equality.

In any event, one thing appears certain, and that is that in the matter of Native policy those beyond the borders of the Union are looking to South Africa for a lead. Thus behoves each and every person who has the future of this great country truly at heart to study this great problem from every angle, and thus assist as far as possible in evolving a policy based upon a real knowledge of the subject and a real appreciation of the facts as they exist. Added to this must be a clear conception of the rights and privileges of our people, coupled with a vision which will enable the unprejudiced mind clearly to contemplate developments which must inevitably come during the next half century or so.

Native Vote in Danger.

Native Opinion 4-7-34

In terms of Section 35 of the Act of Union, the Governor-General holds special instructions of the King which in effect reserve for the latter's prerogative any amendment that may be contemplated by the Union Parliament regarding the Cape Native vote. This safeguard is additional to the requirement of a two-thirds majority of the members of both Houses of Parliament in regard to this Native vote.

Now according to Section four of the Status Bill which is the subject of parliamentary debate at the moment, it is laid down that the Executive Government of the Union is vested in the King, acting on the advice of his Ministers of state for the Union, and might be administered by him in person or by the Governor-General as his representative. The Governor General is further given the right to dismiss his Ministers, and in some quarters it is maintained that this right fully compensates the King's prerogative that has been withdrawn from protecting, for our purposes, the Cape Native vote.

In the first instance the change brought about by the Status Bill, whittles down the King's prerogative to a stage where entrenched clauses of the Act of Union may now be effectively dealt with by an ordinary parliamentary majority. Secondly, it is idle to induce the Bantu in believing that the Governor-General in his zeal to protect a sacred birthright of Cape Natives, would at any time dismiss his Ministers for filching such birthright. Thirdly, the King's prerogative that guaranteed the entrenchment was a creature of the National Convention, designed to protect the Cape Native vote against any subsequent Government or Parliament of the Union; but in terms of the Status Bill the right of the King or the Governor-General to veto a Bill that may deprive the Natives of their vote depends on the Ministers or the Government, the very parties the National Convention guarded against. How inconsistent and deceptive!!

We have members of parliament representing constituencies with the Native vote stalking the country, making the electors believe that there was not a tittle of harm in the Status Bill, or alternatively nothing of a departure from the principles already agreed upon in the Statute of Westminister. The latter statute embodied nothing that tampered with the entrenched clauses of the Act of Union; but the Status Bill does.

The earliest fruits of this pernicious and unwarranted change in the Constitution of the Union are shown by the Governor-General's immediate surrender of the King's interest. In the Assembly last week Mr. Pirow stated that "His Excellency the Governor-General has been pleased to give his consent that so far as his Majesty's interest is concerned, this House may do therein as it shall think fit."

These are cold and indisputable facts. It has been stated in parliament that our attitude to the Status Bill is the result of propaganda by newspapers like the "Dispatch," but our views regarding the Cape Native vote have been consistent for many years past. If they happen to coincide with our contemporary's views at present we have no reason to feel ashamed to face a common enemy with the "Dispatch" on this and other battle grounds. Colonel Stallard's view, and those of the Natal province on the Native question are usually such that they do not commend themselves to us; but their arguments on the hard facts of the Status Bill seem irrefutable.

An appeal to sentiment has been introduced by certain members of parliament in an attempt to justify their support of the Bill. Our representatives have asked audiences whether Gen. Smuts, Mr. Pat. Duncan or Mr. Dick Stuttaford could be trusted. We deprecate allusions to the aspect of confidence in these men, when we have the bare facts of the Status Bill to lead us to unbiassed conclusions. Such questions are as irrelevant as they are unfair, and will ultimately be the means of breaking up the ranks of the South African Party into two groups—the one composed of satellites who will blindly follow their leader, and the other of victims of prejudice, because they dared to question the policy of the party leaders.

[Written to express the views of "Imvo Zabantsundu" by A. M. Jabavu Market Square, King William's Town.

TRAINING OF NATIVE DOCTORS

Ilanga Lase Natal 4-20-34

According to a statement published in Johannesburg, there is a sum of £70,000 available for the medical training of Natives in the Union if the Government would only make up its mind to accept the offer. It will be recalled that in the report of the Loram Commission in regard to medical services and training for Natives, it was recommended that full medical training should be provided for Natives either at the Rand or Capetown university, and that subsequently the Rockfeller Foundation offered to donate a sum of £65,000 for capital requirements and £5,000 for the provision of a hostel for Native students.

Certain conditions were, of course, attached to this offer, the chief of which was that the Union Government should endorse the scheme and assume liability for the maintenance of the training School. This offer was made some five years ago, but it is understood that up to the present it has neither been accepted nor rejected. It would appear that the main obstacle in the way of the Government at the time the offer was made was the supposed implication that it would damage the Union's national prestige to accept sums from outside sources for such work, despite the fact that similar grants had been accepted by the Governments of Great Britain, France and China.

With the advent of coalition, however, the subject of the medical training of Natives and Native medical services generally has been under consideration of the Department of Public Health, and the responsible Minister has made a statement on the matter and provision has been made in the estimates for a block of educational buildings at Fort Hare for the training for four years of a group of Native medical aids. The Chamber of Mines has also munificently made an adequate building grant. In this connection it is interesting to note that at a reception given to Dr. Bokwe in Johannesburg, he mentioned the fact that at present a further seven Natives are studying at the Edinburgh University for a medical degree. At the same time he emphasised the sacrifices made by the parents of those Natives to enable them to qualify for a degree and thereby be in a position to render valuable aid to their people. Three scholarships for Union Natives to study medicine abroad have been made available by the International Student Service, and of these one in New Zealand has been taken up by the son of an Induna employed on the Rand gold mines, while the other two are in respect of medical courses in the United States and Germany. Even when the students now in Edinburgh have qualified, the number of Native doctors in the Union will number less than twenty.

After the National European-Bantu Conference in Capetown a memorandum stated that at a very low estimate at least nine hundred Native doctors were needed in South Africa, and that the present lack of medical facilities was an important factor in regard to the spread of disease and the lessening of the supply of Native labour. This memorandum stressed the following reasons why Native medical practitioners should be trained in this country:- Skilled treatment was necessary in all diseases; the backward ness of Native life, and the inadequacy of the general education of the Native required at least the full medical training to ensure the undestanding of medical science and to maintain medical ethics, and the Natives themselves demanded a full training, as an inferior standard would react on the standards of medical education for Europeans and would be a departure from the universal standard of medical education in the British Empire.

It will thus be seen therefore that the question has been considered from its most important angles. The need for medical services among our people is a real and urgent, and in the circs it is not too much to expect that the Government will seriously consider the desirability of accepting the munificent offer above referred to. For this reason a statement by the Minister of Public Health on this important question will be awaited with more than ordinary interest.

'UNIVERSITY' TRAINING AS AN ARCHITECT.

Ilanga Lase Natal 20-3-34

The battle of the future is going to be the battle of trained minds. The efficient mobilization of the faculties of mind is the secret of achievement and success. The conditions are continually changing. One may need a degree or Matriculation to begin his career; one may want to improve his professional or business qualifications.

The present age is the age of science, the age of reasons and the age of encyclopedists.

In order therefore, to coincide with the present conditions one should avail himself of University training—training that will make no limit to his ambitions. Our forefathers of the 19th century invented machinery and steam engines and it is our duty -- their grandsons to improve their inventions scientifically -- through University training. In order to see and appreciate fully the advantage of University training some of you who read the daily press will soon be convinced that despite depression and unemployment which exist in the country there is only continuous demand for men and women who have scientifically trained minds. You should therefore ask yourself the following questions: What kind of a house do I live in? What kind of a house will I be living in in ten years' time? But mind, that you don't fool yourself. Chance and luck may not come to your aid at all. University training undoubtedly will.

University training will plan an assured future for you. If you adopt University methods you eliminate chance.

Most of the successful men in every profession and in every province of South Africa owe their success to University training.

Charles Darwin the notable scientist of the 19th century says: Among the animal world it is only those who are active and quick and those who have the best power of sight, smell and hearing who will stand the greatest chance of eluding the multitude of animals that prey on them. And so, the untrained man climbs slowly and painfully - never reaching the real heights. In contrast the University trained man climbs steadily and quickly and there is practically no limit to his ambitions.

Why then not begin now to unlock the door that will lead and open up all avenues for all ambitions in all your spheres of life?

The writer is actuated by the information he has got from the reliable source that Normal College trained teachers will, in the course of time, which is not far off be inefficient owing to the spread of civilization among the bantu people and will therefore be replaced by University trained teacher--- because University send out men better equipped for their work-- both morally and mentally.

It is therefore up to you whether you begin to act or not. But remember the Ternfax motto that: "Action is the only prayer that's answered."

University training is open to all men and women, boy or girl who desires to benefit by it. You may take University training either internally or externally i.e. You may take it either in a College or while you are working by wisely using your leisure hours

N. DIMBA,
Overport, Durban.

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Africa

Non-European Conference.

NATIONAL UNITY ACCOMPLISHED.

Native Opinion

(By S. M. Bennett Ncwana.)

(Imvo Zabantsundu)

At no time in the history of our existence has the outlook for unity, co-operation, and mutual understanding amongst the African peoples appeared more inviting. The new movement for the centralisation of non-European public opinion on all pertinent political questions which affect their interests, is no doubt a positive progressive step of great national significance. It may be asserted with convincing justification that this important gathering was helped forward not so much by the commanding personality of the leaders, but largely by the effective combination of many influences, so well known for the disequilibrium to each other's point of view.

The non-European people of the Union, especially those of the Cape of Hood Hope, heartily congratulate the convenor of the conference, Dr. Abdul Abdurahman, M.P.C., the veteran leader of the Coloured people of the Union, who has lived to see the ambition of his life consummated, namely, the co-ordination of the various non-white organisations into one formidable body for the crusade of their own economic development.

King William Town

South Africa

Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A., leader of the Bantu population of the Cape Province, is highly to be congratulated for evincing so commendable a spirit of statesmanship in co-operating with the leaders of other sections in the promotion of the best interests of the Bantu people of the Union. Mr. M. A. Gamiet, C.O., leader of the Malay population of the Union, is another powerful force whose influence amongst his people made an invaluable contribution towards the success of the conference.

The African nation is also indebted to the very healthy support which came from the leaders of the South African Indian Congress. It may be stated here that the moral influence of this powerful body gave the leaders that essential nerve of encouragement which made it possible for them to circumvent the forces of disunity.

Mr. Alexander M. Jabavu (editor of the Imvo, King William's Town), Mr. S. Reagon, ex M.P.C. Capetown, Mr. C. Calvert, Mr. W. T. McLeod, Kimberley, Mr. S. K. le Pere, Pretoria, Mr. H. E. Triegaardt, Port Elizabeth, are leaders who constituted themselves as the pillars of the non-European conference, and thus rendered to black South Africa a great national service. The African people have every reason to be proud of the achievement of these leaders after the two monster conferences of the joint councils.

Reviewing the constructive work of the conference, suffice it to say, never has a problem been before the non-European leaders of which it would be more true to say, in the words of a great philosopher, the late Mr. Burke: "There are but very few who are capable of comparing and digesting what passes before their eyes at different times and occasions, so as to be able to form the whole into a distinct system."

As a man in the street, one can only but give a superficial survey of the great national task which came under discussion. The non-European conference met principally to consummate the principle of national unity, co-operation and mutual understanding between the non-white races of this country, on all questions of national political significance. It met to promote race harmony and to lay down the foundation of common service of humanity and peace, happiness and prosperity for the African races in the Southern Hemisphere. We are, therefore, witnesses of a great achievement in the year 1934 of a vision and ideal of the Great Providence, in reconciliating the different sections of the African population of the Union for the progress of civilisation and Christianity in South Africa. Since the last Great War, there were certain influences actively at work in all the provinces of the Union, which threatened, at one time, to undermine the possibility of national unity. The end of the long war produced a crop of irresponsible leaders who occupied the political field and launched a vigorous agitation for national isolation and race egoism. The infectious disease became world-wide and penetrated the domain of the wiseacres, with the result that both Europeans and Africans succumbed to its iniquitous effects, and the nation having thus lost moral sanity the whole country suddenly became an asylum of madmen and madwomen. Right behind the curses of the rabble the robe of derision and ostracism—the work of small politicians—there were broadminded and patriotic leaders who viewed the race problem in a different light from their opponents. We have every reason, therefore, to be jubilant at this great victory—the victory of the forces of reason over the group of racial antipathy who, in seeking selfish advancement at the expense of the nation, could find no better platform than the cowardly appeal to racial prejudice.

It is of supreme importance that this crusade of unity initiated by the leaders of the non-European conference should be maintained and strengthened by all possible means. In the broad matters of better education, better economic and industrial opportunities, and evenhanded justice in the courts of law of the country for the non-white races, better understanding and lasting political harmony between the Europeans and the Africans, the non-white races should speak with one united voice. There must be no humbug in any form or shape—there must be real sympathetic co-operation between the leaders of the various non-European races, with an earnest effort to understand the wretched economic conditions under which the African people live, and a prompt and positive condemnation of all acts of injustice.

(In his next contribution Mr. Bennett Ncwana will review the resolutions passed at the non-European conference.)

"From the Cape Mercury."

THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED I.C.U. HELD AT DURBAN ON THE 20TH DEC 1933, PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS DELIVERED BY J. T. GUMEDE.

Illanga Lase Natal 1-12-34

Comrades, Delegates and friends:

We have assembled here at Durban from different parts of the Union with the sole object to reorganize and polish the machinery of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union which is going to be a very heavy burden on our shoulders. We must have courage to solve our hard problems. The I. C. U. before the attacks that disabled and brought it down to what it is today, was gaining power and influence. We must revive and reorganise it on modern lines so that it should appeal to workers of this country, as a thoroughly overhauled machine. Remember that in the past the I.C.U. acquired friends and incurred enemies through its activities.

It is the duty as well as the object of this Conference to draw up and frame a constitution that will show every one that the black workers are organising themselves in order to protect and further their interests. Let me boldly say it is for you to show the country that you are prepared to get fair play for the people you represent and that restrictions imposed upon African organisations by the Government and Municipalities were uncalled for: that all legislation to suppress your meetings and endeavours should be repealed and removed. It is expected you will elect leaders whose loyalty to the worker and workers' cause shall not be inimical and questionable, and whose public speeches shall be based on the clauses of the constitution. It will be for you to expiate the mistakes of the past.

There can be no doubt that the black workers are suffering

a great deal especially in these years of depression and starvation. In rural and urban areas under the Government White labour policy Native suffer enormously. In this connection, as you all know the number of Natives who suffered injustice and lost their old jobs is considerable. They were replaced by European workers as you will re-collect how Cabinet Ministers advocated that replacement of Native workers by white unskilled labour. On farms black peasants are being driven from pillar to post without option whatever to acquire their own farms despite what sums of money they hold or possess. This is the justice and fairplay black workers get from the Union Government which is empowered by class legislation. It is true that the I. C. U. is divided into several sections. This applies equally to the African National Congress. This is the policy of the Government divide and rule. It will be for you to re-unite the existing divisions. Of course for many it is going to be very hard work for you to organise unity but if you stand firmly with confidence to succeed you will win in the long run and manage to overcome all difficulties and at the end disabilities under which the African worker suffers may be removed. You must not lose sight of the fact that you are leaders of backward and illiterate African workers who by mistake on your part will easily turn against you and condemn the Organisation. The leaders must explain the constitution of the Union to members and adherents properly in order to avoid mistakes of the past. Members must be taught the dictates of the constitution. I feel sure that with care and attention you will succeed to once more organise the African Workers into a great powerful and strong Union.

Since the inaugural Conference held at Bloemfontein during the last Winter, severe and distinctive criticisms appeared in the Native press from the pens of the enemies of the African Workers' cause. Other workers not African have their unions. The question may politely be asked, why should African Worker's not have one too? Adopt the policy of "Live and let live" as you aware we are expected to develop on our own lines. What are those lines? In my mind those lines cannot be different from those of the civilised labourers. All Africans in this subcontinent are workers, their only key to prosperity and success is unity and loyalty to the United Industrial Commercial Workers Union.

Delegates, in conclusion, I appeal to you as I now do, to go into this National business with sincerity and goodwill, cast aside all doubts and fears, be earnest and courageous in your endeavours to better the lot of African Workers, allow nothing to discourage you, look ahead like men of purpose with determination to carry up your heavy load to its destination safety never looking behind.

I wish you succes in your deliberations.

Social and Personal.

The following is the programme of Entertainments to be given at the B. S. C. during the month of January.
12th Dance for members & friends only
13th Concert, Zulu Male Voice Party.
15th Meeting Durban and District Cricket Association.
18th Bioscope.
19th Presentation by Mayor of a purse to Lizzie Mngumi reporting to the Police a case of revolting cruelty.
25th Bioscope.
26th Members' dance.
27th Concert in aid of Miss E. V. S. Gqba. (Intombi ekalipile yase Africa,)

xxx

Chief Mvinjwa Mcunu son of Phakade ka Macingwane of Mshwathi near Albert Falls has been in Durban to see some of his men. He was accompanied by his brother Mnu. Nd'ebezohlanga Mcunu. He reports great starvation in his district and that men are driven into confusion with need of food.

xxx

Mrs A. W. Cragg and Miss H. F. Girdwood both of the Indaleni Native Girls' School Richmond, are spending their summer holidays at the W. M. C. A., Durban.

xxx

Rev. and Mrs. Mfeka of the Maritzburg Branch of the Church of the Province came down to the Coast by Motor Car, on their way to Inanda to see their brother Mr, N. Mfeka who is not well. Rev. Mfeka has for many years been in Maritzburg doing religious and social service among his flock.

xxx

Mr. W. G. Ballinger of the I. C. U. Movement in Johannesburg is presently down this week in Durban. Last Tuesday night he gave a lecture on Co-operative Movement especially amongst the Bantu of Johannesburg. The lecture which was was well attended was delivered at the Indian Hall, No. 7, Cross St., under the auspices of the Bantu Adult Workers' Educational Association. Among those who were present were Revs. N. M. Nduli, J. Tiyane, and B. T. Ngiba; Messrs. N. Lutuli (Editor of Ilanga,) A. W. G. Champion, A. P. Sibankulu, A. J Sililo, A. A. Kumalo, A. C. Maseko and others It is interesting to note that Mr. Ballinger promised some pamphlets to the members and suggested a six months' training of some intelligent young men in Co-operative book-keeping.

xxx

Mr. Nkonka Makanya who is running his own Store at Amanzimtoti spent some time in town and visited the Cili Tea-Room in Grey Street.

xxx

Professor P. Kirby of the Department of Music, Witwatersrand University, is in Durban for his holidays. He has made a collection of over 300 specimens of Native music instruments from all over Africa. Professor Kirby has a work in the Press entitled "The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa" which shows an enormous part music plays in the life of the untouched Native. One year at Dar-es-salaam the Professor was entertained by 700 Native Musicians representing so different black fribes. By way of passing we may suggest to the members of the B. S. C. not to overlook such a prominent figure like Professor Kirby to give a lecuture to Native intellects who may at some time do some research work. There is much to be learned from great Scholars of Bantu Studies.

xxx

Mrs. E.P. Cili who has run for some time a Tea-Room in Maritzburg was seen in the Capital last Friday. She looked well and reported a steady progress of her husband's business in Durban.

xxx

Mrs. F. M. Mzoneli who spent her Christmas and New Year holidays at Georgedale has now returned to her home accompanied by her sister Mrs. S. Myeza.

xxz

The Conference of the Bantu Youth League which will open on the 16th of January next week will close on the 21st. The closing speech will be delivered by Rev. J. L. Dube of the Ohlange Institute. Young Africans hail you, Miss Makanya and pray secretly for the success of your humble efforts. Phambil Ntombazana

Messrs W. W. Mtimkulu and S. M. Mtimkulu who have come down from Dundee and Highflats respectively, for the Ama-Hlubi Lawn Tennis Club meeting in Durban, are staying with their uncle and aunt the Rev. and Mrs. A. S. Mtimkulu of North Street, Durban.

The Rev. A. Mtimkulu presided over the meeting and Mr. L. Radebe acted as Secretary. The meeting was well attended. The Chairman eloquently eulogized and thanked the originators of the good idea. He also predicted great developments to follow. After the meeting the Rev. A. S. Mtimkulu took the members in his car to the Bantu Social Centre. He introduced these to the Superintendent, Mr. Shepstone, who directed that they should be taken round the great mansion which they greatly admired.

Messrs. S. M. Mtimkulu and H. Yeni, nephew to the Rev. Ph. Yeni of Newcastle, left Durban on Monday morning,

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

January 1, 1934, for Highflats.

The following visited the Bantu Social Centre, Durban, recently. Mr. R. R. Dhlomo, of Joh'burg. B. B. Mavundhla of Odidini. A. G. Makatini of Odidini. W. Whitsit, (Chief Constable). Colonel Shakespeare of England. E. Msimang of P. M. Burg. D.M. Danalane, Jo'burg. T.H.D. Ngcobo, of Durban. A.S. Putini of Ladysmith. H. L. Msimang of Springs. H. Kumalo (Umteteli) Joh'burg. L. B. Msimang of P.M. Burg. A. J. Lutuli, Groutville. Revd. P. Lamula. Rev. Bernard Huss. The Misses Denton from England, and Nurse A. V. Mangena of Johannesburg

Lcc. Advisory Boards Congress.

(CONTRIBUTED)

The sixth annual meeting of the Locations Advisory Board Congress which commenced in the Langa Hall, Cape Town, on Monday night, the 18th instant, was, by common consent of all who participated and as well those who watched the proceedings, one of the biggest land marks in the history of Native conferences. The mead of praise which characterised the speeches of notable Europeans, the imposing personnel of the long list of those who appeared on the programme as speakers at the opening, the height of the level of debates throughout the sessions and the sense of responsibility discernible in all discussions, all were features which easily justify the remark made by Councillor Brinton (ex-chairman of the Native Affairs Committee at Cape Town) when he said, addressing the Congress, that the delegates were regarded as representing "the best opinion in the country."

With the hall filled to overflowing and supported by his officials and a number of noted European gentlemen and ladies, amongst whom were Sir Clarkson Tredgold, Mr. H. C. M. Jenner, Assistant Native Commissioner who represented the Chief Magistrate of Cape Town (Mr. H. Drew,) Councillor W. H. Ross representing his Worship the Mayor of Cape Town, Mrs. K. Spilhaus (President of the National Council of Women,) Mr R. J. du Toit, M. P. and Mrs. S. Mason. Shortly after 8 o'clock Mr. P. A. M. Bell (President) who had formerly taken the chair vacated it in favour of Councillor W. H. Ross who, before declaring the Congress open, first apologised for the absence of Mr. H. Drew, Sir James Rose-Innes, Mr. W. G. Bennie, Dr. A. Abdurahman, Colonel L. Strictland and Dr. D. H. Sims, Bishop of the A. M. E. Church.

According to the programme for the opening the following formed the list of speakers:—Mr. W. H. Ross (Couneillor) representing his Worship the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr. H. Drew (Chief Magistrate of Cape Town), The Right Hon. Sir James Rose-Innes, P.C., K.C.M.G., Mrs. K Spilhaus (President of the National Council of Women) Dr. A. Abdurahman, Mr. W. G. Bennie (late Chief Inspector of Native Education,) Mr. R. J. du Toit, M. P., Mrs. S. Mason and Colonel L. Strictland (Deputy Commissioner of the South African Police.)

Mr, W. H. Ross in formally opening the Congress said that on behalf of the Mayor and the Corporation of the City of Cape Town he had been entrusted by the Chairman of the Native Affairs Committee to come and open the Congress of the Advisory Boards of South Africa. He had very great pleasure in welcoming the delegates before entering upon their 6th annual session. Though a serious duty he gladly performed it because he had a deep sense of the importance of the matters which would come before them. The delegates had come at some expense from different centres, and "I have full confidence in your intention to make the very best use of this opportunity of deliberating upon matters which vitally concern the welfare and development of your people living in the urban areas. They represented great numbers distributed throughout various parts of the Union. They had an important agenda to deal with which time would not allow him. Their progress would largely depend upon their Chairman and his executive, but the delegates could also help by close attention to subjects before them and by keeping to the point in their speeches and as well by obedience to the Chairman.

PROGRESS OF BANTU CENTRE.

Ilanga Lase Natal 1-26-34

When the establishment of a Bantu Social Centre in Durban was first mooted, we expressed the view that it would fulfil an extremely useful purpose, not only in regard to providing a means for recreation, but also for encouraging a spirit of co operation and concord among those who are genuinely interested in the progress and development of our people. It is gratifying to note that in both respects the Centre is proving its utility, and that there is every prospect of its sphere of usefulness being considerably extended.

It is surely gratifying to find that although this institution was opened just over two months ago with a membership of about fifty, that number has now increased to close upon three hundred, and indications point clearly to continued steady growth and development. It is generaly admitted that in the matter of entertainment, our people are capable of providing a fare of a wholesome entertaining and enlightening order, and the large audiences which patronised the social gatherings held from time to time may be accepted as a proof of the good work that is being done in this regard. These meetings are in themselves an extremely valuable aid in encouraging a more sympathetic and intelligent understanding between the two races, for they are attended not only by our own people, but likewise by quite a large number of Europeans and it is pleasing to note that as a result of the success achieved, it has been decided to hold these social gatherings once every three months.

But the Centre is another very valuable purpose, that of encouraging education

In this connection the question of providing a means whereby those who have a desire for higher education might have their requirements met has received attention, and the Executive Committee have considered the desirability of inaugurating suitable classes. It would appear that the proposal is something more than mere experiment, and the fact that it has been adopted, and that a scheme arranged upon lines calculated to produce the best results is being worked out, indicates that members generally will accord it loyal support. At the moment it is impossible to indicate the lines upon which this high education will be arranged, but inasmuch as it is to be drafted with the assistance of the Native Educational authorities it may be assumed that the syllabus will embrace subjects which will give our people an opportunity of gaining knowledge of the greatest value. It is to be hoped, however that in formulating the Syllabus due regard will be paid to the practical side of education and that its main objective will be to ensure that those who receive "Higher education" are capable of assimilating and using it to the very best advantage We were pleased to note that at a recent meeting the Executive Committee made it abundantly clear that the Centre is not to be used for the purpose of propaganda. Unless the greatest care is exercised in this connection, there is always a danger of unscrupulous persons endeavouring to disseminate doctrines utterly opposed to the aims and objects of the Centre thereby doing incalculable harm. It is gratifying

to see that the Executive has strongly emphasised the position as laid down in the constitution, and that there is little likelihood of the progress of the Centre being interfered with in this regard.

African National Congress.

At the Johannesburg Conference of the Congress, Dr. P. ka Seme, President-General announced his "Cabinet" or National Executive Committee for 1934 on 27 December, as follows:—

1. DR. P. KA I. SEME LL.D., Chairman, President-General and Chief Organiser of the Congress

2. PRO. JAMES THAELE, B.A., Vice-Chairman and First Vice-President of the Congress.

3. MR. S. M. MAKGATHO, Ex-President-General and Chief Organiser of Churches.

4. REV. JOHN L. DUBE, Ex-President-General and Chief Educator and Organiser of Schools.

5. REV. J. S. Likhing, L.Th,S., Senior Chaplain.

6. MR. K. S. THAELE, General Secretary of the African National Congress.

7. MR. S. B. MACHENG, Chief Secretary for the Treasury Committee.

8. CHIEF STEPHEN MINI, Head Organiser of Chiefs in the Upper House.

9. MR. MOSES MPHAHLELE, Secretary for Chiefs in the Upper House.

10. MR. T. D. MWELI-SKOTA, Speaker of the House.

11. MR. S. P. MATSEKE, Deputy-Speaker and Head Organiser of the Congress.

12. MRS. MINI BHOLA, Head Organiser for the Women's Section of the Congress.

13. MR. J, NGCEZULA. Assistant Deputy-Speaker and Secretary for the Women's Section of the Congress.

14. MR. A. Z. D. MAZINGI, Clerk of the House and under Secretary of the Congress.

15. THE PRESIDENTS OF PROVINCES, to be the Head Organisers of the Congress and Inspectors General in and over their respective Provinces and members of the Treasury Committee of the Congress.

16. MR. MARK S. RADEBE, African Commander in Music and Chief Band Master.

17. MR. PETER PHAHLANE, Sergt-Major-at-Arms.

18. The Assistants in the above Departments to be announced after the conclusion of the conference

The Royal Visit.

-o-oo-oo

HIS Royal Highness Prince George, will honour Natal with a visit early in March, and we learn, has been pleased to set aside the morning of Monday, the 5th March for the purpose of allowing our people to pay homage to him in Pietermaritzburg.

The leaders of our people with their followers will gather early on Monday at the P. M. Burg Racecourse, in the wide space that was allocated to us in 1925 on the occasion of the visit of his eldest brother the Prince of Wales.

Prince George will arrive at the Racecourse at 10 o'clock a. m. By then our people will be already moving in a body towards the Royal visitor's dais, then when they are within earshot, they will join in chanting the Zulu National song:-

"Silandel'inkomo zeNkosi,
Zashona Ezizweni.
Awo, awo, awo.
Zimi kube Sutu, enhla nezwe,
Awo, awo, awo."

This they will do until they halt before the dais

An address of welcome will thereupon be presented to Prince George from the Natives of Natal and Zululand, and to this His Royal Highness will reply.

Selected dancers in Native costume, will then perform for the Prince's entertainment. They will dance and sing in groups according to the various tribes to which they belong. This occasion will mark the principal meeting of all our people in Natal and Zululand, to pay homage to His Royal Highness.

Arrangements are in hand under official guidance for doing everything possible to ensure that the programme of the day is carried out smoothly. It speaks for itself that our people will do their best by arriving in time to meet at the gathering place at the Racecourse at 8, a. m. that Morning of March 5.

There will undoubtedly be police on duty to indicate to strangers the way to be taken in proceeding to the Racecourse.

We are informed that slaughter cattle will be provided by the Government for rationing the people. We wish to stress, however, that as there is to be certainly very many mouths to feed, it is most advisable that visitors should not travel empty handed. Moreover sleeping accommodation is sure to be crowded out, and travellers should do all they can to secure sleeping places in advance. The Zulus are well known to be equal to such functions as this, and can always be depended upon to make it a complete success.

FEDERATION OF BANTU WOMEN.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE HELD AT DRIEFONTEIN, NATAL.

DECEMBER 18 - - 20 1933.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.....

(BY ISABEL SILILO).

Fellow Workers and Friends,

It is my pleasant duty to greet and welcome each and everyone of you to this Conference on behalf of the Bantu Women's Federation

While thanking you for the honour of electing me President, I feel unable and not competent enough to carry out satisfactorily the responsible duties of piloting through such a well thought-out programme before us However, I feel confident that you will all give your hearty co operation to maintain the spirit of enthusiasm inculcated by the Organiser and the Executive Committee to whom we are all indebted for this excellent programme.

I regret exceedingly that owing to certain circumstances, I was unable to attend with you the Conference last year, but I was extremely pleased to learn that the officers present carried out their duties faithfully and to the satisfaction of all present.

We are privileged to hold our Conference in Driefontein, a district having a community that has been formed mainly as a direct result of the civilizing influence of the missionaries. Here the Bantu have, what I believe, many privileges of expressing themselves in their homes, schools, churches, land and a kind of self-government to a certain extent.

The majority of the founders of this place have now been called to higher service above and the sons and daughters of these brave pioneers have been left with the high responsibilities of upholding the high ideals and standard that has been inaugurated by their fathers and grandfathers. The majority of them were God-fearing people and most of the success in their undertakings can be attributed to this fact. May we, young Africans, follow in their steps in this direction, as nations that have forsaken God and the great teachings of the Master have fallen from glory.

I wish to express the deep sense of gratitude this organization--the Daughters of Africa---owe to Chief Kumalo for his great interest, and in this connection I feel very grateful for his continued interest and influence he now exerts in educational matters, not only here but throughout the Province When I remember that his grandfather -- in those old days -- sent his late father to Lovedale, one feels confident of the future and the good progress of the people here, because of the sound background they have. In many districts civilised and Christian communities are subject to heathen

Chiefs who are unsympathetic because of their ignorance of the aspirations of educated and progressive members of their tribes. I say it is a pleasure and a pleasant facts at this conference to me to recollect the abokuzalwa.

Race Problem — 1934

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Africa.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress held a very important meeting on the 21st November 1934 in "Mabusa's Cafe" 188 Market Street Johannesburg. The meeting was well attended and the Eastern Branch, Johannesburg entertained members to tea.

The meeting had been called in order to deal with the programme of the General Annual Conference which has been summoned to meet at Bloemfontein at the end ofthis year, from the 29th December to the 3rd January 1935. It was necessary that all Provinces should make themselves ready to send delegates to this Conference and to bring reports of the work which is being done in their respective Provinces to the General Secretary of the Congress. The reports should show how many branches have been established in each Province and what is the strength of their membership. Every branch should send two delegates to represent them in this Annual Conference. The Constitution provides that every branch shall elect two delegates to represent it in the Annual Conference.

The National Executive Committee unanimously desires that every Province should lay before its Provincial Executive for their full discussion, all the questions which are raised in the programme below and more particularly the subject of the Amended Constitution of the African National Congress and the establishment of the African Congress Clubs which have been accepted as the immediate policy of the National Executive Committee These Clubs will be the homes of the African National Congress within every District and through these clubs the African National Congress will try to teach the African people to run their own businesses and to feed themselves es cheeply as possible. This will enable African workers to pay for necessary food and even clothing out of the small wages which they earn every week. This monev should be made to remain and to circulate among the Africans as much as possible and as long as possible. "Zulu, sebenzela ekhaya" should be our motto. All nations do that except the African. "Siyili lati lokukwela, zonk'izizwe zikwela ngathi."

The National Executive noted its very deep regret to see that a certain Bantu newspaper in Johannesburg is still trying to make the Africans unwilling to follow the leadership of the African National Congress in spite of the fact that all those very ex-leaders have signed a "manifesto" by which they definitely accepted the leadership of this Committee. However we must leave these things to the African themselves. They can always read between the lines. We desire once more to thank the "Umteteli" for preaching unity to the Africans and giving support to the African National Congress and all other national movements without any distinction or prejudice. No newspaper has any right to obstruct the progress of our people by preaching disunion and even discord among the African leaders. The duty of all newspapers is to help build up the nation and not to destroy.

RE TRANSVAAL DISPUTE.

The Pretoria election of the 17th June 1933 has been challenged as invalid and irregular by Mr. S. M. Makgatho and other members of his Executive. Mr. Moses Mphahlele challenges the notice which appeared over his name as Provincial Secretary, saying that he never signed it. We cannot allow any interested group of persons to assume the rights of appointing a Provincial President of the Transvaal African Congress, which is a Provincial Branch of this National Organisation.

Each Province is required to hold its Annual Conference for the purpose of preparing a report to be laid before the General Annual Conference at Bloemfontein on the 29th December 1934. Every Branch of the Congress has the right to send two delegetes to the General Conference. It is necessary therefore that every Branch should meet and elect officers to represent them and they should bring full reports about the condition of their respective branches to the General Secretary of the Congress at Bloemfontein.

The following is the programme to be laid before the General Annual Conference at Bloemfontein. Other matters may be added later upon further representations by various Provinces, namely:

1. The final Constitution of the Congress. (Draft amendments may be obtained at Jolly Jack Barnard's Bookstore, 187a Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.

2. Organisation for collecting the General National Fund.

3 The Incorporation of the Protectorates into the Union.

4. The establishment of the African Congress Club.

5. The Native Bills before Parliament.

6. The repeal of anti-Native legislation such as the following, namely:-

The Native Land Act

The Native Contract of Service Act.

The Colour Bar Acts.

The Native Pass Laws, and the Native Administration Act.

The Liquor Laws.

The Amendment of Urban Areas Act.

The Conference will also deal with the following grievances:

1. Municipal Administration of Native Affairs at Durban, Johannesburg and Bloemfontein.

2. Separatist Native Churches should be organised under certain groups to allow proper supervision and control.

3. The "Pick Up Van," is it a disgrace to Police authority in Johannesburg ?

4. The reduction of Native direct Taxation.

5. The Native standard wages should be raised for the benefit of the country as a whole.

6. Native Education should get more financial support.

7. The Bantu Press: Does it give the Congress genuine support ? What should be done.

All Provincial Secretaries are requested to communicate with the General Secretary of the Congress about any resolutions which their respective Provinces may desire to be placed before the General Annual Conference or any suggested amendment of the Constitution.

Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika,

Morena Hlohonolofatsa Afrika

P. KA I. SEME (President A.N.C.)
E. MDOLONBA (Sec. A.N.C.)

African National Congress.

We are asked to state officially that the Transvaal Chiefs and all other members of the African National Congress should please take notice that the Conference of the Transvaal Chiefs which was called to meet at Phokeng and also the Annual Meeting of the Transvaal African Congress which was called to meet at Phokeng, at the same time and place, on the 15th December 1934, have been postponed. The above meetings will meet on a later date.

All branches of the African National Congress throughout South Africa are reminded that they should now get ready and elect delegates to represent them at the General Annual Conference at Bloemfontein which meets on the 29th December 1934 to the 3rd January 1935. This important conference will authorise the collection of the General National Fund, Isivivane, Sithabathaba and determine the final Constitution of the Congress.

GOLDEN RESOLUTION FOR COMING YEAR.

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NTIMATE ADVICE TO NATIVE YOUNG MEN LEAVING SCHOOL.

::::::::::::::::

BY EX SOLICITOR'S NATIVE CLERK.

Sharpeville Location Natal

With the close of their sessions this month, Native Training Colleges are again turning out hundreds of young men who have all decided on doing something for both their own living and for the benefit of society and their individual standing in that society.

A good number of them, I dare say, are going to be teachers, this being the most popular of the few civilised professions common amongst Natives in this country at present. But we can not all be teachers.

Be what we may, but I wonder how many of us ever care to stop and make a careful survey of the ground which one's services to one's master necessitates him to cover; whether these are being covered, or whether one just carries on in his employment for the more reason of being so employed and obtaining some remuneration for the services he renders. Very few, indeed, take the trouble to probe into all those little incidents which go a long way towards making employment not only a matter of course or necessity but one of the greatest

pleasures man has been made to enjoy.

With unemployment prevailing so mercilessly amongst the vast European masses, I have often felt very anxious about the chances of our educated young men who have just left school entering the field of respectable employment in European establishments ---- barring, perhaps, the Police Force which, I think, requires more educated Native Police Station Interpreters than it now has. No doubt, there will be opportunities presenting themselves here and there, and every now and then, for an educated Native to obtain good employment. It must be fully realized, however that such opportunities will be rare and far between; so that only the most competent type of young man can hope to succeed in coming into the picture at all. Therefore, let us help this particular type of person in his way of progress both on entering employment and, most mportant of all, keeping such employment.

Quality will count. School qualifications are there merely as weapons for a man of quality with which to fight his way through. I would not care who manufactured the goods so long as I am satisfied with their quality.

It is quite simple to write down in one's mind in an instant the main quilities a Native fresh from school should possess to enable him to enter, say, an office establishment as Clerk, Interpreter or both, but it must be borne in mind at the very outset that the only determining factor, once you are so employed is all wrapped up in one word only --- COMPETENCE. You may be everything else (I might as well say, nothing else) but this quality will decide, immediately it is due for application in regard to yourself by the boss, whether you stand any chance of retaining and maintaining your position. Competence means and embodies everything which your employment requires you to be and to perform. That is my definition of the word as as I find it after 14 years of clerical experience, and I have not the slightest doubt that I have arrived at the word's proper meaning so far as the Native is concerned and that such a definition holds good in regard to all situations. I am therefore advising all manner of aims and objects---intending Clerks, Teachers, etc.

A CALL TO OUR LEADERS.

Ilanga Lase Natal

THE view that because the Union has no Native policy, the time is not ripe for the transfer of the Protectorates, has far more support than that demonstrated at Maritzburg last week, when the Rev. John Dube addressed the members of the Natal Debating Society on this and other points concerning Native adminstration in South Africa. 12-7-34

We have often stressed the importance of the necessity for the leaders of our people to give a lead in all matters affecting the welfare of the Bantu races, and it is a matter for regret that this appeal has not met with a greater response. Possibly in the opinion of many the present is not an opportune time for discussing matters of such outstanding importance as the Protectorates and Native policy generally. This attitude of mind is probably based upon the view that no useful purpose can be served by ill-timed criticism, and that the proper time to intervene is when these questions are before the country in concrete form. While there may be much to be said in support of this view, we think it will be generally conceded that the questions of the Protectorates and Union Native policy have now reached a stage when they can be freely and usefully discussed, and those who are able to assist in this direction, and neglect to do so, are failing in their duty to their compatriots.

This, evidently, is the view of Mr. Dube, whose zeal and devotion in the cause of our people is worthy not only of admiration, but of emulation. He, at least, harbours no doubt regarding the points now under discussion; on the contrary, he has not hesitated, in clear and unequivocal terms, to say what he thinks. In his opinion it would be a mistake, in view of the existing position of the Native population of the Union, to hand the Protectorates over to the tender mercies of the South African Government. Such a step, he considers would be premature, and in support of this contention he rightly calls attention to "the chaotic conditions of Native policy and the apparent apathy towards Native affairs generally on the part of our legislators."

There can be no doubt that the dilatoriness that has characterised the Union Government in regard to formulating a Native policy has provoked a feeling not only of regret but of indignation. It is felt by the majority of our people that this question has been in cold storage far too long, so long in fact that when it is ultimately withdrawn from its lifeless environment it will be discovered that its incarceration in the freezing atmosphere of apathy and indifference will have robbed it of much of its erswhile vitality. The Select Committee appointed some eight or nine years ago to investigate the problem has not as yet reported, and although we have the Government's pledge that the Native Bills will be tackled during the forthcoming session of Parliament, rumour is agog with the suggestion that in view of the proposed transfer of the Protectorates, these Bills will in all probability be held over for a further indefinite period.

This in itself constitutes an adequate cause for doubt. It may be that the Union Government will definitely include Native Legislation in its next year's programme, and thus honour the Prime Minister's undertaking. It is likewise within the realm of possibility that the Speech from the Throne will contain some reference to the Protectorates. Hence there is every reason why the leaders of Native thought should not hesitate to follow the example of Mr. Dube, and let our people know exactly where they stand in relation to these tremendously important questions.

To be thoroughly competent a man must take a combined effort to bring into the limelight all those good qualities which induced his master to employ him. Make your master feel justified for his decision to take you on. We will later discuss how this is done.

Indeed, competence goes even further afield and wields its conquering sword even in the very discouraging position of the unemployment battle. Unemployment, as such requires a man to be competent not for unemployment but for possible employment or re-employment --- or you would soon join the ranks of the unemployables. It is bad enough, this state of being unemployable, and further on in this article you will find out how in most cases this state of affairs comes about. All I can say so far is that it is invariably brought about by the man himself.

I have already stated that competence embodies everything. Under this main heading I am going to submit to you ways and means to a successful office career.

On entering an office the usual tendency (owing to inexperience) is for the boy fresh from school to "take things too easy." He forgets that he is starting life in an entirely now world, much in the same manner as a nowly married woman. Remember that the boss is watching you very closely for the first quality that goes towards your competence, which I put down as "The Desire To Learn." Do not confuse this with "Willingness To Learn," for this will be observed later:

(a) DESIRE TO LEARN: Do not be too understanding. Listen carefully to the instructions given to you and do not be afraid to ask for enlightenment upon everything which you do not feel competent enough to grasp and execute as instructed. Remember that the boss will always bear in mind the fac of your being inexperienced anc will do all he can to coacl

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you up; but do not for your own sake, trade upon this privilege, for the master will not always find time to train you in things which you should have made it a point to grasp while in school. Acquaint yourself with everything which you think comes within the scope of your employment and make yourself generally useful.

Be diligent; take your work seriously and regard it in the light of a partner to the establishment, allowing no inferiority complex to prevent you from realizing in this regard that your being in the office is counted upon to improve your master's business. Aim at such improvement by taking pains and doing your work correctly. Correct methods only will help the business and yourself to improve.

(b) OUTWARD APPEARANCE: When you approached your boss for employment you took care to appear in neat attire and you did not present yo rself before him wearing the face of an indolent hooligan. See that you retain your original clean appearance and try to cultivate the habit of wearing a cheerful outlook, but do not be a happy-go-lucky sort of a man. Avoid all qualities usually attributed to vanity.

(To be continued.)

Native Civil Servants Address Sir John Sturrock.

Your Honour,

We, your humble Native Civil Servants of the Service of the Government of Basutoland would avail ourselves of this opportunity of bidding you and Lady Sturrock farewell on the occasion of your retirement from the Administration of our Territory.

You have now conscientiously held the reins of the Government of Basutoland for eight years, during the latter years of which period Basutoland has passed through practically the same series of hard times which were manifested throughout the whole civilised world, and over which no earthly Government had any control. We sincerely believe that you did your best to do what was possible to pilot our ship of state through the stormy seas of political and economic upheavals.

You have been the first Resident Commissioner to seriously grapple with the question of the reform of administration of justice in the Native Courts though your efforts did not meet with success on account of the innate conservatism of our chiefs arising from a distrust of the unfamiliar. It was nevertheless a potential gesture constituting a milestone of solid achievement at the same time dismantling in a measure the responsibility for stagnation from the shoulders of the local Administration.

Your efforts in sketching the outline upon which to run our intermediate schools will remain a monument to the sound educational policy which you have laid down.

The Leper Settlement scheme, the Agricultural and Public works services have been standardised and placed on a satisfactory basis. The pathfinder and wayfarer movements have received the desired impetus in the fatherly interest which you have at all times taken in them.

Sir, your work has been varied and your duties too numerous to recapitulate. We cannot conclude without asking you, Sir, to continue to think kindly of our little country and of our little Service in the councils of the Great Empire to which you are going. You will, in your counsels, no doubt, ever be actuated as you have been heretofore by the most noble instincts in promoting the welfare and prosperity of our little land.

Your Honour, please speak a word of kindly commendation to the Imperial Government that gradual recognition may be accorded to the status of really hard working, deserving cases, of His Majesty's loyal Native Servants. There is, Sir, at this juncture no necessity to refer to the loyalty which permeates the Civil Servants.

In conclusion, we wish Your Honour and Lady Sturrock a safe and pleasant voyage home, and a happy and well-deserved rest during your retirement.

Pleasant memories of the Basuto and Basutoland!

Pula, Khotso le Bophelo, Morena.

We are, Your Honour,
Your Honour's most humble servants.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Political history was made in the Rambler's Hall, Bloemfontein, last week when the Congress called to place the seal on the fusion of South African and Nationalist parties, and formally to launch the United South African Party met. More than 800 delegates from all over the Union attended. General Hertzog said that was the day for which the Afrikaner had longed for for many years. It was an expression of his will for an abiding national unity. General Smuts said they were witnessing, not the birth of a great party, but in a very true sense the birth of a nation. General Hertzog is leader of the new party and General Smuts is deputy - leader. The provisional head committee unanimously voted that each province could exercise its own discretion in regard to non-European membership

The Basutoland National Council.

The Basutoland National Council has just concluded its sitting. At the very outset it does not seem reasonable that the affairs of the country should have been settled in so short a time. Over and above that it appears ridiculously absurd that the above Council should have been so named. Rather it would have been more appropriate had it been called 'The Basutoland Chief's Council.' Doubtless the latter name would have been representing this to the letter. Unfortunately it has been called, and unfairly called 'The Basutoland National Council."

Needless here to have to worry our heads with a lot of unnecessary arguments. It is obvious beyond all measure of doubt that the present Council has failed to represent the Basuto Nation; under the circmstances why call it National? Time and again it has been proved conclusively that the wishes of the people are but nothing as long as the Chiefs' interests are selfishly safe-guarded. Speaking on the motion of the members of the Council being elected by the nation, one of these very wise Chiefs had the temerity to say that the educated Basuto should bring back that part of the country, over the boarders, which had been taken away by the Dutch people. It is inconceivable that such arguments could have been advanced by any sensible person. To make it clear to my chief and all those who belong to the same school of thought with him; we are not trying to bring back that which we have lost, nor are we crying over the spilt milk, but we are fighting to preserve as far as possible that which is still within our province.

We have no objections to any of our chiefs being in the Council provided they are representing the rank and file which has entrusted them with such duties. But we are absolutely tired of being pulled about voicelessly by these ignorant chiefs who have not the slightest consideration over their people. I am awfully amazed that our Government has not intervened in this matter; a matter so detrimental to the progress and general welfare of our people. It is upon this matter that our seemingly obscure future depends. That our Chiefs should insist on being in the Council even at the expense of their own people, is most mean and absolutely inconsiderate.

The deplorable conditions under which Basutoland is passing under the present type of Chiefs, are best imagined than described. Up to the present point our Resident Commissioners have failed to introduce a means whereby these Chiefs could be eliminated even without substitution. To my mind they want a Hitlerite type of a Commissioner. Though, as some one has rightly pointed out, he too, might meet his enemies within his own doors. I propose that a new R.C. be interviewed personally and informed that a change of some nature is most desirable.

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THE MOZAMBIQUE CONVENTION.

Alanga Fort Hare

AMONG the many problems confronting the Union, that of the revision of the Mozambique Treaty is of more than ordinary importance to our people. While it is accepted that the Native population will not be consulted on the matter, the fact remains that their interests are vitally affected, and in the circumstances it is necessary to emphasise their point of view in regard to at least one outstanding feature of the agreement. 3-23-34

It is well-known that the Convention was entered into chiefly with a view to ensuring an adequate supply of Native labour for the Rand gold mines. In this regard it has more than fulfilled its purpose. But conditions have undergone a very material change in recent years, so much so that at present the recruiting of labourers from outside the borders of the Union is not nearly so imperative as it was a few years ago. Those who have closely studied the position consider that the time has arrived when the Government should seriously consider a change of policy in the direction of finding employment for our own nationals. Already it has been recognised, both by the mining industry and the Native Affairs Dept., that the required labour is available within the Union, and steps have been taken to make greater use of it.

Some people do not appear to realise the tremendous importance of Native labour as a national asset, and the part it has played in the progress and development of the country. On the other hand there are fortunately many who do realise this undoubted fact, and who are doing what lies in their power to remove existing disabilities. In this regard a pathetic interest attaches to a speech delivered in the House of Assembly quite recently by Mr. Gray, the member for Griqualand East. It was his last utterance in Parliament, for a few days later he suddenly passed beyond. Speaking with a confidence based upon a knowledge of things as they are, Mr. Gray voiced the opinion that the Government should pay more attention to the position of the Native population in respect of employment on the gold mines. He stated that there was a feeling of uneasiness among the Native people, and that a gesture on the part the Government was necessary in order to restore confidence. The policy of replacing Native by European labour was not only being adopted on the railways, but also by industries and public bodies, so much so that the former had been threatened with all kinds of penalties if they did not fall in with the policy of the Government.

These facts are known to everyone, and the late member for Griqualand East was fully justified in demanding that the rights of our people should be taken into consideration when labour is available, and that the importion of foreign labour should not be encouraged. It is more than probable that in discussing the Mozambique Treaty the Government will be largely influenced by the question of mutual sacrifices, but in our view it would be nothing short of folly to assent to any arrangement by which our people would be placed in an infinitely worse position than at present. The whole position demands the most careful thought on the part of those who are entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring that in the process of economic development the interests of our people are amply safeguarded. It is to be sincerely hoped that they will not shirk their task.

Science at Fort Hare.

NEED FOR MEDICAL TRAINING.

Alanga Fort Hare Natal

APPEAL MADE TO GOVERNMENT.

3-23-34

The governing council of Fort Hare has appointed two additional science lecturers, Mr. J. T. Davidson, M. Sc., lecturer in physics, and Mr. M. H. Griffin, M. A., lecturer in Botany.

At a congregation of the University of South Africa this morning, (Friday) presided over by Mr. W. P. Bond, deputy Vice Chancellor, seven graduates of Fort Hare received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. One of these was a woman student and one had received a first-class in ethics.

Professor R. W. Varder, Dean of the Faculty of Science of the University of South Africa, addressing the congregation, said the College was now about to make provision for the teaching of courses in science beyond the first-year course offered for some years past.

Lecturers in Botany and physics was the first step in this direction. The next, the providing of apparatus and buildings for the teaching of physics, chemistry, botany and zoology, would be expensive. At least £20,090 would be required for laboratories, an estimate arrived at only after the most careful consideration.

Scientific training was necessary to enable the Native students to teach science in Native schools, to teach better agriculture and better understanding of plants and animals, and he hoped in the near future, to attend to the medical needs of the country Native. This providing of Native practioneers was a problem long overdue. The time had come to give at the College, if if not the full medical course, then the course in science preliminary to a full medical training.

ABILITY OF STUDENTS.

The question would arise, were there students at the College able to take advantage of these proposed facilities for scientific training. Speaking from his own experience as an examiner, he had found the average of Fort Hare students at least equal to the average in European colleges and on several occasions there had been found among them students of the first rank.

As regarded the raising of the large sums necessary, when one considered the big Native population in the Union and the small amounts spent on education compared to the amounts spent on education generally, it was perhaps not too much to hope that the Government would see to it that at least one Institution in the Union was fully equipped for the higher education of Natives. Would it be too much also to expect that some of the wealth of the mines - a few crumbs from an overladen table - should be returned for purposes of higher education to the race whose labours were largely the instrument of obtaining that vast wealth from the earth? "The Natal Advertiser."

Sir Herbert Stanley and the Native Problem.

The Forum

In his address to the Roodebloem Brotherhood in the Methodist Church, at Woodstock, a few weeks ago Sir Herbert Stanley High Commissioner for the Native Territories is reported to have emphasized the need

for the application and implementing of the teaching of "Faith, Hope and Charity, by St. Paul, in dealing with the Native question.

To the Natives and especially to those Natives living in the High Commissioned Territories the views expressed by Sir Herbert on that occasion are not only refreshing but certainly re-kindle their hopes for a better future. His words are reassuring and strengthens the confidence in him as leading them to a promising and progressive future. There is an adage that "out of the fulness of the heart the tongue speaks thereof" It stands to reason therefore that if Sir Herbert expresses these views and convictions he must be shaping his policy to that end. He is reported to have said: "Many Europeans hold that if the Natives had the standard of wages, education and employment now enjoyed by Europeans it would no longer be possible for the latter to earn a living and bring up their families in the way they ought. There was no doubt that the competition of labour for low wages was a serious problem." But Sir Herbert asked this important question, "Was it any remedy to perpetuate the difference in the standards of living, or to bring the Native up to a stage not very different from that of the Europeans?"

He goes on to give a reasoned answer to this question and says: "Given fairly and courageously, the answer was to make it possible for the Native to rise in the social scale and acquire habits and ways of life which would remove the danger of the present competition of people with a very low standard of living.

It was impossible permanently to keep millions of people in a state of complete economic subjection. Sooner or later education would spread, and as the Native workman became more efficient he would oust the skilled workman from his job if the scale of wages remained as it was now"

It must be admitted that moderate and sane European opinion in the Union where recognized the fact that white and black are destined to livd together in South Africa, the Native problem is a burning question, has recognized that one cannot do without the other and that therefore for the interests of both harmony must be aimed at. But unfortunately in the Union it is not what is fair and just that must be followed but it is public opinion—the voting power—and franchise except in the Cape is exclusively a privilege for the Europeans. Thus it is obvious that it will be difficult for the Natives to obtain justice and fair play until such time as European public opinion shall be more justly disposed towards them. So much for the Natives of the Union.

In the territories like Basutoland and Bechualand the position is different. They are purely Native territories governed for the interests of the Natives and depending for revenue mostly on Native tax. That being the case there would be no difficulty for Sir Herbert Stanley to apply this principle. The territories afford good fields for the experiment. Sir Herbert Stanley has a better chance than any body in South Africa to bring into actual practice his views.

The wage standards have not only worried the Natives of the Union but of the Territories as well. It is over twenty years that the Basuto have been pleading with the Administration that such service as could be done by their educated sons preference of employment be given to them at a fairly reasonable standard of pay though it may not be the same as the European, but without avail. The injustice is, here, more conspicuous because the Basuto bear the greater share of the revenue and yet their best paid in the Government service receive in wages barely above a European probationer.

We have, however, reason to expect that Sir Herbert Stanley's words indicate that, after all, the wind is beginning to blow from a favourable direction for the Basuto.

He said in conclusion: "It was impossible to have a healthy civilization when a large portion of the population was repressed. Kindness, courtsey and consideration for the feeling of Natives were important in dealing with the question. The idea that to give the Native any consideration beyond paying him right was "spoiling" him was entirely wrong. The prospect of maintaining our civilization would be very poor if the Native was not treated in the proper way."

Bravo! Fort Cox.

Saturday, the 17th. March can be classed as a red letter day in the annals of the Fort Cox Agricultural School, Middledrift. It has become an established custom that once a year the Keiskama Valley Native Farmers' Association, decidedly the most influential and virile Bantu organisation in the Ciskei in the rural areas of the Ciskei meets at this now famous school. The sponsors of this arrangement can be congratulated for their perspicacity, for therein is contained a powerful weapon of organising Bantu bucolics, while incidentally wonderful propaganda work is being done among the inert so-called black farmers. The weather was propitious for the day, the environs of this agricultural school being regarded as the most favoured for their salubrious climate. The principal, Mr. H. J. Every was in his usual hospitable mettle, ably supported by his lecturers and boarding department staff under Mr. and Mrs. Makubalo. Upwards of 200 guests attended the farmers' conference, including Bantu society womenfolk, school teachers, the Native farmers predominating in numbers. As early as 9 o'clock the college lorry and cars transported the guests to the mealie

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and kaffir corn fields, there to enjoy the rare pleasure of seeing the richest crop they had ever seen in their lives. Mealie cobs eighteen inches long were the average yield, and the corn was a record in the experience of the visitors. Some pumpkins required the energy of two men to lift off the ground. The work of the Fort Cox school in the fields was an eye-opener to Bantu farmers who thought they had precious little to learn beyond their many years' experience of farming.

Native Opinion

3-21-34

At noon, the huge gathering met at the lecture hall, Mr. Every presiding. The Chief Native Commissioner of the Ciskei, Mr. M. G. Apthorp was asked to open the proceedings, and in his address he chose the subjects of thrift and co-operation. The speaker stressed the importance of these essential qualities among the Africans if their future development were to be assured, and the few well chosen words were listened to with rapt attention. Mr. Every welcomed the delegates in a short speech, evincing keen interest in seeing them at Fort Cox. He said they were not dispirited by the setback they received, when, three weeks ago the copious rains made attendance to this conference impossible. He still hoped their boarding department would be equal to the occasion despite the unprecedented huge attendance.

The agenda included lectures by the college experts. Mr. W. R. Norton made a convincing appeal urging the Bantu farmers to improve their breeds of cattle, apart from their reduction. He recommended a cross between the Kerry and the Native cow as a beginning. Mr. Duvenage cut new ice in introducing the constitution of a proposed Native Land Bank, whose object was to assist farmers in buying implements. This proposal was accepted, and a strong committee formed. Mr. van der Plank was no less successful in his dissertation on poultry keeping, points dealing with maximum egg-layings, and the general care of selected fowls finding much favour. Last but not least was an intensely interesting address given by Mr. G. F. Every, the wool expert. An arresting demonstration was made in the shearing of two merinos before the audience, the classification of the wool on a special table designed for the work, and the best methods for disposal or sale of wool. Questions were asked *ad libitum*, and replies noted. We are pleased to state that as a result of the Fort Cox endeavour to encourage Natives in wool classification, already a great number have started on these lines as from the current shearing. The financial results thereof, we are certain, will be an incentive to the more conservative section to follow the lead.

After the lectures the Keiskama Valley Farmers' Association continued their deliberations with new vigour after participating in a sumptuous mid-day meal provided by the Fort Cox agricultural school.

LADYSMITH NEWS.

Mangosuthu Land
Natal

(By Correpondent.)

6-1-34

It is deplorable to have to report that the local Native Hostel has to close down finally at the end of May. The Committee in charge had been forced to take this action because the Natives failed to support this institution as they should have done. The hostel afforded an excellent lodging place for visitors into town which cannot be found anywhere else in this town. There are many Native women in this town who could have safely availed themselves of these quiet and healthy quarters; but because our people have not yet learnt the good and pleasure of supporting their national things one finds them (Native women) in doubtful and very unhygienic quarters. A more deplorable thing in connection with this hostel is that even the teachers failed to patronise it!

Chief Theo Ntombela is up on his feet reviving the Natal Native Congress in town. It would appear that his efforts are not exerted in vain. The two meetings that have been held so far have been well attended. The questions raised at these meetings have made Chief Ntombela realize the advisability of inviting Mafukuzela to come up to Ladysmith in July next. Mafukuzela will have to answer many straightforward questions, viz: (a) What is Congress? What tangible achievements has it done since it was founded? (c) Is Congress recognised by the Union Parliament? etc. It is being stated that as soon as the copy of the Congress Constitution comes to hand more members will be enrolled. The Secretary was instructed to write to the General Secretary for the Natal Native Congress and apply for a copy of the constitution. [If those Ladysmith people still have such silly questions to ask, they are out for mischief and not to revive the Congress--Ed. Il.]

The Right Revered Bishop Fisher arrived in Ladysmith on the 14th May from upcountry. He conducted a confirmation service at All Saints Church in the evening. The following day confirmation services were conducted at St. Hilda's College and at St. John's Church. At the latter centre the service was held at 7.15 p.m. Long before the Bishop arrived at St. John's the church house was simply packed up. There were 26 candidates for confirmation. It is hard to do justice to the addresses which were given by His Lordship at this service. What he said ought and must remain indelibly printed on the minds of all who attended. "Oh, such a sermon, and such a service" said one old man as he went home after the service, has given me a new birth. May he have not been the only one of this opinion! On the 16th His Lordship accompanied by the Rev. F. Stead, Vicar of the Ladysmith Parish and the Rev. P. J. Africa went to Mhlumayo to conduct another confirmation service. At this centre there were 22 candidates for confirmation.

The Wayfarer movement has come to stay. Nearly all the girls attending the local schools attend classes of Wayfarers. Formerly classes for the training of Wayfarers and Sunbeams were only held at the Newcastle Road Govt. School, but now the numbers have increased considerably and it has been arranged to transfer all the senior groups to the East End Govt. School.

The month of May has been a very busy one for soccer and tennis players in Ladysmith. On May the 10th an important soccer match was played between the Durban and District picked and the Northern District picked. On the same date the tennis players were busy playing. The Tigers L.T.C. played admirably against the Dundee tennis club.

Misconception of Justice.

Native Opinion

(By A Native African).

The first question to be proposed by a rational being is, not what is profitable, but what is right. Of late our country has been convulsed by the question of the equality of men before the law, and the unanimous verdict has been that to do to others as would that they should do to us

is a very difficult precept to follow, hence our civilization which is not based on the dictionary explanation of the word, for civilised means to be polite and courteous.

Perhaps you think this is a mere truism, which I am wasting your time in repeating. I wish it were.

By far the greater part of the suffering and crime which exist at this moment in civilised South Africa and elsewhere arises simply from people not understanding this truism—not knowing that produce or wealth is eternally connected by the laws of heaven and earth with resolute labour; but hoping in some way to cheat or abrogate this everlasting law of life, and to feed where they have not furrowed, and be warm where they have not woven.

I repeat, nearly all our misery and crime result from this one misapprehension. The law of Nature is, that a certain quantity of work is necessary to provide a certain quantity of food, of any kind whatever. If you want knowledge, you must toil for it: if food, you must toil for it, and if pleasure, you must toil for it. But men do not acknowledge this law, or strive to evade it, hoping to get their knowledge and food, and pleasure for nothing; and in this effort they either fail of getting them, and remain ignorant and miserable, or they obtain them by making other men work for their benefit; and then they are tyrants and robbers. Yes, and worse than robbers.

I am not one who in the least doubts or disputes the progress of this century in many things useful to mankind; but it seems to me a very dark sign respecting us that we work with so much indifference upon dishonesty and cruelty in the pursuit of wealth. In the dream of Nebuchadnezzar it was only the fact that were part of iron and part of clay; but many of us are now getting so cruel in our avarice, that it seems as if, in us, the heart were part of iron, part of clay.

From what I have heard of the inhabitants of this country, I do not doubt but that I may be permitted to do here what I have found it usually thought elsewhere highly improper and absurd to do, namely, trace a few Bible sentences to their practical result. You cannot but have noticed how often in those parts of the Bible which are likely to be oftenest opened when people look for guidance, comfort, or help in the affairs of daily life, namely, the Psalms and Proverbs, mention is made of the guilt attaching to the oppression of the poor. Observe, not the neglect of them, but the oppression of them: the word is as frequent as it is strange. You can hardly open either of those books, but somewhere in their pages you will find a description of the wicked man's attempts against the poor: such as:

"He doth ravish the poor when he getteth him into his net."

"He sitteth in the lurking places of the villages; his eyes are privily set against the poor."

"In his pride he doth persecute the poor, and blessed the covetous, whom God abhorreth."

"His mouth is full of deceit and fraud; in the secret places doth he murder the innocent. Have the workers of iniquity no knowledge, who eat up my people as they eat bread? They have drawn out the sword, and bent the bow, to cast down the poor and needy."

"They are corrupt, and speak wickedly concerning oppression."

"Pride compasseth them about as a chain, and violence as a garment."

"Their poison is like the poison of a serpent. Ye weigh the violence of your hands in the earth."

Yes! "Ye weigh the violence of your hand: weigh these words as well. The last things we ever usually think of weighing are Bible words. We like to dream and dispute over them; but to weigh them, and see what their true contents are—anything but that. Yet, weigh these; for I have purposely taken all these verses, perhaps more striking to you read in this connection, than separately in their places, out of the Psalms, because, for all people belonging to the Established Church of this country these Psalms are appointed lessons, portioned out to them by their clergy to be read once through every month. Presumably, therefore, whatever portions of Scripture we may pass by or forget, these at all events, must be brought continually to our observance as useful for direction of daily life. Now, do we ever ask ourselves what the real meaning of these passages may be, and who these wicked people are, who are murdering the innocent?" You know it is rather singular language this!—rather strong language, we might, perhaps, call it—hearing it for the first time. Murder! and murder of innocent people!—nay, even a sort of cannibalism. Eating people—yes, and God's people, too—eating my people as if they were bread! Swords drawn, bows bent, poison of serpents mixed! Violence of hands weighed, measured, and trafficked with as so much coin! Where is all this going on? Do you suppose it was only going on in the time of David, and that nobody but Jews ever murder the poor? If so, it would surely be wiser not to mutter and mumble for our daily lessons what does not concern us! But if there be any chance that it may concern us, and if this description, in the Psalms, of human guilt is at all generally applicable, as the descriptions in the Psalms of human sorrow are, may it not be advisable to know wherein this guilt is being committed round about us or by ourselves?

(To be continued.)

THE MISSION OF THE GOLD COAST DELEGATION TO LONDON.

III.

We would like to make two submissions on the matter of policy of the administration of the West African Colonies, where, unlike other Colonial Possessions, on account of climatic reasons, there is not the preponderance of European Settlers. In the nature of such a contingency there is bound to appear that in the making of laws some would be intended wholly, for the African population, and consequently it could be understood why, as in the case of the Amendment to the Criminal Code at the Gold Coast Legislative Council, the opposition was taken by the African section. For whatever may have been the opinion of some Europeans it was easy to understand how they would decide to be indifferent, or at any rate, take no active steps to support the African people; which would not have been the case, if their interests were in any way involved.

Now, it is understood that amongst Europeans, not connected with Government there have always been those who sympathise with the views of the people and, as had happened in this Colony, make their position known. But generally, this has never been the case. The questions involved do not affect their interests and perhaps some of them may be disposed to feel that too much concessions have been granted to the West African peoples which does not obtain in the other portions of Africa, to wit—East Africa. It could therefore be conceived with what abandon those in the Government would give their adverse votes in the Legislative Council, when as by the policy of Government, they have no option to do otherwise.

Such being the case, there ought to exist some more definite and well defined conditions laid down, when the necessity arises, and there appears no other way than to drive the soul of the people by means of an Official Majority Vote. Again, is it fair to the people, and would such a procedure tend to increase their confidence as well as make for that progress they are assured is a prime object of the British Government for each of their Colonies, that, as in the case of the Gold Coast, any Governor by means of a blundering policy, who may have made it impossible to continue in that particular Colony, should disturb the course of progress which may have been going on in another, as has been the case with Sierra Leone called to part with her Governor who had pursued a different, sane and sympathetic policy? Just with the toss of the hand as it were, the defaulting Governor has been given another position to try his luck, and so caused to be removed prematurely the successful Governor, thereby disturbing the march of progress which hitherto had been going on in that Colony? We have seen this policy an egregious failure, not too long ago. Some Governors, like leopards can never change their spots. Then is not necessary that there should be a way by which the situation could be met, instead of using in the spirit of haughtiness and contempt, the Official Majority as Governor Shenton Thomas has done at the Gold Coast? Think of the dislocations that naturally will take place. Think of the waste of money that made possible the Delegation to visit London. Is it at a time as the present when the people of the Gold Coast have been so hard hit in the matter of the price of cocoa that they should be put to the trouble to spend so much? Will such a policy tend to strengthen confidence and evoke sympathy, such as the striking conplimentary speech of Sir Philip Cunliffe Lister to the people of Sierra Leone over the radio, last Tuesday, was intended to do?

We humbly submit therefore, that the time

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA, SIERRA LEONE SECTION.

To carry out the project of a series of Lectures on subjects popular with women—of the community as planned by the Executive Committee of the Congress, the first Lecture will be delivered on "Sierra Leone present Day" by Bankole Bright at an early date to be announced later.

S. A. Hughes,
T. J. Carew,
Joint Secretaries.

June 22, 1934.

is a very difficult precept to follow, hence our civilization which is not based on the dictionary explanation of the word, for civilised means to be polite and courteous.

Perhaps you think this is a mere truism, which I am wasting your time in repeating. I wish it were.

By far the greater part of the suffering and crime which exist at this moment in civilised South Africa and elsewhere arises simply from people not understanding this truism—not knowing that produce or wealth is eternally connected by the laws of heaven and earth with resolute labour; but hoping in some way to cheat or abrogate this everlasting law of life, and to feed where they have not furrowed, and be warm where they have not woven.

I repeat, nearly all our misery and crime result from this one misapprehension. The law of Nature is, that a certain quantity of work is necessary to provide a certain quantity of food, of any kind whatever. If you want knowledge, you must toil for it: if food, you must toil for it, and if pleasure, you must toil for it. But men do not acknowledge this law, or strive to evade it, hoping to get their knowledge and food, and pleasure for nothing; and in this effort they either fail of getting them, and remain ignorant and miserable, or they obtain them by making other men work for their benefit; and then they are tyrants and robbers. Yes, and worse than robbers. I am not one who in the least doubts or disputes the progress of this century in many things useful to mankind; but it seems to me a very dark sign respecting us that we work with so much indifference upon dishonesty and cruelty in the pursuit of wealth. In the dream of Nebuchadnezzar it was only the fact that were part of iron and part of clay; but many of us are now getting so cruel in our avarice, that it seems as if, in us, the heart were part of iron, part of clay.

From what I have heard of the inhabitants of this country, I do not doubt but that I may be permitted to do here what I have found it usually thought elsewhere highly improper and absurd to do, namely, trace a few Bible sentences to their practical result. You cannot but have noticed how often in those parts of the Bible which are likely to be oftenest opened when people look for guidance, comfort, or help in the affairs of daily life, namely, the Psalms and Proverbs, mention is made of the guilt attaching to the oppression of the poor. Observe, not the neglect of them, but the oppression of them: the word is as frequent as it is strange. You can hardly open either of those books, but somewhere in their pages you will find a description of the wicked man's attempts against the poor: such as:

"He doth ravish the poor when he getteth him into his net."

"He sitteth in the lurking places of the villages; his eyes are privily set against the poor."

"In his pride he doth persecute the poor, and blessed the covetous, whom God abhorreth."

"His mouth is full of deceit and fraud; in the secret places doth he murder the innocent. Have the workers of iniquity no knowledge, who eat up my people as they eat bread? They have drawn out the sword, and bent the bow, to cast down the poor and needy."

"They are corrupt, and speak wickedly concerning oppression."

"Pride compasseth them about as a chain, and violence as a garment."

"Their poison is like the poison of a serpent. Ye weigh the violence of your hands in the earth."

Yes! "Ye weigh the violence of your hand: weigh these words as well. The last things we ever usually think of weighing are Bible words. We like to dream and dispute over them; but to weigh them, and see what their true contents are—anything but that. Yet, weigh these; for I have purposely taken all these verses, perhaps more striking to you read in this connection, than separately in their places, out of the Psalms, because, for all people belonging to the Established Church of this country these Psalms are appointed lessons, portioned out to them by their clergy to be read once through every month. Presumably, therefore, whatever portions of Scripture we may pass by or forget, these at all events, must be brought continually to our observance as useful for direction of daily life. Now, do we ever ask ourselves what the real meaning of these passages may be, and who these wicked people are, who are murdering the innocent?" You know it is rather singular language this!—rather strong language, we might, perhaps, call it—hearing it for the first time. Murder! and murder of innocent people!—nay, even a sort of cannibalism. Eating people—yes, and God's people, too—eating my people as if they were bread! Swords drawn, bows bent, poison of serpents mixed! Violence of hands weighed, measured, and trafficked with as so much coin! Where is all this going on? Do you suppose it was only going on in the time of David, and that nobody but Jews ever murder the poor? If so, it would surely be wiser not to mutter and mumble for our daily lessons what does not concern us! But if there be any chance that it may concern us, and if this description, in the Psalms, of human guilt is at all generally applicable, as the descriptions in the Psalms of human sorrow are, may it not be advisable to know wherein this guilt is being committed round about us or by ourselves?

(To be continued.)

THE MISSION OF THE GOLD COAST DELEGATION TO LONDON.

III.

We would like to make two submissions on the matter of policy of the administration of the West African Colonies, where, unlike other Colonial Possessions, on account of climatic reasons, there is not the preponderance of European Settlers. In the nature of such a contingency there is bound to appear that in the making of laws some would be intended wholly, for the African population, and consequently it could be understood why, as in the case of the Amendment to the Criminal Code at the Gold Coast Legislative Council, the opposition was taken by the African section. For whatever may have been the opinion of some Europeans it was easy to understand how they would decide to be indifferent, or at any rate, take no active steps to support the African people; which would not have been the case, if their interests were in any way involved.

Now, it is understood that amongst Europeans, not connected with Government there have always been those who sympathise with the views of the people and, as had happened in this Colony, make their position known. But generally, this has never been the case. The questions involved do not affect their interests and perhaps some of them may be disposed to feel that too much concessions have been granted to the West African peoples which does not obtain in the other portions of Africa, to wit—East Africa. It could therefore be conceived with what abandon those in the Government would give their adverse votes in the Legislative Council, when as by the policy of Government, they have no option to do otherwise.

Such being the case, there ought to exist some more definite and well defined conditions laid down, when the necessity arises, and there appears no other way than to drive the soul of the people by means of an Official Majority Vote. Again, is it fair to the people, and would such a procedure tend to increase their confidence as well as make for that progress they are assured is a prime object of the British Government for each of their Colonies, that, as in the case of the Gold Coast, any Governor by means of a blundering policy, who may have made it impossible to continue in that particular Colony, should disturb the course of progress which may have been going on in another, as has been the case with Sierra Leone called to part with her Governor who had pursued a different, sane aud sympathetic policy? Just with the toss of the hand as it were, the defaulting Governor has been given another position to try his luck, and so caused to be removed prematurely the successful Governor, thereby disturbing the march of progress which hitherto had been going on in that Colony? We have seen this policy an egregious failure, not too long ago. Some Governors, like leopards can never change their spots. Then is not necessary that there should be a way by which the situation could be met, instead of using in the spirit of haughtiness and contempt, the Official Majority as Governor Shenton Thomas has done at the Gold Coast? Think of the dislocations that naturally will take place. Think of the waste of money that made possible the Delegation to visit London. Is it at a time as the present when the people of the Gold Coast have been so hard hit in the matter of the price of cocoa that they should be put to the trouble to spend so much? Will such a policy tend to strengthen confidence and evoke sympathy, such as the striking conplimentary speech of Sir Philip Cunliffe Lister to the people of Sierra Leone over the radio, last Tuesday, was intended to do?

We humbly submit therefore, that the time has arrived when the Colonial Office at Downing Street, should devise such steps as to prevent a repetition of such blunder which has caused Governor Shenton Thomas to have been so summarily removed from the Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone to be deprived of the valuable services of her Governor though it is averred, the Governor Hodson has been promoted.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA, SIERRA LEONE SECTION.

To carry out the project of a series of Lectures on popular subjects by citizens—men and women—of this community as planned by the Executive Committee at its last Lecture will be delivered on "Sierra Leone Present Day" by Mr. Bankole Bright at an early date to be announced later.

S. A. Hughes,
T. J. Carew,
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June 22, 1934.

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Africa

NATIVES AND ILEGITIMACY.

Ilanga Lase Natal

In view of the fact that all your readers are not of Zulu descent, and for this fact they may miss constructive and remodelling articles couched in the Zulu language, I preferred to write in English. I refer to an article appearing in your issue of the 1st. of June written by Mr. J. G. Mngadi. In short, Mr. Mngadi suggests that our leaders must requisition the authorities to eliminate, and if possible, remove forever a stigma which the Natives have always viewed as derogatory demoralising, damaging and de basing the virtues and morality of Native integrity, the bringing into the world of "ilegitimate children" to bear with impunity to the miscreants and redress or protection to the victims concerned. It is a timely appeal, if acted upon in time. It would be a noble action warranting the support, confidence and inspiration to the public by the leaders.

The position becomes more aggravated and poignant when the victims are the poor and depressed. The Minister of the Interior, so we gathered from the Daily Press, a few moons ago, was introducing a Bill to enforce legitimacy and definitiue parenthood of all the children brought to life. In short, "whether a supposed father intended to enter into matrimony or not, registration of the child in the name of the so called father, was desirable and imperative, the solemnisation of the marriage being a secondary step left to the companions". Thus it is clear that the so called father remains the supporter and maintainer of the child, morally and legally.

I have not been in consultation with the writer of the Zulu article which is the cause of my comments in support, however, if I read Zulu aright, I am positive Mr. Mngadi meant this, and if he did not, I would ask of him leave to regard my comments as some rider in amendment. People be they white or black, must know and must be made to feel that it is a sin to bring children who are roaming up and down the streets, have invariably turned out "hardened criminals" because nobody was responsible for their mentenance and sustenance, morally and legally? It is a pity that the Congress is not in a position to have an office of its own where such intelligent and inspiring young leaders like Mr. J. G. Mngadi as secretary of the Congress in Natal may be seen and interviewed. I hope the President will see to it that something is done in this direction.

I think, and have no doubt that if the Corporation was approached by such influential and prominent Native leaders in the person of the President of the Natal Congress, a small office could be secured at the Native Location where the soccer association has its offices. It is one of these phases that outweigh, or emasculate the meritorious as in the foregoing. Perhaps it is because the "boot never does pinch" those who although able and doing nothing profess to be Isaiahs and Nehemiahs of the African peoples.

The leaders I refer to, are too experienced to be advised by me or any writer of my experience. Albeit, it is not out of place if we appeal to them to assist those who wish to hold the banner and resusciatate fires of their predecessors.

The Chief Native Commissioner no doubt would be very pleased to assist in order to inaugurate a remedy which, for all I know, will be beneficial and competent to facilitate the position of his officers in dealing with cases where ilegitimate children form a hardship, in so far as points of law are concerned. Another point to be stressed in affirmation and setlement in such connexion, we cannot blame the law until it has been repealed or amended, but the fact remains uncontradictable that, it is an insult and a sign of humiliation and degradation on the part of the victim, that just because she is not fortunate to be armed with the ubiquitous unavailing "exemption" document irrespective of the life and standard she is leading must be held down to the indignity and shame, of it affliction and the affrontive award of 2 beasts this to be a means and medium of maintaining the "illegitimate child." This law must be contested and blotted out if possible because common law is no refuge either. There are some "scapes" who will and still argue that, the ilegitimate child, ultimately becomes the property of the victim, This is quite true, but at what cost? Surely unparalelled and unrivalled to the profit the victim is said to obtain, What about where the illegitimate child is a boy? If I had the influence and power I crave for to "drive" the seriousness and action this subjects warrants, I would say "leaders think and then act."

LEVI K.E. SITEBE.

Mayville, Durban.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE NATIVE PROBLEM.

(By S.D.B. Ngcobo, B.A.)

Ilanga Lase Natal

(Continued from last week.)

7-20-34

The cause of Christianity among Natives received a great impetus in the decade 1820-1830 when various Christian bodies established Mission Stations the London Missionary Society along the Orange river and Eastern frontier, the Wesleyan Missionaries in The Kaffirland, Pondoland and at Thaba N'chu, the Glasgow Society at the border and the Paris Missionary Society in Basutoland. These Mission Stations were places where the Natives were to be taught Christianity and the handicrafts, and yet they were the centres of Colonial vituperation. When the Slave Emancipation Act was passed in 1834 men asked themselves what was to be the status of these freed persons. They shook their heads and shrugged their shoulders at the prospect of full civil liberty of the black man. Anna Steenkamp says they quitted the Colony because they could not understand how these people could be made the "equals of them, Christen mense". Pieter Retief says they "despaired and saw no hope for their children"; so they quitted the country; far better the wilderness than equality with Christian Natives. Nevertheless the Government entrusted Native Administration to Missionaries.

These men had come to give the Natives abundant life. According to their programme Natives were not only to exist but they were to live. It was not enough that they should be converted, and preach; they had to establish schools for the Bantu and educate them to the love of the good things of this world. They taught them handicrafts. They fought for the integrity of their tribal lands. They created a new class, a superior, intelligent and cultured class, of Natives. The Christian Native is today a monogamist, a teacher, a clergyman, a trader perhaps, or a doctor of medi-

cine or a sem-skilled workman or a clerk in a mine office, but what is he? And who cares what he is and wants to be? Did not Rev. A. E. Leroy write a pamphlet defining the educated Zulu, the product of Christianity against the reproaches of the white public! One would think that the Christian Native would enjoy certain benefits by virtue of having been guided along lines which were blessed by the Government. Indeed he was given a semblance of recognition; he was "declared to be a fit and proper person to be exempted from the operation of Native Law. But it does not seem that Native Law means all laws affecting Natives. To return to these exemptions, what are they? An exemption certificate is that which if you produce makes a white policeman treat you gruffly; it is that which if you mention or quote as a qualification makes you to fail in your transactions; it is that which makes you a reproach to your fellowmen because you are not better than they are. It is that which makes your position in the land anomalous. It prejudices your position because you are out of the tribal arena which can be dealt with en masse. In the towns of this country the Christian and educated Natives must quit and go and live five miles away from the borough boundaries. Behind them they must leave the white men, the Indians and Coloureds and the Native Urban population of Rickshapullers and Kitchen boys; these Natives do not live in the out skirts of the towns; they live in the very centre of Durban, P.M. Burg., Bloemfontein, Pretoria and Capetown. These facts seem to support the contention that South Africa prefers the raw and tribal Native but has no place for the Christian, ambitious and educated Native. That is the funny thing about our country.

Ciskei General Council.

Native Opinion 1-2-35

The items forming the agenda of the first Ciskeian General Council consist of a formidable and variegated selection. The session will be an arduous one, as the topics under discussion cut to the marrow of Bantu social and economic life. Many of the motions are a resuscitation of representations made to the Government from time to time through the channels of the Native Affairs Commission, local councils and Ciskei Native Convention, and it may be assumed that it will be possible to give effect to the bulk of them, now that the General Council has been established. Here are a few of the outstanding matters tabled:

2. Recognition by Government of Fingo Chiefs.

Victoria East Local Council to move:—"That the Government respectfully be asked to gratify the wishes of the Fingoes by conferring on their chiefs the rank and customary privileges of Native chiefs."

5. Proposed Abandonment of Custom of responsibility of Kraal-head for Torts of kraal inmates.

6. Dog Tax: Amendment of Ordinance No. 13 of 1917.

Cr. A. H. Maci (Tamacha) to move:—"That Government be respectfully requested to cause Section 277 of Cape Ordinance No 13 of 1917 to be amended in order to provide that the tax on keeping dogs shall not be imposed by Divisional Councils in areas falling under the jurisdiction of Local Councils and to confer the power of levying such a tax on Local Councils."

9. Seduction.

Cr. N. Makwabe (Middledrift) to move:—"That in the case of seduction a sliding scale of damages, based upon the social position of the girl seduced, be introduced in the Ciskei."

12. Exemption of Landless Taxpayers from Payment of Local Tax.

The Victoria East Local Council to move:—"That Act 41 of 1925 be amended so as to exempt from payment of Local Tax all married men who are not the owners of land.

13. Execution of Tax Writs by Police.

The Victoria East Local Council to move:—"That in the opinion of this Council, Messengers of Courts should be relieved of their duty of executing tax writs and that this work should be performed by the police free of cost to the taxpayer."

14. Tax Defaulters: Abolition of Imprisonment.

The Victoria East Local Council to move:—"That the Government be asked to amend the law in such a way as to abolish sentences of imprisonment against Native tax defaulters and to substitute some other form of punishment such as employment on roads or other work where they could earn wages to discharge their tax obligations."

15. General Tax: Age Limit.

"Cr. Peter Mbilini (Peddie) to move":—"That the Government be respectfully requested to amend the Native Taxation and Development Act (41 of 1925) by raising the age of liability for the payment of the General Tax from 18 to 21 years.

16. Reduction of Messengers Fees for Execution of Writs for Native Tax.

"Cr. Peter Mbilini (Peddie) to move":—"That the Government be respectfully requested to amend the Regulations framed under the provisions of the Native Taxation and Development Act (41 of 1925) by reducing the Messenger's Fee from 2s. 6d. to 1s. 3d. and to provide for such fee accruing only in those cases where actual demand has been made by the Messenger on the tax defaulter personally."

18. Native Education in Crown Location.

"The East London Local Council to move":—"That a committee be appointed to enquire into the present system and adequacy or otherwise of Native education in the Crown Locations, and that the present state of Native education in the district of East London be investigated as soon as possible."

21. Control of Native Schools.

"The Keiskama Hoek Local Council to move":—"That the Government be requested to take over the control of Native schools."

22. Compulsory Education.

"The Kieskama Hoek Local Council to move":—"That the Government be requested to introduce compulsory Native Education up to Standard VI."

25. Scholarships.

"The Chairman, Glen Grey District Council, to move":—"That a Committee be appointed to deal with and make recommendations concerning scholarships to be granted by this Council in connection with scholastic, industrial and agricultural education and training."

29. Hospital and Nursing Facilities for Natives.

"The East London Local Council to move":—"That the General Council take into consideration the possibility of forming a Central Medical Institution for Natives of the Ciskei on the lines proposed for a similar Institution in the Transkei and that the present Native Mission Hospital at Mount Coke be turned into such a Central Medical Institution;

or, alternatively,

"That hospitals be erected for Natives at all big centres in the Ciskei and that an early start in this scheme be made by erecting one at East London;

or alternatively,

"That trained Native nurses be appointed and paid by the General Council to work among the Native women in the Crown Locations, and that four such nurses be employed for service in each of the Crown Locations the in East london district:

or alternatively,

"That the General Council make grants or donations to the existing Native Hospitals in the Ciskeian Territories."

34. Pension Fund: District and Local Council Employees.

"The Glen Grey District Council to move":—"That if found practicable, an Employees' Pension and Gratuity Fund on the basis set forth in Proclamation No. 143 of 1921 be established by this Council for employees in the Ciskeian District and Local Councils."

35. Payments by Local Councils to Divisional Councils in lieu of Road Rate and Special Hut Tax.

"The Chairman, Tamacha Local Council, to move":—"That the lump sum contributions made by certain Local Councils to Divisional Councils in lieu of road rate and special hut tax are out of all proportion to the services rendered, and that Government be requested to introduce legislation limiting such payments to a maximum of 15 per cent. of the Local Council's certified net income for the preceding year."

37. Grants in Aid of Native Agricultural Shows.

"Cr. S. J. Peteni (Keiskama Hoek) to move":—"That provision be made in the estimates of expenditure of the Ciskeian General Council for the year 1935 for the award of grants to the funds of Native Agricultural Shows within the area of its jurisdiction."

39. Scholarships tenable at South African Native College, Fort Hare.

"Cr. S. Peteni (Keiskama Hoek) to move":—"That provision be made in the estimates of expenditure of the Ciskeian General Council for the year 1935 for the grant of scholarships tenable at the South African Native College at Fort Hare, Alice.

40. Establishment of Plantation at Qanda, Middledrift.

"Cr. Alfred Ngxoweni (Middledrift) to move":—"That a plantation be established at Qanda in the District of Middledrift."

44. Local Councils: Increase in Membership.

"Cr. Edlem Marambana

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(Peddie) to move:—"That the Government be respectfully requested to authorise all Local Councils to consist of nine members as provided for under Act 23 of 1930."

The Bushe Report.

Further Extracts and Criticisms.

East Africa

LAST week we summarised the recommendations of the Bushe Commission, and gave extracts from the comments of the Governor of Uganda. Here follow quotations from the body of the report and the comments of other Governors and officials as incorporated with it. 8-16-34

§ 105.—"Judicial time is well spent if it prevents the conviction on his own plea of a Native who has frankly admitted the doing of an act which when judged by the motive which actuated him is no offence in law."

§ 159.—Mr. Bentley, of Kitale, stated in evidence: "I speak as an ex-administrative officer who has lived all his life with Natives in a non-settled area. . . . If I myself was a Native being tried for my life and had the choice of being tried by an administrative officer or a High Court judge, I would choose the administrative officer every time."

London, England

§ 163.—Mr. Forsyth Thompson, D.C., Entebbe: "I think Native law and custom ought to be taken into consideration. . . . A theft of fowls is a very serious matter, a thing used in witchcraft. If you steal a man's fowl it is like stealing his nail pairings or hair; you have some influence over him, are able to work evil on him."

"Mr. Justice Law: But you cannot introduce these considerations into British legislation."

"Witness: I think these things should be taken into consideration. No doubt, in time, they will be able to think as we do."

§ 167.—"More use could, we feel, be made of fining for minor offences, but if people are to be kept out of prison, time in which to pay a fine must be allowed, and we have formed the opinion that time is very seldom granted."

§ 176 quotes the opinions of Native chiefs of Dodoma and Mwanza in favour of corporal punishment for adults in suitable cases, but, after hearing this and other evidence, the Commission says:—

No Extension of Flogging.

§ 178.—"We are unable to subscribe to the view that caning or flogging should be made legal as a punishment for adults . . . for any but the most serious crimes. Such a form of punishment must be damaging to self-respect, particularly to those Africans who have advanced to a certain stage of civilisation, and may even tend to brutalise the victims. Any extension of the use of corporal punishment we consider a retrograde step which we must oppose."

§ 196-215.—The punishment for murder is so fully dealt with that it takes ten pages. The Commissioners recommendd that the law be not changed, and that there be no alternative sentence but death, always allowing for the prerogative of mercy.

Concerning the killing of alleged witches it was urged that there was sufficient provocation in such cases to reduce the charge to manslaughter, even to killing in self-defence, but the Native chiefs were "unanimous in support of the death penalty" in such cases. One careful paragraph (212) admits that there is a tendency to judge Native murderers by European standards, and consideration is given to the use of juries. The Commissioners come to the conclusion that "it is reasonable to suggest that a judge, when directing himself as a jury, should have in his mind the type of jury which would have been empanelled if trial by jury existed in these territories."

§ 216-244.—The police emerge with flying colours, sometimes from charges lightly made. For instance, Archdeacon Owen said: "I have no first-hand knowledge. I can only give what was going round about 1932, to the effect that a certain Native was arrested on some charge in the Kericho district, and pleaded not guilty. The *askari*, in order to make him plead guilty, put red pepper into his eyes, and on this a confession was extorted from the man." After careful investigation the Commissioners report: "We have ascertained that the witness who admitted putting pepper in the accused man's eyes was not a member of the police force or the tribal police force, but a member of the public assisting a stock-owner to discover who had stolen his stock."

The Commissioners say: "We are confident that in all the three territories the people have every right to congratulate themselves on their police forces. They perform arduous duties with inadequate staffs cheerfully and well. There is no foundation for the suggestion that the system leads to abuses. The practice and procedure in the administration of the criminal law are entirely satisfactory."

Much sound deduction and an immense amount of investigation are incorporated in the report, which should be widely read. That there is much to be said on the other side Sir Bernard Bourdillon's comments quoted last week will have shown.

Governor of Tanganyika Critical.

Sir Harold MacMichael, Governor of Tanganyika, who has had lengthy and intimate experience of administration in the Sudan, wrote:—

"If British legal procedure in general is accepted as the ideal for adoption in Africa, it is certainly difficult to come to conclusions other than those embodied in the report. . . . May I, however, with all diffidence, and without raising the question of the exclusive sacrosanctity of British concepts of right and wrong, voice my doubts as to the pre-eminent suitability of British legal procedure in the conditions which prevail now, or can prevail within the foreseeable future, among the Native tribes of Africa?"

[The reference is to § 162, which reads: "It is the duty of Government to civilise and to maintain peace and good order, and this can only be done by the introduction of British concepts of wrongdoing. . . . Crime must be regarded first and foremost as an offence against the community if the peoples of these territories are to advance in enlightenment and prosperity."]

Sir Harold continues: "It certainly does not seem to me that the substitution of more complicated alien methods for the old established and simpler ways which satisfy the African's sense of equity is called for unless it is first established that the African's sense of equity is so deficient as to condone the practice of injustice, and unless there are ample guarantees that the new system can be operated with efficiency and despatch and conduces to the happiness of the people.

"To the African . . . commonsense, impartiality and understanding are the only requisites, and the rest is incomprehensibly superfluous and onerous. . . . His ideas regarding the non-admissibility of hearsay evidence would, on the grounds of commonsense, be the same as our own, but there would be to him a strong element of the ludicrous (concerning) fixed rules for admissibility as part of the records of dispositions' of 'interjections by the accused.' He could never understand the suggestion made by the Chairman that if 'important and relevant questions of Native mentality and customs' are not on the record 'you ought not to expect the High Court either to know them or to use them if they did know them.'"

Turning to the matter of delays in trials, and the conclusion that "the machinery for the administration of justice does not work," the Governor replies that "the fault derives from the system itself, and yet it is the administration and not the system that was *sub judice*."

"When an administrative officer acting as magistrate is placed in the position of being himself the prosecutor, the counsel for the defence, the jury and the judge—he being also responsible for the order and welfare of his district, and generally regarded as *in loco parentis* to all and sundry—he is, in my experience, apt to be particularly conscientious in holding the scales of justice evenly, and in seeing that the rights of the accused and complainant and public are properly and severally safeguarded. . . .

"If a fundammental change in our legal structure is now out of the question, and if more and more professional judges are and will be required for its administration, I would urge, in the interests of the Native population, such simplification and decentralisation as is possible by entrusting more powers with fewer formalities to the local administrative authorities in the outdistricts, and, if necessary, by increasing the training of such officers in the art of clear thinking and the knowledge of the criminal law. . . . The result would be the achievement of a far greater measure of contentment at a far smaller ultimate cost."

Acting Governor of Kenya Unconvinced.

Mr. H. Monck-Mason Moore, Acting Governor of Kenya, in the course of his dispatch states:—

"The Commission states that the machinery for the administration of justice as apparently set up by law in these territories does not work, and, as at present constituted, cannot work. The Commission's arguments, if substantiated, would constitute the severest possible indictment of the Judicial and Administrative Services of this Colony. . . .

"The argument is that a judicial officer's sole duty is to sift the evidence actually before the court, and that for such a duty an officer experienced in the art of sifting and weighing evidence is most likely to be suitable. The report carries the argument a step further, and suggests that, where guilt has been established, such an officer by following the legal principles laid down by the courts at home for the punishment of offenders is more likely to pass proper and just sentences.

"The argument stated in that way appears convincing, but it assumes that the theory and practice of criminal law that have been gradually evolved to meet changing conditions of English life can be safely applied in their entirety to the widely different set of problems arising out of the development of the African from his primitive environment to a more civilised state. . . . Any experienced administrator could quote cases both of convictions and of acquittals which, though legally unassailable in the eyes of the trained lawyer, have amounted in Native eyes to a miscarriage of substantial justice. Cases of the kind are bound to occur under any system when primitive customs run counter to the ethical ideas of a more advanced civilisation, but I cannot but think that such clashes are likely to be more frequent and more unnecessarily severe where the law is administered in well-intentioned ignorance of Native habits and beliefs."

While approving in principle of the appointment of a Public Defender, Mr. Moore foresees difficulties in practice. Finally he says :—

"I share Mr. Wade's regret that the Commission were unable to agree to an alternative sentence to the death penalty for murder. The arguments adduced against such a proposal, though no doubt entirely sound from the legal point of view, discount altogether the radically different approach of the African to life and death where questions of Native law and custom are involved. If the justice of our administration is to be maintained in African eyes, the important thing is that in certain cases sentence of death should not be passed by the court at all."

Other Criticisms of Recommendations.

Sir Jacob Barth, then Chief Justice of Kenya, disagrees with the suggestion concerning "blood money." "It is in my opoinion opposed to the principles of justice to punish an offender twice for the same offence, *i.e.*, in the case of murder or manslaughter by death or imprisonment and also by the infliction of 'blood money.'"

The Chief Native Commissioner of Kenya, Mr. A. de V. Wade, says: "The responsibility for administering justice to Natives has been entrusted to those who know most about the Natives, their own administrative officers. It is a mistake to suppose that 'substantial justice' means in the minds of administrative officers 'rough and ready justice'—still less 'rough and ready injustice,' or 'a charter of liberty to allow any breach of regularity,' the suggestion in § 156 of the report. Even if administrative officers wished to administer 'rough and ready justice,' the present system effectively prevents their doing any such thing. . . .

"A Native cannot understand an offence against the State; he is only concerned with the righting of a private wrong. . . . The man best qualified to determine the facts in a Native criminal case is not necessarily the expert in law, but one . . . who has some understanding of their customs and mentality. . . .

"A Native of Kisii was charged with theft from a Luo. The evidence against him was complete and flawless, but the accused protested he was innocent. The magistrate (an Assistant District Commissioner) knowing that whenever a Kisii stole from a Luo he would be proud of the fact and would admit it, refused to convict for no other reason than the accused's protest, and adjourned the case for further investigation. It transpired that all the witnesses had concocted an ingenious and perfect conspiracy. But for the magistrate's local knowledge an innocent man would have been convicted. . . .

"I regret that the Commission were unable to agree to an alternative sentence to the death penalty for murder. The case in which sixty Akamba were sentenced to death for the murder of a woman believed to be a witch . . . was so tragic a farce as to demonstrate the desirability of allowing to judges some discretion in passing sentence."

Mr. Wade agrees to the "blood money" suggestion under present conditions, but expresses the hope that education and progress will gradually result in the elimination of such claims.

[The report is considered editorially under Matters of Moment.—*Ed. "E.A."*]

WAGES AND HOUSING.

Some exceedingly interesting comments and valuable suggestions are contained in a report which has just been submitted by Dr. Edgar Brookes to the Durban Joint Council of Europeans and Natives. In dealing with the housing problem in Durban, Dr. Brookes reviews the criticisms that have been levelled against the Native village at Umlazi, and say that despite minor defects, the Durban Corporation is to be congratulated upon having produced, not a perfect village, but an experiment well above the average.

In his opinion there is no need for undue alarm, although he admits that the success of the experiment has been limited, and that a way out is not to be found merely in an extension of the village on its present lines. The whole problem, remarks Dr. Brookes, can only be explored by going deeply into the position of the Native in Durban and other urban centres. At the root of the whole matter lies the question of the low level of Natives wages, which have been fixed at certain customary levels, and are inadequate to meet the needs of the type of people for whom the Native village was ostensibly built.

After pointing out the fundamental causes which operate against families in the proclaimed area moving out to Umlazi, Dr. Brookes, who with his usual meticulous care has evidently been at great pains to acquaint himself with the actual position, emphasies that the fact must be faced that the slum centres, with their drunkenness and vice, must be broken up. This, however, cannot be done without an improvement in the economic position. On this point he rightly says that we do not want a repetition of what has happened on the Cape Flats, and that the only practical choice lies between increased Native wages or increased subsidisation of Native wages out of rates. Dr. Brookes holds that the only real remedy lies in the provision of more land and a vigorous policy of agricultural education in existing Native areas, thereby reducing the influx into the towns, creating a contented and prosperous peasantry, and a smaller, better paid and more efficient group of urban Native wage earners.

This view coincides in a large measure with the conclusions of the Native Economic Commission, who were unanimous in the view that in the interests of orderly progress, not only of the Natives but also of the whole country, it was necessary to undertake a forward policy of development of the Natives and of their reserves, with a view to facilitating their transition to the conditions being forced upon them by civilisation. Dr. Brookes urges that Durban, with other large urban centres, should urge upon the Government the need of a really vigorous natural policy. "The present time of abounding surpluses" he observes, produced largely by the toil of the Native labour force of the gold mines, is the precise moment for such a forward policy. There is much to be said in favour of the contention that Native wages should not be fixed by a Wage Board determination. We have seen the effects of this system, which has resulted in antagonising employers of European labour. Dr. Brookes prefers an appeal to the employers to adopt a voluntary policy of wage raising, and predicts that such a step, if supported by the business community, would produce startling results.

Even if Native wages were increased, Dr. Brookes contends that the subsidisation of Native housing would still be necessary for a time, and he suggests a scheme whereby Native residents might acquire ownership of their homes in the Native Village. We congratulate the Campaign Secretary of the Institute of Race Relations upon his valuable and interesting report, and trust that it will receive the attention it merits.

THE ZULU PURIFICATION CEREMONY.

Next week on the 28th Instant there shall be observed by the whole Zulu Nation an agelong ceremony known as the Ihlambo or Purification Ceremony. Formerly such a custom was viewed as a barbarian one and was not unaccompanied by blood. But times have changed with customs and modes of living and Government. In these days such a custom may be observed and attended by all civilized and uncivilized as it now shorn of its barbarian garb.

This goes to show the unwisdom of throwing away all Native customs regardless of whether they are good and capable of helping the life of those who participate in it for good. We are glad to note that there is an increasing volume of public opinion which will prove and adhere to all innocent customs and only to disregard those that are harmful and immoral. It is possible that many of these customs may be purified in the light of Christian teaching. Thus the identity of our people will be preserved rather than the policy of drifting with anything that we see done by Europeans whether it is good or not without any question. We have noted on many occasions that even at the present time in Europe many customs still survive even in these times some having originated in the dim unknown past. Races are known and identified by their customs however hoary with age and if they are good there is no reason why they should not be preserved and observed with pride and with unabashed minds.

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to the Chief and his tribe. These Reserves were Government Reserves for a cheap and plentiful supply of labour. Thus round the Mission Stations a social and economic order which was inspired by non-religious motives was being developed. From this order came our cities and factories from which the Revenue of the country is derived. This order was of the material while that of the missionary was of this world and at the same time not of this world. There was a conflict of ideals and which was all the more complicated because of colour. History teaches that the power of the missionary began to decline.

Now having regard to the ideas which were engendered by the contact of the white men and the Natives in the rough and tumble of the early times when the foundations of our economic activitities were laid, was there the same opinion in the missionary and in the average European as to what was to be done with the Native? I am raising the question from a South African background, having regard to the general atmosphere of the ideas of the ruling race--the social ideas, race prejudices, economic interests and political passions in and through which the Natives have have to breathe and have their being it is not agreed what Christianisation of the Bantu involves, although very many in this country endorse the Christian programme.

The activities of Missionaries began to receive attention when men were busy extending their economic hold on the country. Mission Stations were attacked as centres of idleness and agitation. The Christian converts were to be brought into line with tribal Natives from the Reserves of cheap labour. The main objectives and general policies under which Natives--all Natives were to live were more and more being influenced by the material needs of the ruling race. Christian Natives found that instead of sharing more and more of the abundant life, they were to lead debauched lives in the slums of the cities. Christian brotherhood could get its status in the churchyard, but outside of that there was to be no liberty and no equality. The ideas of light and freedom which their missionaries gave them they could not translate into their daily lives. The education which they have received is a mere adornment for the cultural ambitions which it creates and cannot be lived up to by a South African Native. He has no opportunity. The point is this: the average European says the Natives should be Christianised but he apparently does not mean it.

I do not want to suggest that these puzzles and difficulties arise because the South Africans are a perverted people because they are not in the main or that they are the result of intellectual sophistry because it is not so; very few people think out the problems of race relations for themselves. They depend on the mass and inexpert opinion. To my mind the reason why South Africa shrinks from the simplest practical consequences of Christianisation is rooted in the nature of the country's historical development. They flow unconsciously from the inner conflict in the mind of the civilising power. It is an interesting fact that the laws of the country strain the relationship because they solidify the existing position, that Education seems to aggravate the situation inasmuch as it creates a vocal but anomalous class of Natives, that economic contacts complicate the position. The Native therefore by concentrating on these paths may lose hope and vision. The European likewise cannot find the solution along these paths alone. The hope of the country seems to lie in arobust, Christian Church itself free from colour prejudice, which shall assert the spirit of the sermon on the mount upon the contacts of our daily life.

C. A. T. A.

Who's Who?

BY HANNIE.

PROF. D. D. T. JABAVU, B.A. HONS. LOND.—Holder of the Education Diploma Univ. of Birmingham, England, Lecturer in Latin, Anthropology and Bantu Languages in the Fort Hare University College, Alice, S.A. Has been for the last fourteen years president of the Cape African Teachers' Association. Under his guidance magnificent work was done by the conference. Prof. Jabavu is a well-read and well-travelled man having at one time or another visited both the the New and the Old World. He is a definite international figure.

CHIEF GLADSTONE NJOKWENI.—The Vice President of the C.A.T.A. is in stature the Carnera of South Africa; his voice thunders his opponents in argument into helpless submission by virtue only of its terror. Yet how humble, sociable genial in disposition is he! He is a firm believer in teachers' associations. I suppose the idea of guiding the destinies of numbers of people as of racial groups is with him an inherent one. He is a successful farmer at Healdtown where he also holds a teaching post at the Practising School for a good number of years.

SOL. P. AKENA—of Cradock is the Recording Secretary. He is an able debater and a keen social worker. For the precision of his records and particularly his untiring efforts during the arduous task of revising the Constitution the C.A.T.A. can well and easily regard him as a "FIND."

E L. D. MAJOMBOZI—of Healdtown is the Secretary-General He is a glutton for work, conscientious, unsparing, punctilious and discreet. He possesses just the qualities required in a secretary. He won't spare himself when occasion demands it even the most heartless of our branch association secretaries won't ruffle his even temper.

J. NYOMBOLO—of Cape Town, an indefatigable worker and founder of the Bantu Teachers League, a valuable branch of the C.A.T.A. in the shank end of the Cape Province. "Joe" as he is familiarly known by his friends is the one man who cannot be spared when the Conference has struck a bad patch. He is a veritable peace-maker and his suave manner is bound to melt the steel heart of the most hardened opponent. For the last 21 years he has held the principalship of a Congregational Coloured School at Athlone in Cape Town where he is also a fine cricketer.

MISS M. P. T. SOGA—of Queenstown is one of the old cracks who still hold their own among the newer generation of teachers. She is a delightful contributor to the discussions at the Conference and a worthy example to our reserved female delegates. She is a clear thinker. At Kimberley once and now at Queenstown she serves the race as a pedagogue.

G. E. XUZA—of Somerset East is one of our worthy members, an expert in striking flaws in argument. He has caused many a speaker headache when disproving the inconsistencies of speech which otherwise might have gone undetected and by this skill, he has been instrumental in leading to wise decisions. In a way, he is a humourist.

R. R. SIMANI—of Qumbu was designated by the President as the substantial delegate from a substantial district. By his substantial invitation substantiated by the "Carnera" of the Conference Simani decided the next venue of the C.A.T.A. to be the substantial district of Qumbu by saying: "Go ye and possess the land."

A. W. RANANA—of Graaff-Reinet an untiring worker and organiser of the C.A.T.A. Conference. He did not spare himself and his fellow-workers in making careful arrangements for the comfort of the delegates. He has made himself indispensable to the Graaff-Reinet community. With Messrs G. Magawu, J. C. K. Dlula and C. C. Tshomela and others, Ranana accomplished the impossible—the invitation and piloting successfully such a conference in a place bristling with difficulties of approach and accommodation. The next conference will be child's play to these now experienced comrades.

Another Colour Bar

The Prime Minister is reported to have given his blessing to a remarkable motion put forward at the Bloemfontein Nationalist Congress. The motion aimed at debarring Natives from driving motor vehicles, and the Premier has promised that Government will eventually introduce legislation to give effect to this.

The lot of the black man in this country is an unenviable one in the extreme. All Governments since Union have added their quota to the black list of colour bars against the Bantu. The fusion Government has presaged its term of office with the ugly blot that ensures the perpetuation of further injustices to the hapless Natives. We have no reason to assume that such legislation will not be embodied in the statute book, inasmuch that General Hertzog holds the key to all Government measures.

Attempts have previously been made by certain municipalities to differentiate between white and black taxi drivers in regard to the ranks they occupy. These have failed by reason of the fact that provincial ordinances do not empower local authorities to introduce class legislation. In this case Parliament is to be asked to legalise class legislation, and needless to say, the door will be open to local authorities to introduce all sorts of discriminating by laws against Native motor drivers. The motion to debar Native chauffeurs is uncalled for. It is based on erroneous premises, and largely influenced by race hatred. No statistics exist to show the number of accidents caused by Native drivers in given areas, over a marked period, and that being the case the charge "that statistics might show that relatively to the numbers of Black and White drivers Natives are more prone to having accidents than Europeans" amounts to maligning the Natives. It carries with it the more dangerous aspect of robbing skilled Black drivers of a livelihood they spent much to obtain. If such legislation was passed, thousands of Native drivers would be rendered workless. Mr. O. D. Schreiner rightly makes the observation that nowhere in the world outside South Africa would legislation excluding any particular race or class from the right to drive motor vehicles be tolerated for a moment, and we do not believe that White South Africans, so many of whom are being well and faithfully served by their Native drivers, will countenance legislation which would make South Africa contemptible in the eyes of the world, while at the same time embittering race relations beyond anything that has happened in our country in recent years." Quite recently we reported in these columns the interesting fact that the train in which H.R.H. Prince George travelled in the Congo was "worked" by Black drivers a fact that weighs much in favour of Black skill where mechanical transport is concerned.

Professor Edgar H. Brookes' lecture to an audience recently is most appropriate in some of its remarks regarding the proposed colour bar against Blacks. He opined that there occurred a fundamental error in thinking. One should wage war against the inclination to classify people in racial groups. Some people regarded the Natives as barbarians. It was true there were still numbers of them in the country in a primitive state, but it was a deep error to legislate for the Natives as a whole on the basis of them all being barbarians. The needs of the individual should be studied.

MEMORANDUM AS TO INTERVIEW WITH HIS WORSHIP THE SECRETARY OF NATIVE AFFAIRS.

RE: RECOGNITION OF AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

8-10-34

We pointed out that the African National Congress was not a political organisation in the ordinary sense of the term, and that it in fact was a national movement spontaneously arising from the African people as a whole. As a national movement its interests naturally embrace all factors which usually assist a nation to develop and improve its conditions socially, economically, politically, educationally, industrially and in every other line which can help to build up the nation.

The Congress has organised branches throughout South Africa. The Paramount Chiefs of all the great Protectorates as well as the hereditary chiefs of the Union all participated in the creation of this National Organisation in the form that the Upper House would be for the chiefs and the Lower House be open to the delegates representing the organised branches of the Congress throughout South Africa; the Chiefs are now compelled to follow the interests of their own people into all the other Provinces where the young members of their tribes are compelled to go in search of employment. These people must be protected and made to feel that the authority of their chiefs as well as of their parents are still behind them. The African National Congress wants to serve the chiefs and the people by keeping them together under one National Organisation wherever they may be working and thus to save these young people from being a prey to irresponsible political propaganda or organisations.

The great Chiefs who helped to create this Organisation in 1912, had such national services in view as those which today are provided by the General Conferences of the Congress wherein the chiefs and the leaders of the people may consult with one another as to the best means and methods to adopt in order to help the Nation forward. Moreover, the chiefs themselves need to meet together and exchange views about their common problems and difficulties and thus enable the African National Congress to represent and to speak as the mouthpiece of the Nation. It is most desirable that the Government should know our true position from time to time, and I sincerely believe that this can best be done through our National Congress. I have not the least doubt that this Organisation will grow and develop itself to be the Native Parliament of South Africa.

RE: MINISTER FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.

The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress is composed of responsible and distinguished African Leaders who enjoy the confidence of their own people today. The Honourable Minister for Native Affairs is our Chief. We all love him and we respect his person and his position in the African Nation. We invite him to honour the coming conference with his presence in order that he may meet us in conference with responsible chiefs and representatives of our people in conference assembled. As our great chief he can meet us as his Councillors according to the Native laws and custom. I know we can help him in his great task and through him perhaps help the Union Government to better understand the Native Problem.

There are two subjects for which his Honour's presence is very specially required by the

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conference, namely, those matters which stand uppermost in the minds of all his Native people today, and which are severely agitating them. The Minister will be required to explain to the Conference what assurances or guarantees does the Status Act give the African Native as to Freedom to develop themselves to full citizenship within the Union of South Africa, or in other words whether Native Rights which were reserved under the Trusteeship of the King of Great Britain have now been abrogated under the new Status Act; the second matter will be to ask his Honour the Minister to discuss with the Chiefs and the Conference the proposed Native Policy of granting a measure of autonomy and self-government to the Natives in the Reserves and other areas. The rest of the programme of the Conference need not cause any delay to His Honour or to yourself; the Conference may follow you by sending the final resolutions of the Conference or send a deputation.

P. ka I. SEME &
A. J. THOKA.
Members of the Deputation
African Natal Congress.

THE VERNACULAR AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION.

Seme
Secretary

A PAPER READ BY A. J. LUTHULI AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE N.N.T.U.)

6-10-34

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(Continued from last week.)

We must give heed to Victor Murray's words when he says: "The language of instruction must be the child's language rather than the teacher's and for a child in the Primary School every word in the vernacular has a meaning, whereas a word in foreign language may only have an equivalent and the more removed this equivalent is from the meaning greater the confusion and lack of understanding". For any example: In teaching a heathen Zululand child one child simply say "iqhugwane" for a "hut" without making explanations and the child would understand; but it would be idle to simply say without explanation "indlu yesikholwa" for a "square-house" or to simply say "amagciwane" for "germ" since the ideas to which these words are to be labels are foreign to a Zulu child.) It is clear that until a foreign language can be a language of meanings for a child, i. e. he must be able to reasonably think in it, the vernacular cannot but be the medium of instruction. Can any one say that a child in the Primary School, even in Std. IV has reached that stage when English may be a language of "meanings" and not mere equivalents? This I doubt Yet it is not uncommon to find teachers attempting to teach Arithmetic, Geography, History, etc. in English even in Stds. 1 & 2.

It does seem to me that this psychological aspect of the question should predominate over any other aspect if we are earnestly considering the best means of really educating a Bantu child. We must, in such questions, take up the attitude of a scientist who endeavours to avoid being influenced by other factors or considerations but follows facts wherever they may lead him. I think that most of us have by experience discovered how, after our careful and laborious preparation of our lessons and our simple but painstaking presentation, much to our disappointment and even disgust pupils find it difficult to effectively respond or take part in lessons as active participants and not as mere passive understanding listeners; when they do respond we find them, as a rule, mechanically trying to re-produce verbatim the words of the teacher and showing a lack of originality or re-creative re-production. If all this is not due to speaking to them in a foreign language and expecting them to respond in the same foreign language I do not know what the cause is then. Professor Westermann is indeed directing our minds to the right conlusion when he asks this rhetoric question: "Can any one really believe that the mind of a pupil can be influenced and moulded through the medium of a foreign language as well as his own?" Listen to another learned student of this question in the person of Father P. W. Schmidt speaking on the same subject: "One's own Native language is the most natural, intimate, and far reaching instrument for acquiring knowledge for comprehending consciously one's own culture, and for learning thoroughly an extraneous culture. To expect a child to carry out these tasks with an instrument which is foreign to him and with which he is not conversant, as, for instance a European language, would inevitably cramp the child's spiritual development and lead to most unsatisfactory pedagogical results."

As I have already pointed out, some of us are aware of these "unsatisfactory padagogical results" and I may only restate them for emphasis. These effect-results are (1) the timidness of Bantu pupils to respond effectively to instruction given in English; (2) lack of original thinking and a proneness to reproduce the teacher in parrot-like fashion.

The advocates of Instruction in English in the Primary School would without hesitation accept the principle of teaching that "the development of proper mental attitudes and the proper exercise of mental powers sometimes counts for more than the mere information we stuff the child with." Do these advocates truly believe that this important educational end can be realised by teaching and requiring pupils to respond in a foreign language?

In reality the attitude we should take up should be not whether Zulu is better than English or vice versa as a medium of Instruction but it should be: What is the medium calculated to convey clearly the facts or ideas we desire our pupils to grasp; and it is the belief of most of us that in the Primary School the vernacular except in teaching English by the "direct method" where the vernacular is only best used when absolutely necessary, is the only medium by which clearness and understanding may be realised in the Primary School.

THE PRACTICAL ASPECT:- Apart from a purely psychological consideration of the question we may consider the subject of the vernacular as a means of instruction from a practical standpoint. A majority of the pupils who enter school do not stay in school long enough to acquire a good working knowledge of English. We are told that 60 per cent of the pupils do not stay for more than two years in school. Unless a child is exceptionally good he would not have a real working knowledge of English even if he stayed six years in the Primary School, unless we reverted to the syllabus of our fathers and grand-fathers where nothing else but the three Rs was taught. No educationist dares advocate such a curriculum now. Further, a majority of the Bantu people for a long time will be engaged in occupations where a knowledge of English while helpful is not a necessity but where original thinking, or creative thinking and general intelligence are very essential, which mental powers, as I have tried to prove, are destroyed or dwarfed by forcing instruction in a foreign language. In such a matter do not think of pupils in so-called

civilized and advanced communities but think of pupils in the heart of purely Native areas that are far removed from European areas; areas with pupils, especially girls who will grow, marry and die without ever coming into centres where English is serviceable or is an absolute necessity. Yet we waste the time of all these pupils by adopting a policy of teaching in English. Is English such a glorified language as to justify risking the proper and full development of a whole people's mental powers? I say no.

UNDERSTANDING AFRICA (?)

WITHIN recent months the discussion of Africa and its problems has occupied goodly portions of Negro newspapers and periodicals. The aim of these writings appears to be a re-interpretation of the sense of racial oneness with Africa and Africans. The following statements represent a summary of Aframerican articles on Africa: That Aframericans should abandon this attitude of "making-fun" of things African; that although natives of Africa have been utilized as a means to an end, in the accumulation of wealth, due to selfish exploitation, a New Prophetism indigenous to Africa is rising up, commanding the agents of Western imperialism to ceast to do evil and learn to do well. This prophetic spirit is especially marked in West Africa where thousands of African young men and young women have come together, calling themselves THE WEST AFRICAN YOUTH MOVEMENT, and now commanding the recognition of the world in the interest of Young Africa.

Another factor which has stirred and provoked much thought is the tenacious battle which the Republic of Liberia is fighting with the Firestone Rubber Concern and the League of Nations in order to maintain her political autonomy. The fact that Liberia has been a lone republic in West Africa for eighty-four years, despite the absence of an adequate economic security, shows that the Liberian Negro has exemplified efficiency and competency in government notwithstanding throttles.

Nevertheless, to Aframericans, by and large, Africa is still the "Dark Continent" with its natives laboring in "blackness of darkness." This prevalent misunderstanding of Africa is due to two factors.

From time to time missionaries return to the United States from the African foreign field. These missionaries are called upon to tell about their work in Africa. The missionary has a peculiar philosophy; the aim of the missionary is to raise money for his work in Africa, and, accordingly, he would paint a picture of Africa which will appeal to the pocket books of his hearers. Nine times out of ten the missionary would not tell of actual progress, as such, but would strongly emphasize the great need to "carry on the work." It is indeed unfortunate that certain types of missionaries would give a lopsided representation of Africa touching only the very primitive aspects of African life. The customary representations of the natives of Africa, then, are that they are people who wear rings in their noses; people who go about loosely semi-nude or skin-clad prowlers of the jungles. But even if natives choose to go about half-naked whose business is it? Here in New England the nudists have established a winter colony and New England boasts of its Puritanistic antecedents. African life, like any organized form of life, runs from the most simple or primitive to the much advanced from the point of view of culture. Today there is hardly any section of Africa that has not even the slightest touch of "civilization." Of course, civilization is only a relative thing. The criteria of civilization have not yet been determined.

The mis-representations of the moving picture industry and the American circus give a much distorted picture of Africa. Most of the pictures which are produced, purporting to be made in Africa, are forgeries. These productions are not the outcome of the scientific urge but of the commercial bent. The aim of such productions is to thrlill and not to educate; to make money and not to represent the truth. Pictures like "Jango", "Africa Speaks" and others fall in this class. It was proved some time ago that a certain "native" who took part in connection with a circus under the auspices of "Barnum and Bailey" came from off the side-walks of Harlem. This "native" was an Aframerican and he was paid to act the part of a wild native of Africa because the producers had never visited Africa. It is true, without any shadow of doubt, that to the majority of motion pictures on Africa not even a modicum of truth is traceable.

Those individuals who visited the World's Fair in Chicago would recall that the African Show was known as the "Greatest Show in the World." Judge Daniel Brewer of Mississippi, who was one of the lecturers at "A Century of Progress," advised the multitude of people with considerable eagerness and longing to see this show that they must immediately discard all expectations of foolishness. In this show there were two outstanding characters, "Gongo Jaques and Masamba from Camaroon, West Africa, speaking fluently in English, French, German, Spanish, Belgian, Portuguese, Italian and their own native language. There was also Duke Kwese Kuntu of Ashanti, West Africa, ruler of the Ashantis. Due Kwesi Kuntu has travelled extensively in the continents of the world and he is also a graduate of Oxford University, Oxford, England.

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"Slave Colonies of E. Africa."

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IN his disregard of the truth Mr. Ralph Fox has completely eclipsed any previous writer on East Africa of whose books I have any knowledge. His ignorance or perversion of facts is so colossal that it would be futile to waste space on refutation in these pages; the following extracts from his book, "The Colonial Policy of British Imperialism" (Martin Lawrence, 5s.), are sufficient condemnation. The heading of this review is that which he has given to his East African section.

"In the whole of the huge territory of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Nyasaland, Somaliland, and Northern Rhodesia there is a population of just 13,000,000. The reason of this is simply and solely the appalling exploitation of the negro population by their British rulers, which is driving them rapidly along the road to total extinction. Much has been made of the horrors of the Arab slave traders in East Africa, but those horrors are nothing to those perpetrated by the 'civilised gentlemen' for whom Livingstone prepared the way.

"Here (there are) simply vast slave plantations worked by forced labour. . . . The tribes, unable to keep themselves from starvation on the limited and unproductive tracts . . . are compelled to send their surplus population to work on the colonists' plantations. Here they are simply worked to complete exhaustion and rarely live to return back to their tribal reserve. Corporal punishment, even murder, of the plantation workers is a frequent thing, and goes completely unpunished. . . . The number of white planters who have such unlimited power of life and death over thirteen million Natives, unarmed and herded like cattle in a pen, in their close unhealthy reserves, is not more than 200 thousand in all. . . ."

Of Kakamega the writer says "a large area was at once seized for exploitation and its inhabitants driven with their flocks to the scanty lands of their neighbours. . . ."

More innocent books than this have been confiscated by the police and destroyed. This farrago of nonsense will seem ludicrous to East Africans, but it is, perhaps, as well to remember that such falsehoods may easily fall into the hands of people who will believe them. Even when it hurts his case Mr. Fox cannot be accurate, *e.g.*, his 200,000 settlers. A man who carelessly multiplies by ten in such a case is hardly likely to be careful of facts on the other side. It should be added that a third of the book—on similar lines—deals with India.

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civilized and advanced communities but think of pupils in the heart of purely Native areas that are far removed from European areas; areas with pupils, especially girls who will grow, marry and die without ever coming into centres where English is serviceable or is an absolute necessity. Yet we waste the time of all these pupils by adopting a policy of teaching in English. Is English such a glorified language as to justify risking the proper and full development of a whole people's mental powers? I say no.

UNDERSTANDING AFRICA (?)

WITHIN recent months the discussion of Africa and its problems has occupied goodly portions of Negro newspapers and periodicals. The aim of these writings appears to be a re-interpretation of the sense of racial oneness with Africa and Africans. The following statements represent a summary of Aframerican articles on Africa: That Aframericans should abandon this attitude of "making-fun" of things African; that although natives of Africa have been utilized as a means to an end, in the accumulation of wealth, due to selfish exploitation, a New Prophetism indigenous to Africa is rising up, commanding the agents of Western imperialism to ceast to do evil and learn to do well. This prophetic spirit is especially marked in West Africa where thousands of African young men and young women have come together, calling themselves THE WEST AFRICAN YOUTH MOVEMENT, and now commanding the recognition of the world in the interest of Young Africa.

Another factor which has stirred and provoked much thought is the tenacious battle which the Republic of Liberia is fighting with the Firestone Rubber Concern and the League of Nations in order to maintain her political autonomy. The fact that Liberia has been a lone republic in West Africa for eighty-four years, despite the absence of an adequate economic security, shows that the Liberian Negro has exemplified efficiency and competency in government notwithstanding throttles.

Nevertheless, to Aframericans, by and large, Africa is still the "Dark Continent" with its natives laboring in "blackness of darkness." This prevalent misunderstanding of Africa is due to two factors.

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Race Problem – 1934

I.

Africa

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

.....

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT GENERAL.
Farm Sterkfontein,
221 Joubert Street,
Volksrust.
14th May 1934.

To the Paramount Chiefs, Hereditary Chiefs, Members of the National Executive Committee and Members of the Provincial Executive Committees of the African National Congress.

Greetings:

I hereby invite you as leaders of the Abantu Nation, to attend the Plenary Session of the National Executive Committees of the African National Congress to be held in the Inchcape Hall, Eloff Street Extension, Johannesburg, from the 3rd day of Aug. to the 7th Aug. 1934. There are very important reasons why this conference has been called to meet at this time and why it is imperative that you should attend it personally or through your duly accredited representative Indunas and chiefs.

The African National Congress was created by the noble patriotism and self - sacrifice of the Paramount Chiefs who met at Bloemfontein on the 8th January 1912 representing every tribe in South Africa. They met under the able le dership of the late Letsie II., Paramount Chief of Basutoland who sent his uncle, the late Chief Maama with other noble Chiefs and Councillors to represent him and the Basuto Nation. All the other Paramount Chiefs were equally well represented by able Chiefs and distinguished Councillors. These noble men together with all the leaders of Native thought that day, all joined together in one conference and decided even as white South Africa, in 1909 had done when they formed this great Union of South Africa which today is being welded again into a new and independent Nation and about to be given by Great Britain fullest rights and powers to direct and control all your destinies on this sub-continent. Our Paramount Chiefs and leaders too met and dedicated this Congress to be the national organisation for all Africans and as such to be the official medium of communication with the world as Africans and with one another in this country. I hereby appeal to you as successors of those noble Chiefs, leaders and councillors not to throw the African nation away. I ask you to remember this your inheritance which has been left for us, this great foundation upon which we too may build up the present and future greatness of the African people in this land of our fore fathers, even as the white people have so remarkably done since the Anglo Boer War.

In the first place I wish to direct your attention to a very important letter written by the Right Honourable General J.C. Smuts, the Minister and Justice and Ex-Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa in succession to the late General Louis Botha. The letter was published in the "Umteteli waBantu" and all our people must have seen it. The letter reads as follows:

"I am sure that the Chiefs will agree with me that the Government would not have allowed this important statement to be published unless the Government intended to make the Natives of the whole of South Africa to know their true position and that our responsible Chiefs and leaders may take counsel together and discuss these important changes which are taking place in this country today. Therefore it becomes our duty to meet together under the summons of that important message to consider our own position and our reply to that statement. We propose to ask His Honourable Minister for Native Affairs if he will come and address the Chiefs at that conference and we sincerely hope that he will accept.

RE THE INCORPORATION OF THE PROTECTORATES.

The incorporation of the Protectorates by the Union Government is indeed a very important matter and notice has been given that the Union Government now intends to apply to the Imperial Government for the transfer of these Protectorates to the Union. This Plenary Conference of the African National Congress will want to know from the Minister the intentions and the proposed policy of the Government with regard to these territories and whether or how this incorporation is intended to benefit the Natives. So far as we can see, the Union Government is still faced with the important proposition of providing land for the Native tribes who live within the Union. A fair distribution of the land between the black and the white people within the Union must prove the sincerity of the intentions of the Government to deal justly and fairly with the Natives.

The Paramount Chiefs and all hereditary Chiefs will please address their communications to the President General at the above address in order to facilitate their due reception or to Mr. Moses Mphahlela the Secretary for Chiefs, 55 Nugget Street, Johannesburg or to Chief Stephen Mini, Edendale, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, the Organiser of Chiefs.

Nkosi Sikelela---Morena Hlohonolofatsa Afrika.

P. ka I. SEME,
President General of the African National Congress.

ELIJAH MDOLOMBA,
General Secretary.

THE UNION AND THE PROTECTORATES.

THE recent statement by the Prime Minister of the Union regarding the transfer of the Protectorates has given rise to a great deal of controversy, coupled with which there has been quite a lot of misunderstanding of the position. Both in London and South Africa General Hertzog's announcement has been variously interpreted, but there can be no doubt that in regard to the principle there is not the least doubt that the existing position can ot continue much longer, and that sooner or later there must be a change. The question is, when ? 5-18-34

In considering the position as it exists today it is important to bear in mind certain essential facts. It is only by realisation of the actualities that misconceptions can be removed. Among the latter is the question of right. In his statement the Prime Minister claimed that the Union is in the position to claim the right of transfer, and that such right was conferred by the South Africa Act. This is scarcely correct. The fact is that while the Union can at any time apply for the transfer of the Protectorates, in so far as any statutory right is concerned, Great Britain is entirely free to decide the matter There is nothing to prevent the Union Government from making application for a transfer, but there is nothing whatever that binds Great Britain to comply with such a request.

What might happen in the event of the British Government giving an affirmative reply is another matter. There would be terms and conditions to be hammered out in conformity with the schedule to the Act. On this point likewise there has been much misunderstanding, but it can be taken for granted that such an important question as the alienation of land there are certain solem undertakings which would form an integral part of an agreement and that the position of our people in the Protectorates would be safegaurded to the same extent as they are in the Transkei and in Zululand.

A further point upon which there appears to be considerable doubt is that of the consent of the Natives themselves. According to certain published statements it is generally accepted that a

pledge has been given by the British Government to the effect that there will be no transfer without the consent of the Natives concerned. This pledge, however, is really something very different, for it consists of an undertaking that the Government will not make a decision until b th the white and Native population have had the fullest opportunity of expressing their views. It would be utterly foolish for this or any other Government to flout the wishes of the Natives, and we have no doubt that opposition to a proposal of transfer would be based upon reasons which no Government could possibly set aside. At the moment it is beyond question that transfer is by no means welcomed by our people, and while this obtains it would not only be difficult for the British Government to agree to a transfer, but the Union Government would also be placed in an extremely awkward position. There are good grounds for believing that the proposal will not come within the region of practical politics for some time, but in view of what has happened, it behoves our people to watch the course of developments very closely, so that when the matter does come up for decision---as it unquestionably will--they will be in a position to put forward their views either for or against.

Voters' Convention Speaks.

The serious consequences which may follow the passing by Parliament of the much debated Status Bill have been firmly set out by the Bantu in the Cape Province and Natal. The Bunga, during its last session at Umtata passed an important resolution which was transmitted to the Prime Minister. Following this movement, the Native voters' associations of King William's Town, Alice, North, Queenstown and Port Elizabeth were unanimous in their strong disapproval of the Bill wherein it abolishes the protection of the King's veto regarding the Native vote.

On Friday, 11th. instant the official organisation of all the Native voters in the Cape Province met at East London and passed resolutions of far-reaching import on the Status Bill, the proposed incorporation of the Protectorates in the Union and the general safety or otherwise of the Black inhabitants of the Union under the revolutionary changes now taking place in the governance of the country. It is noteworthy that the Cape Native Voters' Convention did not concern itself with legal quibbles and involved interpretations of constitutional statutes. The one and only concern of the Bantu in and outside the borders of the Union was the estrangement of the British parenthood to the subject races of South Africa. While the huge black populations of Rhodesia, Kenya and other British possessions in central Africa still enjoy the political and defence protection of England; in the Union a wedge is being forced to wean the loyalty of the Bantu to the Crown in favour of establishing a new loyalty to a Union nationalism—or whatever one may care to call it. What does a Union nationalism imply to the Native? It implies the recognition of the two white races, the British and Dutch; and the complete political effacement of all non-European races. It is a moot point whether the two white races of the Union, in their struggle for independent status, are acting wisely when they fail to regard the immense black population as a factor when the matter of safety and allegiance are computed. With Natives that is the simple issue to which independent status boils down. All other hairsplitting arguments cannot transcend this aspect. It is in this spirit that the following resolutions were passed by the Cape Native Voters' Convention. They read :—

THE PROTECTORATES.

The Government of South Africa is addressing Great Britain on the question of the incorporation into the Union of the Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. The African inhabitants of these lands originally requested, of their own spontaneity, to be placed under the direct tutelage of England for two main reasons: just treatment, and ample protection from enemies. If South Africa be, as she now claims to be, endowed with "sovereign independent status" in the sense of being a country practically foreign to England, capable of applying any repressive policy over her charges without reference to England, then in our view it will be wrong and illogical for England to transfer these Protectorates to such a foreign power without first ascertaining the feelings of the black population in them who still adhere to the original agreements.

STATUS LEGISLATION.

Our highest legal authorities offer conflicting interpretations as to the true meaning and implication of the new Status Bill. As this piece of legislation affects understandings made with other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, we feel that the final ratification of this legislation should await the approval of the other Dominion parties, inasmuch as this idea of a new status was their joint creation, and South Africa is now possibly assigning interpretations that may constitute a departure from what is common ground with the others.

POLITICAL SAFETY.

As property owners and loyal citizens yielding to none in our love for the country of our birth and in our concern for its integrity and future safety, we have always relied on the protection of the British fleet and military in any case of attack by a foreign Power, realising that the local European population of under two millions cannot constitute sufficient protection should Great Britain choose to be neutral (on the ground of South Africa being a State of independent sovereign status) when the Union is attacked by a foreign Power like, say, Germany. Our concern is for the safety of our country against anarchy and world wars.

NATIVE VIEWS.

We identify ourselves entirely with the views of our Native fellow citizens as expressed in the United Transkeian Territories General Council in its session on Friday, April 20 last, by the Bantu newspaper 'Imvo Zabantsundu" ("Native Opinion"), and by several African political organisations, and we are not convinced by the Prime Minister's statement to the effect that this new legislation makes no difference to the status quo.

NATIVE DISFRANCHISEMENT.

If Great Britain has, in the Declaration of 1926 and the Statuta of Westminster of 1931, divested herself, or proposes to divest herself in future, of her protection of our franchise as entrenched in its protection by the King's veto in the Act of Union, we desire to lodge our strongest protest against our possible disfranchisement, effected in a hole and corner manner, or discoverable only as a stolen march of political strategy in a mist of legal dialectics on the part of constitutional laywers and political tacticians.

The Union And The Protectorates.

We have already made known the general attitude of the Basuto towards the question of incorporation and the reasons that led to their present attitude. We have made it plain that the present Native policy of the Union Government, if any, has nothing in it to induce the Basuto to chose to come under their administration and be divorced from the British administration. We have shown the weaknesses of the Union Native policy and the advantages of the British administration as against it. We have indulged in stone-throwing though it is said people who live in glass houses must not throw stones. We in Basutoland are living in glass houses and if our neighbours would, in turn, throw stones at us our glass houses would be smashed to pieces and we should soon find ourselves exposed and without any shelter. Since, therefore, we have indulged in stone throwing let us put our shoulder to the burden and fortify our position.

We cannot keep out of the Union forever. The time may have not yet arrived for the Protectorates to be incorporated, but they shall ultimately be incorporated. That is a well-known fact. provided for.

Under the present conditions we have no rights to claim and there is no defined policy which we could put up as vital to our interests and future welfare.

Our chiefs who are our natural leaders have hopelessly failed to give us the lead to progress. Instead of leading their people to progress and with our interests adequately

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We have already made known the general attitude of the Basuto towards the question of incorporation and the reasons that led to their present attitude. We have made it plain that the present Native policy of the Union Government, if any, has nothing in it to induce the Basuto to chose to come under their administration and be divorced from the British administration. We have shown the weaknesses of the Union Native policy and the advantages of the British administration as against it. We have indulged in stone-throwing though it is said people who live in glass houses must not throw stones. We in Basutoland are living in glass houses and if our neighbours would, in turn, throw stones at us our glass houses would be smashed to pieces and we should soon find ourselves exposed and without any shelter. Since, therefore, we have indulged in stone throwing let us put our shoulder to the burden and fortify our position.

We cannot keep out of the Union forever. The time may have not yet arrived for us likewise prepare for our transfer so that when the time comes it shall find us the Protectorates to be incorporated, but they shall ultimately be incorporated. That is a well-known fact. Our incorporation may be put off for some time but it will ultimately come. If therefore we want the Union to put its Native affairs house in order for our reception let us prepare for our position.

We cannot keep out of the Union forever. The time may have not yet arrived for us likewise prepare for our transfer so that when the time comes it shall find us the Protectorates to be incorporated, but they shall ultimately be incorporated. with our interests adequately provided for.

Under the present conditions we have no rights to claim and there is no defined policy which we could put up as vital to our interests and future welfare.

Our chiefs who are our natural leaders have hopelessly failed to give us the lead to progress. Instead of leading their people to progress and

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

II.

"King" Agricultural Show.

The ninth day of May this year will be regarded as a red letter day in the annals of Native agricultural progress in King William's Town. The first show for Bantu farmers was held here under the auspices of the Tamacha Local Council through the energetic pilotage of Mr. C. J. N. Lever, the Additional Native Commissioner. The clerk of the weather was in festive mood, conditions being all that could be desired. The show was well patronised by those for whose benefit it was intended. Mr. Lever, whose initiative and tact were responsible for the event coming off, could rightly be given the honour of chief patron, and the first Native show in "King" be designated "The Lever Show". All sections of the public (European and Bantu) showed palpable signs of being pleased with the show's huge success. Over 900 entries were registered by the Secretary, of these the Home Industries section claiming 280, cattle 200, produce 265 and horses 96. During the opening preliminaries, Mr. A. S. Weir, on behalf of the King William's Town Agricultural Society, which magnanimously allowed the Native show free use of their grounds and buildings, uttered a few words of encouragement and congratulation to the sponsors of the show, and on the keen interest evinced by the Natives themselves. The official opening was entrusted to Major M. G. Apthorp, Chief Native Commissioner, who, in a short speech eulogised the efforts of Mr. Lever; the sympathy of European friends who had made financial donations towards the support of the show. Mr. Apthorp enjoined the Bantu farmers to observe what others were doing, and to learn better methods and attain higher standards in healthy rivalry. He also pointed out that the judges would be willing to state the reasons for their awards. Mr. Apthorp made suitable reference to the Government's new and most important programme of health services to Natives in the Union and gave details of the sums of money the State had decided to spend thereanent. After the show was declared open, the surging crowd of Bantu scattered in all directions and dotted the entire area of the show grounds like ant-heaps. Men, women and children moved to and fro in bee fashion, in and out of the exhibition halls in which were shown the best selected of pumpkins, potatoes, mealies, kaffir-corn, barley, oat hay, vegetables, wool, eggs, honey, tobacco in their numerous varieties. The cattle were represented in all breeds, including a high-grade Short-horn bull.

Slaughter oxen could compete in the best European shows; but a pen of prize-winner slaughter hamels could be easily outclassed by selections from ordinary flocks in locations adjacent to the town; this anomaly serving to prove that our people had really come to learn of the actual requirements of an agricultural show. Much improvement can be made in the breeds of horses, and the next show should be able to boast of more than barely two competitors in the jumping stunts. The Home Industries were most popular; pot, stove-baked loaves and cakes demanding more than casual attention. The knitting and the needle-work sections showed promising skill; and we would strongly point out that the judges in this section should have been available in the late afternoon to discuss the reasons for their awards or objections to the knitters. Native women had burned much midnight oil in preparing their exhibits, and they deserved more explanation of their shortcomings than a few comments on paper left on their exhibits. Such precaution would pave the way for better productions next year, and incidentally avoid disappointment among those who were not aware of their faults. We may also humbly point out that in the bread and cake section the country competitors seem to have a genuine grievance in being made to compete with Native women in the employ of European households in town. The up-to-date facilities available for Native women in town for baking enable them to produce superior articles by virtue of the more favourable conditions which are lacking in the country. The Native art and crafts sections included highly finished walking sticks, decorated with fancy carvings of human heads; bead-woven doyles, grass mats, home-made yokes, skeys etc; but the entries could treble the number exhibited with benefit to the artisans themselves. "The Lever Show" was an unqualified success, and should act as an incentive to both sponsors and patrons in aiming at higher standards next year.

APPRECIATION OF THE LATE MR. HOWARD PIM.

.....

The native people of South Africa have suffered a serious loss through the death of Mr. Howard Pim. It is significant that the Reuter cable announcing his death described him as a "negrophilist" — all too often a term of abuse in South Africa.

Mr. Howard Pim's association with native affairs is known. He was one of the first Europeans in this country to take part in the work of the Joint Councils of Natives and Europeans. He was for many years the Chairman of the Johannesburg Joint Council and at the time of his death was its President. He was associated with the South African Institute of Race Relations and was the treasurer of that organisation. Natives everywhere will recall his generous gift of the sports ground in Johannesburg. It must be known that in this gift Mr. Hardy his business partner, shared.

It would be difficult to enumerate all Mr. Pim's activities in the interests of the native people of South Africa. He was a minister of the governing council of Lovedale, also of the Ohlange Institute He was keenly interested in the Western Township Co-operative Society to the success of which he made a valuable contribution with his advice as a Chartered Accountant. As recently as last year Mr. Pim was engaged on an Economic Survey of the Transkei. He was treasurer of the Bridgman Hospital and all Natives who sought his help and advice with a view to improve themselves found it in Mr. Pim.

Natives showing artistic talent have in many cases been helped by Mr. Pim's personal interest and generosity. As a partner in the firm of accountants of Howard Pim and Hardy Mr. Pim was well known in Johannesburg. He was a member of the Society of Friends. His personal integrity and keen sense of justice were qualities respected by those who did not share his personal convictions.

New Educational Fellowship

Native Opinion 5-15-34 South Africa

The biggest and most important educational conference ever held in South Africa is now being organised. It will be held in Cape Town from July 2nd to 13th, and in Johannesburg from July 16th to 27th, under the auspices of the New Educational Fellowship, an international body which includes the most prominent educational experts of the world. There will be many distinguished speakers from overseas, such as Professor John Dewey (New York), Pierre Bovet (Geneva), Giovanni Gentile (Italy), Dr. W. Stern (Hamburg), Dr. William Boyd (Glasgow), Dr. v. d. Leeuw (Holland) and some fifteen others equally well-known.

There will be several sections of the Conference but the largest—and perhaps the most important—will be the Native Education section, the programme of which has now been issued. The theme of the Conference is "the adaptation of education to meet the rapidly changing needs of society, with special reference to South Africa." At Cape Town there will be nine papers in the Native Education section and forty in Johannesburg. At both centres the overseas speakers will co-operate with men and women who have exceptional knowledge

and experience of African conditions. The anthropologists will include Professor B. Malinowski, Mrs. A. W. Hoernle, Dr. I. Schapera, Dr. W. Eiselen and Dr. Monica Hunter and Mr. P. A. W. Cook; among the educationists will be Professor Mabel Carney (New York); Professor Victor Murray (Hull), author of "The School in the Bush," Mr. H. Jowitt, Director of Native Development, Southern Rhodesia; Rev. J. Dougall, former Principal of the Jeanes School, Kabete, Nairobi; several Inspectors of Native Education and several Africans, including Professor D. D. T. Jabavu of the South African Native College, Fort Hare; Rev. K. T. Motsete, Principal of Tati Training Institution Bechuanaland Protectorate and Mrs. Mahuma Morake, Principal of Wilberforce Institute, Evaton, Transvaal. The economic aspects will be dealt with by Dr. J. E. Holloway, who was Chairman of the Native Economic Commission, and health by Dr. B. T. Squires of Jane Furse Hospital, Sekukuniland and Dr. A. B. Xuma, the African doctor resident in Johannesburg, who is medical officer of Health of Alexandra Township. Linguistic problems will be dealt with by the well-known authorities, Professors C. M. Doke and G. P. Lestrade, and others; while community work will be covered by Professor Coulter (Ohio), who has been in South Africa on two previous occasions to undertake social investigations, and by Mrs. Rheinallt Jones. Several missionaries will also contribute papers.

The Conference is open to Europeans and Non-Europeans on payment of a fee of £2.2.0., covering the meetings at Cape Town and Johannesburg. Enquiries regarding the Native Education section may be addressed to Mr. W. G. A. Mears. Boys' High School, Rondebosch, Cape; or to the South African Institute of Race Relations, P. O. Box 1176, Johannesburg.

AN OUTSPOKEN CRITIC

It is an accepted axiom that the value of opinion is based entirely upon the person who expresses it. On all questions affecting the welfare of our people there are many critics. There is the man for instance, who is steeped in prejudice, whose outlook is so insular that it is impossible for him to realise that there are two sides to a question. Then there is the man who, possessing a smattering of knowledge, imagines that his view is the only one that counts, and that no other matters in the least. The views of those who come under these two categories, and there are many of them, count for very little, and no importance need be attached to any thing they might say. In striking constrast is the opinion of the man who has devoted years of study to a subject, whose mind is full of knowledge resulting from long experience, and whose views are based upon a broad and tolerant outlook and a vision which permits of his taking an unbiassed view. Such an one is Sir James Rose-Innes, than whom the Native peoples of South Africa have no greater or more sincere friend.

For this all-sufficient reason more than ordinary importance and interest attaches to a speech delivered by the ex-Chief Justice of the Union at the recent annual meeting in Capetown of the Joint European and Bantu Council Sir James, by reason of his interest in and enthusiasm for the Native races in South Africa, occupies an outstanding position, a position which enables him to say exactly what he thinks. In his speech he was outspoken regarding the policy of the Government towards our people. The dominating note of what he had to say was, this policy was not one of liberty, but repression. Fifty years ago, he said, the old Cape Government recognised no race distinctions in the fundamentals of liberty, but since Union this attitude had changed, and it was now proposed to segregate the Native population territorially, politically and economically from whom they outnumbered by three to one.

Sir James rightly doubts whether such a policy could be put into full operation, and believes that if it were, the result would be disastrous. While agreeing that that white civilisation must prevail in South Africa, he feels that the best way to preserve it is to include in its privileges and to enlist in its defence every class of inhabitant, irrespective of race, colour or creed. On the other hand the Minister of Defence aims at the dominance of the white man because he was white, and the subservience of the black man because he was black. Few will disagree with the assertion that this is a doctrine of repression "as old as the Pharoahs."

Incidentally the ex-Chief Justice had something of importance to say concerning the Status Bill, which he declared did not materially affect the safeguard of the Native franchise. He emphasised that in the necessity for a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Parliament sitting in joint session for the amendment of the existing laws lies the sheet anchor of Native franchise rights. Sir James likewise criticised the policy of the Government in regard to replacing Native by European labour, in which connection he referred to Mr. Pirow's promise to pay part of the wage bills of local authorities provided they would employ Europeans instead of Natives. In other words, the Minister is prepared to apply public revenue partly drawn from Native taxation for the purpose of ousting Natives from their jobs, and thereby preventing them from earning money wherewith to pay their taxes. As Sir James remarked, this would be incredible if we did not know it was true.

We welcome this outspoken pronouncement for many reasons, chief among which is the fact that our people can take courage in their struggle for fair and just treatment, being assured that ultimately their claims must be recognised.

COMMENTS

(By ANTI-COLOUR BAR.)

We read your expression of thanks to the Government for what it promises to do in the way of training 200 young Native men at Fort Hare for the Medical Profession. When one comes to analyse the whole matter it is just the poor miserable crumbs which fall from the rich man's table. It is by no means a share of his riches. How small and insignificant is the gift when compared with the many millions spent on less important matters. Saturday's Mercury mentions 12,000 signatures to the Petition to the Governor to withhold his signature from the Status Bills. That number by no means represents the intensity of feeling against Sovereign Independence, Republicanism, and Neutrality. Only a few people had the opportunity to put their names on the lists. Feelings against the Bills have been very deep.

Until the Colour-Bar and many other severe disabilities under which Natives groan in the Union have been removed and give place to more Christian and kindly legislation I hope that the British Government will decline to hand over the three Dependencies.

The Union and the Protectorates. (Continued)

prosperity they have become obstacles to their peoples progress. They have neglected their duties towards the people thus bringing about conditions of choas and demoralisation out of which the people must be rescued. The British Administration on the other hand appears to be undecided as to what policy to persue in the Native Territories. It is high time they defined their Native policy and put it to a test before handing over the Protectores to the Union and if it can stand the test and prove successful and progressive then they could be able to tie the Union Government to it, by that time the Union shall not have decided upon anything better and more successful. But unless the Union change their attitude and base their Native policy on the principles of justice and fairplay and give the Native hope and a fair chance of making progress, their Native policy cannot be successful.

Race Problem - 1934 I.

Africa

AKUAPEM KINGDOM

Bi-Centenary,

or

200th Anniversary Of Akropong Dynasty 1733-1933.

Omanhene: OFORIKUMA I. alias SAFORI,-1733

and

Omanhene: OFORIKUMA II - 1933.

History of the Country

By

W. J. A. STAUDT.

(Continued from our issue of December 23, 1933.)

KYEREPONG-AMANNUONUM.

"Amannuonum," meaning lit. Five towns united as brethren or "The five-Confederate towns of Kyerepong," was a title given to the five Kyerepong towns, which have united as brethren in language and everything. Those towns are 1. Abiriw, 2. Dawu, 3. Awukugua, 4. Adukrom and 5. Apirede; though 'Abonse" and "Aseseeso" are in addition, they are reckoned as villages to those principal towns. The village of Abonse lies on the Eastern part of Akropong, in the valley of Bompong river opening towards the Krobo plains and the Volta River, it belongs to the people of "Awukugua, and they are one with the people of "Aseseeso"; they were villages in the former times, but now, they have grown to towns. The Chief of Awukugua was acknowledged in those days as the head of the Kyerepong Confederation, therefore the capital town. One "Awuku" was the Chief of Awukugua, he made a market for all the Akuapems, and on account of that market, the town got its name, "Awukugua", that is, "Awuku's—Market". It was the birth-place of the renowned fetish priest "Okomfo Anochie" of Ashanti fame. He was born here in the middle of the 16th century.

OKOMFO ANOCHIE (ANOKYE).

Tradition says, that in those days superstition reigned very supreme in this Country, and Kyerepong people and others professed heathenism. During this time, Anokye was born in the family of late Kwame Akyeampong's people at Awukugua, residing now at Akropong, the famous Goldsmith; some of them still reside at Awukugua, Adow-Komfo and Okomfo-Asamoas people. It was said: When he was born, he was holding an egg from the womb, which made the people to believe that he would become a wonderful man in the future. His real name was "Anokye" but as he became a fetish priest i. e. "Okomfo" in vernacular, when he grew up, he was styled "Okomfo-Anokye" meaning, fetish priest-Anokye, to distinguish him from others with the same name. When Anokye came of age, he was found to possess a supernatural power which nobody ever had before; and used to play wonders to the astonishment of spectators. Whatever he predicted, came to pass and he was acknowledged to be a Soothsayer, fetish priest and a wonderful magician. When Anokye was at Awukugua, tradition says, a large stone which is still visible and lying on the street of the town, with six holes in it for playing native game called "Oware"; these holes were dug with his own naked hand, with 'six holes' only, that he has completed the game i.e. "Oware aboano". Again he did upset a palm tree, and the roots upwards, whilst the top downwards, near the outskirt of the town, there he made a fence called "Anokye's fetish fence", and ordered the people to worship and play the "Akom-dance" there; It is still called Anokye fetish-fence i.e. "Anokye Akommanmu" up to the present time. Many wonderful things did he perform during the time he stayed there, and he removed afterwards abroad. He left Awukugua on account of some misunderstandings between himself and Kyerepong hunters.

EMIGRATION OF OKOMFO ANOKYE FROM AKWAPEM TO ASHANTI

Okomfo Anokye stayed at Awukugua till he came of age. During that time he made wonders by his magical powers. He ordered that all hunters in the town, may bring him the liver and heart or the bowels of every antelope killed, either in hunting or at any place. The orders were carried out for a certain time, but afterwards stopped. This caused a great row between himself and his people. As the Kyerepong's didnot decide in his favour, he cursed them that Akuapem will in future become a powerful nation, more respected and will be civilized, but Kyerepong people will be subjects to some people who will come and rule over them. There will be no proper improvements in their towns, especially his own town Awukugua, and their honour will be less than those of the other nations.

"Anokye Ban mu" where they was surnamed "Obiri Komfo" fetishkyira, Akwamu and then with Osei priest of Obi or Obiri (Ashanti dialect) and he didn't returnto his town Ashanti, where afterwards he became famous, and established the Ashanti Dynasty. His life story will be published later on. He was the founder called of Gaakoso and Agona towns, and he used lived in the time of King Osei Tutu, remem Opoku Ware, Kusi Bondum and he met died towards the end of King Osei Kwadwo's reign at Agona, about the year 1777. A.D.

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ADUKROM was a village founded by one "Boam", but got its name by one Akem man called 'Adumanuro', who was a native of Anum, then at that time at Nyanawase, the capital of Akwamu, and was one of King Ansa Sasraku's executioners, resident in Boam's village, by generosity of the people around him, he became popular and his name was rather given to the place, that is, "Adu town of Adukrom". (Anum was on Akim land, near Nyanawase in those days, therefore they used to call all as Akem people this proves that the land belonged to the Akems from time immemorial but Akwamus and Anums temporally resided there.] Through marriage, the ruling power was removed from Anukrom to Adukrom, and it became the capital town of the whole Kyerepongs; but for any consulation about political matters or state meetings, they used to meet at Awukugua for action. The Chief, in whose time the ruling power was removed to Adukrom, was called "Sediesa alias Asare Diesa;" during his reign, Prince Safori or Oforikuma of Akem Abuakwa arrived in Akuapem.

It must be borne in mind that during that time, there were no Stools for the chiefs of the Kyerepongs and the Guans who knew nothing about civilization; they have no tribal names as, Asona, Oyoko, Abrade, Agona etc as existing in Akan nations; they inherit on paternal sides, and do not see the importance attached to tribal organizations. Family Stools, which are reckoned by the Akans on maternal side are unknown to them. It was one of the Amanhene of Akuapem at Akropong, called "Fianko Betuafo" who ordered Stools from Akem Abuakwa, and clothes "Adukudon" [grey Baftas] from the Dutch Government, and shared among his Chiefs, who had no idea of these. To show their gratitude to what the Omanhene had done for them, he was styled "Betuafo" which means, one who takes rough clothes. From thence, they became acquainted with stools, and for the first time they used stones as Stools during their assemblies, but now they have abandoned all these, and are imitating the Twi people.

DARTEH OR LARTEH.

1. AHENEASE.
2. KUBEASE.

The town Darteh or Larteh [Twi Darteh], consisted of two towns viz: 1. Ahenease and 2. Kubease, with the chief at Kubease over all as their paramount chief in those days; both towns lie on the Akono mountain, and they belong to Guan nation. Their language is nearly very similar to the Kyerepongs but very difficult to understand therefore they retain it only in their domestic affairs, and speak Twi for their intercourse with other nations.

Tradition says: Ahenease consisted of 30 villages, under their chief called Ani Kotia (Kwadia) who was under the supremacy of the chief of Kubease; hence they were styled "Amanhuasa" meaning thirty towns [cf Twi Akuapem history page 36).

The chief of Kubease asked them to unite all those thirty villages to form one town, but they refused, at the first time; owing to this, the chief of Kubease married a woman from Ahenease, and had children with her. Through this intermarriage, they became one, and have agreed now to their term; the thirty villages were united together and formed one confederate town, and was named 'Ahenease' which became the largest town in Akuapem.

Chief Asiedu Kese was the founder of the Larteh state. He was succeeded by "Gyadu Nkansa, in his old age, and at his hour of death, Prince Safori or Oforikuma arrived in Akuapem, just at the beginning of his successor "Ohene Tete Berentiri's reign (cf. C. C. Reindorf's history, page 93.)

Kubease and Ahenease together formed what we call "Larteh or Darteh" but the name is chiefly given to Ahenease town. The chieftainshipof Kubease was removed to Ahenease (Larteh) thus:—In those days, the chief of Kubease married a woman from Ahenease, and got children with her; the same was done with one from Kubease. During his old age his eldest son from Kubease, who ought to have been the next to the stool after his death, neglected him and did not care for him; but the one from Ahenease rather took all pains to look after the father. Owing to this illtreatment, on the point of death, the old chief bequeathed the stool and his money to the one from Ahenease, and after the death of his father, he brought it to Ahenease where he stayed and ruled both towns; thus the paramountcy came to Ahenease instead of Kubease. As the Guans inherit on the fathers' side, it couldn't revert to its former town Kubease but remained in Ahenease for ever; cf Native Reports in Akuapem history, page 37.

RELIGION OF THE PEOPLE.

Larteh people were the most superstitious people in Akuapem, and the town was the seat of Fetishism. The most important fetish at that time was called "Kon Kom," who was said, came for Krakye, beyond the Volta river, which was the cause of emigration of some of the Larteh people to that side. The next formidable one was called "Akonode" whom the people, even to the present time, acknowledge as the highest deity. The custom of worshipping this fetish, even to this enlightened time, is abominable and fearful; i.e. all women who die in pregnancy, or who die before the seventh day after childbirth are buried with all her personal effects; and even if they have any child still alive, the child is thrown into the grave to die there. The family of the deceased are to be purified, and pass through certain ceremonies before they are admitted into public assemblies. Its name is terrible and fearful in the ears of any one from Larteh or any of the neighbouring towns owing to the immediate punishment inflicted on women who offend the fetish and the horrors of fetishism prevailing in Larteh evil action. The horrors of fetishism prevail greatly in Larteh; thoughin this modern time in which Christianity is concerned, the power is gradually going down, yet it is still acknowledged and worshipped.

EMIGRATION OF LARTEH PEOPLE TO KRAKYE NKONYA SIDE ETC

Tradition says: Fetish "Konkom" was then at that time the highest one for Larteh people, for which a bullock was offered every year. The offering prepared was carried to the mouth of the Cave in which Konkom was said to lodge. The priests and the worshippers had to retire after the offering had been placed there, when Konkom had to come out from the cave and select such parts of the meat as he chose, and leave the rest. Some naughty fellows who wanted to see what the fetish is like, hid themselves at a certain place, there they saw that a certain figure in the form of a man, but with a single eye, a single arm, and a single leg, came out to the offering; they rushed upon him and dragged him out from the hole. This offended Konkom that he entirely left Larteh for Krakye.

To punish them for that desecration, Konkom before quitting Larteh he promised them a wonderful harvest, and therefore advised them to burn all the corn and rice they had stored in barns. They did so, and the consequence was a famine so fearful that they lived on roots. The people at Nwumuru then at Krakye asked the emigrants: "Where do you come from", they replied in Twi "from Darteh", which was corrupted for 'Odente" and ever since been the word has applied to the fetish at Krakye, called "Krakye Dente".

The remnants of the 30 towns came together and formed the present town. "Ahenease" (cf History of the Gold Coast and Asante by C. C. Reindorf page 91-92.

RELIGION OF THE OTHER GUAN NATION.

The other Guan Nation too had their Chief at "Abotakyi" and professed fetishism. They had their fetish called, "Kyenku," whom they acknowledged as the 'Supreme being' and they worshipped it in that town. In the year 1726, the town was destroyed by the Akwamus, therefore, the fetish Kyenku was removed from there to Obosomase (Asantemma) where, afterwards, an agreement was made by the whole Akuapems to serve Safori or Oforikuma and his

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"Komang" for ever, and Akuapem state was properly formed and well organized in about the year 1733. A.D. During that time, "Ofee Agyemang" was chief over the Aburis—"Asare Duesa (Seduesa)" was the Chief over the Kyerepongs, and "Ohene Tete Berentiri" rule the Larteh people.

MAMFE AND THE GUAN NATION.

Mamfe was an important town; before the advent of Akropong people: it was the mouth-piece of the Guan nation; it was the meeting place, and the residence of their principal chief.

Tradition says: In the war, the State Sword was at Mamfe, and from there they had to lead the army. Once, the Chief of Mamfe, through old age, was incapable to go and lead the army, he therefore, deputed the Chief of Kubease to go in his stead, and he gave him the State Sword. After the war, the Chief of Kubease, refused to return the Sword to him; but kept it in his town; from thence, the chieftaincy came to Kubease

It is on account of this tradition, that the State Drums of Mamfe are sounded "*Esiane Akofana*", meaning "Because of the State-Sword (hence he has become younger.)

Though the chieftaincy was taken from them, yet it was arranged that "Every new Chief of Larteh should be installed customarily at Mamfe, and the oath of allegiance also be taken at the same place; before he could be recognized as the head for the Guan nation; and all State meetings should be held at Mamfe; these rules are still observed to this present time.

As those different States were not governed by a King, the country was very often in a state of civil commotion, and these were chiefly between the Guan and Kyerepong tribes.

One Okyeame Aworobeng of Mamfe brought some Danish guns with which he caused troubles to the Kyerepongs and Lartehs. He took many of them prisoners and kept them in his village Amamprobi; at the accession of Safori, the Chief conspired against him, and he was disgraced. To revenge this degradation, Aworobeng armed a dozen of his confidential slaves, and attacked the Kyerepongs and Lartehs and killed hundreds of them. On his way home, he died between Akropong and Mamfe and was buried there. His village with all his land, were afterwards granted to Safori, by all the Chiefs of Akuapem. That was the condition and state of Akuapem before Safori, the prince of Akem arrived. There was no military organization, or any political division among the Akuapems, each state was independent of each other, until it was properly formed in the year 1733, with the arrival of the Akems.

West Africa and Versailles.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

SIR,—You say in your editorial reference to Mr. D'Arcy Cooper's speech, in a recent issue of your paper, that other commercial leaders should take up the discussion which he has opened, in order that, if possible, prosperity should be restored to West Africa.

West Africa

I am not a commercial or any other sort of leader, but I venture to take advantage of your suggestion of free discussion. I am astonished that Mr. D'Arcy Cooper did not mention among the things that are keeping West Africa back, the root-difficulty of the position of the late German Colonies. I know that this raises the whole tremendous business of the revision of the Peace Treaties—and I contend that the sooner we face this the better for the world. 3-3-34

There is not the least likelihood that the politicians in any country, especially France or Great Britain, will of their own motion do what is needed. Just as in 1919 their fear of party and newspaper clamour led them to accept the worst peace in history, so is it to-day. If, however, the leaders of the commercial life of the greater countries concerned agreed upon a programme and urged it upon their respective governments, surely it ought to be possible to get something done? Mr. D'Arcy Cooper, as the head of a vast business which is now largely international, is peculiarly well qualified to set such a movement going, and I hope he will do so.

It must be clear to thinking people that the present system cannot continue indefinitely. Various courses are open. Many Africans, I know, would like to see Africans ruling their own country. That, no doubt, will come; but not in our day. I am not one of those who make railing accusations against Liberia. I see its difficulties. It has had the responsibilities of the capitalistic system without its advantages. But I think the great majority of Africans will agree with me when I say that at present they could not, governing their own territories, get the *personnel* or the loans necessary to the development of their countries and the proper advancement of their people.

It has been proposed by the British Labour Party that British Colonies in tropical Africa should be, together with the Mandate areas, administered under the authority of the League of Nations. There is a great deal to be said for that also, but even the authors of the policy must admit that with Japan and Germany under notice (their own notice) to leave the League, and with the United States and Russia outside, it is not practical politics to apply such a programme to-day.

Really, there are only two practicable courses. The first is for Great Britain to annex. That I am convinced she will not do. It would give the lie to all her professions of her motives in taking part in the War. It would, I shrewdly suspect, create great resentment in the United States. What Germany would feel anybody can imagine.

The remaining course is to return to Germany such of these areas as can be so returned without danger of causing another war. It would be necessary to secure the co-operation of France. It is obvious, for example, that Germany could not be re-

instated in Cameroon, while France kept charge of part of the country, without risk of trouble. I believe that France would not fail to take the long and wise view.

I quite recognise that there is difficulty, immense difficulty, even possibility of danger, whichever way we turn. The men who signed the "Peace" on our behalf assumed an appalling responsibility themselves, and, what matters more, imposed an appalling responsibility upon those who come after them. But it seems that the worst course of all is to do nothing. It does not seem to me common sense to suppose that Germany will for ever contemplate in quietness the fact that France, Great Britain, Japan, Australia and South Africa are practically in possession of her former Colonies, while she, with a greater population than ours or that of France, is without Colonial territory. At present, all that that great, rich country, British-Mandate Cameroon, is doing is draining away from Nigeria resources which that country needs for its own development and and the proper staffing and payment of its public debts. There is no real stability in the Cameroon and there will be no real development until the basic political position is made clear.—Yours faithfully,

P. N. B.

London, February 20.

Bantu Voters' Dwindling.

Native Opinion

The calamity of non-European registered parliamentary voters dwindling in appalling numbers cannot be over-emphasised. [illegible] we reproduced in the vernacular columns of Umsebenzi [illegible] statement on the matter which appeared in "The Presbyterian Churchman" by Mr. Archibald Linton M. P. C. of Port Elizabeth. In December last, the Cape Native voters, assembled in this town, treated Mr. Linton's observations with the utmost seriousness, passed resolutions and instituted measures to arrest the scourge which is eating like a cancer into the political life of the Africans.

Quite recently "The Sunday Times" commented editorially on the noticeable decline in the number of Bantu voters, and the remarks of our contemporary leave a gloomy impression in the minds of the voters concerned. On the other hand the "Times" ends up by exposing the fallacy of the arguments so often adumbrated by Nationalist scaremongers, the bogey of the rising tide of colour.

According to our contemporary's deductions, the present strength of the non-European vote is 34,613; and the following interesting details are then given:—

"Native and Coloured voters in the Union have declined in number by several thousands. This has come to light in consequence of the preparation of certain comparative figures by the Government, based on the two last biennial registrations. Owing to the approach of a decision on the Native Franchise Bills in the Union Parliament this is a matter of particular importance at present. Registrations of Coloured voters are almost back where they were eleven years ago in 1923.

Here are the figures for the last two enumerations (those for Indian voters are given separately):—

In 1933 there were 23,836 voters of "mixed and coloured races."

In 1931 there were 25,024 voters of "mixed and coloured races."

The decline amounts to 1,188. Of the above figures Natal accounts for 302 in 1933, as against 326 in 1931.

Equally impressive is the drop in Bantu voters:

In 1933 there were 10,777

In 1931 the figure was 12,271.

The decrease amounts to 1,494

Compared with previous years the present electoral roll for Natives is the smallest since 1919, when 9,803 were entered. The highest figure was that of 1927, when it rose to 16,481.

Puzzling fluctuations in the numbers of Coloured voters are on record there being substantial previous drops in 1921 (about 2,000), 1925 and 1929.

The present declines are attributed to the closer application of the property qualification rules in the coastal provinces.

Several constituencies in South Africa have numbers of Coloured voters substantial enough to turn the balance in case of an election. Woodstock has the largest number of Coloured voters (1,377 out of 5,024 enrolled). Then follow Wynberg (1,128), Cape Town Castle (1,115), Stellenbosch (1,098) and Maitland (1,028). No other constituency has over 1,000, but there are imposing figures in Hottentots Holland (951), Kimberley (800) and Belleville (668)

Salt River, which is commonly regarded as a Coloured citadel, has only 503, being surpassed by Malmesbury, Claremont, Cape Town Central, Paarl and several other areas.

Of Native voters the biggest enrolment exists in Tembuland (1,472), followed by Griqualand (968) and Cathcart (789). Piquetberg has only a single Bantu, and quite a number of constituencies have none at all.

Malays are most plentiful in the Cape Town Castle division (275), while the Asiatic centre is Kimberley (140), followed, curiously enough, by East London (80). In Natal the Coloured element is strongest at Maritzburg (89).

The present figures are being subjected to careful analysis by the special committees on Native legislation, and some experts hold that they dispose of the bogey of the "rising tide of colour."

Correspondence

Brownlee & Ridsdel Locations.

Native Opinion 7-3-34

EDITOR, "Imvo" Kingwilliamstown

Sir, Kingwilliamstown Africa

We the undersigned residents on behalf of Brownlee and Ridsdel Locations, voice our profound gratitude to Canon Hanley of the Anglican Church, for sparing his time on the 24th ultimo: to inspect several buildings of Ginsberg and Leightonville Locations. On the 19th. Feb., 1934 there was a deputation sent by Ridsdel residents to meet the Councillors on the Ridsdel removal question.

Judging from the discussions of the Councillors one would never have thought that the conditions in Ginsberg and Leightonville Locations were not better than those of Ridsdel and Brownlee Locations. It is regretful that some King William's Town Councillors have departed from the primitive fundamental rule. The Ridsdel Location contains a church building where the Native children attend the day school. In 1924 the Brownlee and Ridsdel schools were amalgamated.

The present generation of the Councillors has trodden the law of the Magna Charta which was signed by King John seven hundred and nineteen years ago. The Great Charta contained two main rules:—

No 1 says that no freeman shall be punished unless he has broken the law.

No 2 says that to no man will we sell, to no man will we deny or delay, right or justice.

It is obvious that there can be no freedom in any country unless these two rules are observed. To punish an an innocent man, to object to do right between man and man—these things are the worst evils and can only be practised in a country where people are slaves.

Race Problem - 1934 I
Africa

AKUAPEM KINGDOM

Bi-Centenary,

or,

200th Anniversary Of Akropong Dynasty 1733-1933.

Omanhene: OFORIKUMA I. alias SAFORI,-1733

and

Omanhene: OFORIKUMA II - 1933.

History of the Country

By

W. J. A. STAUDT.

(*Continued from our issue of December 23, 1933.*)

KYEREPONG-AMANNUONUM.

"Amannuonum," meaning lit Five towns united as brethren o "The five-Confederate towns of Kye repong," was a title given to the five Kyerepong towns, which have united as brethren in language and every-thing. Those towns are 1. Abiriw, 2. Dawu, 3. Awukugua, 4. Adu-krom and 5. Apirede; though 'Abon-se" and "Aseseeso" are in addition they are reckoned as villages to those principal towns. The village of Abon se lies on the Eastern part of Akro-pong, in the valley of Bompong river opening towards the Krobo plains and the Volta River, it belongs to the people of Awukugua, and they are one with the people of 'Aseseeso'; they were villages in the former times, but now they have grown to towns. The Chief of Awukugua was acknowledged in those days as the head of the Kyerepong Confedera-tion, therefore the capital town. One "Awuku" was the Chief of Awukugua, he made a market for all the Akuapems, and on account of that market, the town got its name, "Awukugua", that is, "Awuku's—Market". It was the birth-place of the renowned fetish priest "Okomfo Anochie" of Ashanti fame. He was born here in the middle of the 16th century.

OKOMFO ANOCHIE (ANOKYE).

Tradition says, that in those days, superstition reigned very supreme in this Country, and Kyerepong people and others professed heathenism. During this time, Anokye was born in the family of late Kwame Akyeam pong's people at Awukugua, residing now at Akropong, the famous Gold-smith; some of them still reside at Awukugua, Adow-Komfo and Okom fo-Asamoas people. It was said: When he was born, he was holding an egg from the womb, which made the people to believe that he would become a wonderful man in the fu-ture. His real name was "Anokye" but as he became a fetish priest i. e. "Okomfo" in vernacular, when he grew up, he was styled "Okomfo-Anokye" meaning, fetish priest-Ano kye, to distinguish him from others with the same name. When Ano-kye came of age, he was found to possess a supernatural power which nobody ever had before; and used to play wonders to the astonishment of spectators. Whatever he pre dicted, came to pass and he was ack-nowledged to be a Soothsayer, fe-tish priest and a wonderful magi-cian. When Anokye was at Awuku gua, tradition says, a large stone which is still visible and lying on the street of the town, with six holes in it for playing native game called "Oware"; these holes were dug with his own naked hand, with 'six holes' only, that he has completed the game i.e. "Oware aboano". Again he did upset a palm tree, and the roots upwards, whilst the top down wards, near the outskirt of the town, there he made a fence called "Ano-kye's fetish fence", and ordered the people to worship and play the "Akom-dance" there; It is still call ed Anokye fetish-fence i.e. "Anokye Akommanmu" up to the present time. Many wonderful things dic he perform during the time he stayed there, and he removed after-wards abroad. He left Awuku gua on account of some misunder-standings between himself and Kye repong hunters.

EMIGRATION OF OKOMFO ANO KYE FROM AKWAPEM TO ASHANTI

Okomfo Anokye stayed at Awu kugua till he came of age. Dur ing that time he made wonders by his magical powers. He ordered that all hunters in the town, may bring him the liver and heart or the bowels of every antelope killed either in hunting or at any place The orders were carried out for a certain time, but afterwards stopped This caused a great row between himself and his people. As the Kyerepong's didnot decide in his favour, he cursed them that Akua pem will in future become a power ful nation, more respected and wille civilized, but Kyerepong people will be subjects to some people who will come and rule over them. There will be no proper improve-ments in their towns, especially his own town Awukugua, and their honour will be less than those of the other nations.

He quitted the place, for the Great Desert of Sahara and went to a town called "Obi" famous in superstition where afterwards he at Akem parts. He travelled to Dan-

fetish priest Akwamu and then with Osei kyira, Tutu, the King of Ashanti arrived in dia-Ashanti, where afterwards he became famous, and established the Ashanti his Dynasty. His life story will be pub arture, lished later on. He was the founder at the of Gaakoso and Agona towns, and he called lived in the time of King Osei Tutu, used Opoku Ware, Kusi Boadum and emem met died towards the end of King Osei Kwadwo's reign at Agona, about the cheh year 1777. A.D.

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He quitted the place, for the Great Desert of Sahara and went to a town called "Obi" famous in superstition where afterwards he was surnamed "Obiri Komfo" fetish priest of Obi or Obiri (Ashanti dialect) and he didn't returnto his town Ashanti, where afterwards he became famous, and established the Ashanti Dynasty. His life story will be published later on. He was the founder called of Gaakoso and Agona towns, and he lived in the time of King Osei Tutu, Opoku Ware, Kusi Boadum and met died towards the end of King Osei Kwadwo's reign at Agona, about the year 1777. A.D.

"Anokye Ban mu" where they ADUKROM was a village founded by

one "Boam", but got its name by one Akem-man called 'Adumanuro', who was a native of Anum, then at that time at Nyanawase, the capital of Akwamu, and was one of King Ansa Sasraku's executioners, resident in Boam's village; by generosity to the people around him, he became popular, and his name was rather given to the place, that is, "Adu's town or Adukrom". (Anum was on Akem land, near Nyanawase in those days, therefore they used to call all as Akem-people this proves that the land belonged to the Akems from time immemoria but Akwamus and Anums temporally resided there.] Through marriage, the ruling power was removed from Awukugua to Adukrom, and it became the capital town of the whole Kyerepongs; but for any consulation about political matters or state meetings, they used to meet at Awukugua for action. The Chief, in whose time the ruling power was removed to Adukrom, was called "Sediesa alias Asare Diesa;" during his reign, Prince Safori or Oforikuma of Akem Abuakwa arrived in Akuapem.

It must be borne in mind that during that time, there were no Stools for the chiefs of the Kyerepongs and the Guans who knew nothing about civilization; they have no tribal names as, Asona, Oyoko, Abrade, Agona etc as existing in Akan nations; they inherit on paternal sides, and do not see the importance attached to tribal organizations. Family Stools, which are reckoned by the Akans on maternal side are unknown to them. It was one of the Amanhene of Akuapem at Akropong, called "Fianko Betuafo" who ordered Stools from Akem Abuakwa, and clothes "Adukudon" [grey Bafts) from the Dutch Government, and shared among his Chiefs, who had no idea of these. To show their gratitude to what the Omanhene had done for them, he was styled "Betuafo" which means, one who takes rough clothes. From thence, they became acquainted with stools, and for the first time they used stones as Stools during their assemblies, but now they have abandoned all these, and are imitating the Twi people.

Darteh Or Larteh.

1. Ahenease.
2. Kubease.

The town Darteh or Larteh [Twi Darteh], consisted of two towns viz: 1. Ahenease and 2. Kubease, with the chief at Kubease over all as their paramount chief in those days; both towns lie on the Akono mountain, and they belong to Guan nation. Their language is nearly very similar to the Kyerepongs but very difficult to understand therefore they retain it only in their domestic affairs, and speak Twi for their intercourse with other nations.

Tradition says: Ahenease consisted of 30 villages, under their chief called Ani Kotia (Kwatia) who was under the supremacy of the chief of Kubea Kyerepongs; but for any consulationse; hence they were styled "Amanauasa" meaning thirty towns [cf Twi Akuapem history page 36).

The chief of Kubease asked them to unite all those thirty villages to form one town, but they refused, at the first time, owing to this, the chief of Kubease married a woman from Ahenease, and had children with her, Through this intermarriage, they became one, and have agreed now to their term; the thirty villages were united together and formed one confederate town, and was named Ahenease' which became the largest town in Akuapem.

Chief Asiedu Kese was the founder of the Larteh state. He was succeeded by "Gyadu Nkansa, in his old age, and at his hour of death, Prince Safori or Oforikuma arrived in Akuapem, just at the beginning of his successor "Ohene Tete Berentiri's reign (cf. C. C. Reindorf's history, page 93.)

Kubease and Ahenease together formed what we call "Larteh or Darteh" but the name is chiefly given to Ahenease town. The chieftainship of Kubease was removed to Ahenease (Larteh) thus:—In those days, the chief of Kubease married a woman from Ahenease, and got children with her; the same was done with one from Kubease. During his old age his eldest son from Kubease, who ought to have been the next to the stool after his death, neglected him and did not care for him; but the one from Ahenease rather took all pains to look after the father. Owing to this illtreatment, on the point of death, the old chief bequeathed the stool and his money to the one from Ahenease, and after the death of his father, he brought it to Ahenease where he stayed and ruled both towns; thus the paramountcy came to Ahenease instead of Kubease. As the Guans inherit on the fathers' side, it couldn't revert to its former town Kubease but remained in Ahenease for ever; cf Native Reports in Akuapem history, page 37.

Religion Of The People.

Larteh people were the most superstitious people in Akuapem, and the town was the seat of Fetishism. The most important fetish at that time was called "Kon Kom," who it was said, left for Krakpe, beyond the Volta river, which was the cause of emigration of some of the Larteh people to that side. The next formidable one was called "Akonode" whom the people, even to the present time, acknowledge as the highest deity. The custom of worshipping this fetish, even to this enlightened time, is abominable and fearful; i.e. all women who die in pregnancy, or who die before the seventh day after childbirth are buried with all her personal effects; and even if they have any child still alive, the child is thrown into the grave to die there. The family of the deceased are to be purified, and pass through certain ceremonies before they are admitted into public assemblies. Its name is terrible and fearful in the ears of any one from Larteh or any of the neighbouring towns owing to the immediate punishment inflicted on women who offend the fetish and the horrors of fetishism prevailing in Larteh evil action. The horrors of fetishism prevail greatly in Larteh; though in this modern time in which Christianity is concerned, the power is gradually going down, yet it is still acknowledged and worshipped.

Emigration Of Larteh People To Krakye Nkonya Side Etc.

Tradition says: Fetish "Konkom" was then at that time the highest one for Larteh people, for which a bullock was offered every year. The offering prepared was carried to the mouth of the Cave in which Konkom was said to lodge. The priests and the worshippers had to retire after the offering had been placed there, when Konkom had to come out from the cave and select such parts of the meat as he chose, and leave the rest. Some naughty fellows who wanted to see what the fetish is like, hid themselves at a certain place, there they saw that a certain figure in the form of a man, but with a single eye, a single arm, and a single leg, came out to the offering; they rushed upon him and dragged him out from the hole. This offended Konkom that he entirely left Larteh for Krakye.

To punish them for that desecration, Konkom before quitting Larteh he promised them a wonderful harvest, and therefore advised them to burn all the corn and rice they had stored in barns. They did so, and the consequence was a famine so fearful that they lived on roots. The people at Nwumuru then at Krakye asked the emigrants: "Where do you come from", they replied in Twi "from Darteh", which was corrupted or "Odente" and ever since been the word has applied to the fetish at Krakye, called "Krakye Dente".

The remnants of the 30 towns came together and formed the present town. "Ahenease" (cf History of the Gold Coast and Asante by C. C. Reindorf page 91-92.

Religion Of The Other Guan Nation.

The other Guan Nation too had their Chief at "Abotakyi" and professed fetishism. They had their fetish called, "Kyenku," whom they acknowledged as the Supreme being and they worshipped it in that town In the year 1726, the town was destroyed by the Akwamus, therefore the fetish Kyenku was removed from there to Aposomase (Asantemma) where, afterwards, an agreement was made by the whole Akuapems to serve Safori or Oforikuma and his "Komang" for ever, and Akuapem

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state was properly formed and well organized in about the year 1733. A.D. During that time, "Ofee Agyemang" was chief over the Aburis; "Agare Duesa (Seduesa)" was the Chief over the Kyerepongs, and "Ohene Tete Berentiri" rule the Larteh people.

MAMFE AND THE GUAN NATION.

Mamfe was an important town; before the advent of Akropong people: it was the mouth-piece of the Guan nation; it was the meeting place, and the residence of their principal chief.

Tradition says: In the war, the State Sword was at Mamfe, and from there they had to lead the army. Once, the Chief of Mamfe, through old age, was incapable to go and lead the army, he therefore, deputed the Chief of Kubease to go in his stead, and he gave him the State Sword. After the war, the Chief of Kubease, refused to return the Sword to him; but kept it in his town; from thence, the chieftaincy came to Kubease

It is on account of this tradition, that the State Drums of Mamfe are sounded "*Esiane Akofana*", meaning "Because of the State-Sword (hence he has become younger.)

Though the chieftaincy was taken from them, yet it was arranged that "Every new Chief of Larteh should be installed customarily at Mamfe, and the oath of allegiance also be taken at the same place; before he could be recognized as the head for the Guan nation; and all State meetings should be held at Mamfe; these rules are still observed to this present time.

As those different States were not governed by a King, the country was very often in a state of civil commotion, and these were chiefly between the Guan and Kyerepong tribes.

One Okyeame Aworobeng of Mamfe brought some Danish guns with which he caused troubles to the Kyerepongs and Lartehs. He took many of them prisoners and kept them in his village Amamprobi; at the accession of Safori, the Chief conspired against him, and he was disgraced. To revenge this degradation, Aworobeng armed a dozen of his confidential slaves, and attacked the Kyerepongs and Lartehs and killed hundreds of them. On his way home he died between Akropong and Mamfe and was buried there. His village with all his land, were afterwards granted to Safori, by all the Chiefs of Akuapem. That was the condition and state of Akuapem before Safori the prince of Akem arrived. There was no military organization, or any political division among the Akuapems, each state was independent of each other, until it was properly formed in the year 1733, with the arrival of the Akems.

EFFECTS OF EDUCATION

Mangalore Natal

IT is always interesting to consider other people's views concerning the effects of education upon the Native, of his capacity for absorbing what is best in western civilization, and of the extent to which such absorption is calculated to operate upon his mind. It is not always possible, however, to fully understand the opinions that are sometimes expressed, for the all-sufficient reason that they utterly fail to grasp the fundamental principles of the question, and are based upon an entirely wrong outlook. On the other hand, it is gratifying to note that with the increasing interest that is being manifested in the future progress and development of our people, the European public is gradually being led to realise the tremendous importance of the question, while it is equally satisfactory to note that most of the leaders of Bantu thought are seizing each and every opportunity of bringing home to our people the absolute necessity of their realising their responsibilities.

When views upon the question of Native education are expressed by one who has lived and worked among the Native population for a quarter of a century, and who during that period has closely studied their welfare and progress, his opinions are entitled to every respect and consideration. Such an one is the Bishop of Zanzibar, who in the course of a most interesting article published recently in the columns of our Durban contemporary, admits the dangers associated with the effects of education upon the Native mind, if wrongly applied, and stresses the point that the duty of Christianity is to make the Native a good Native rather than a poor imitation of a European. Speaking as a missionary in East Africa for the last 24 years, the Bishop of Zanzibar emphasises that not so very long ago Africa was a land of slavery. Mission work, however, has brought about an enormous change. Slavery in Central Africa and other parts of the Continent has been abolished and to-day the Cathedral in Zanzibar stands on the site of the ancient slave market as a monument to missionary enterprise. His Grace admits that at the present time Africa is terrorised by witchcraft, superstition and every kind of devilry. To the casual observer, he says, the African gives the impression of being a very contented, happy-go-lucky person with no cares or anxieties, but those who really know him, and can talk to him in his own language, arrive at a very different conclusion. In reality, the African is a slave to innate fears which even Christianity finds it difficult to remove entirely.

Few will contest the assertion that the Native has an excellent natural heritage, which needs only the influence of Christianity in order to develop. He has a strong religious instinct, and although he cannot understand God, he is always talking about Him. He is a great believer in the spiritual world, but for reasons that can well be appreciated he is more concerned with its power for evil than with its influence for good. "His life is one long round of sacrifice to protect himself, his home, his cattle, and all he possesses from the forces of evil.....Unlike Europeans, whose lives depend on the relations of men to things, the African is governed by the relations of men to other men. He is interested in his fellows and in the cultivation of a common life. His whole existence depends upon loyalties, devotion to his family and tribe, and respect for his elders especially his Chief".

The Bishop of Zanzibar makes it abundantly clear that, above all, Christianity is the one thing necessary to help the African to meet the impact of western civilisation. To-day, he observes, Africa is developing a new civilisation, the final result of which no one can foresee, but it is hoped that it will be a characteristic civilisation of its own, embodying much that is new and good from the west, but retaining what is of value from its own traditions. A great deal, of course, depends upon the relationship and co-operation between the two races, for while it is undoubtedly true that Africa can never revert to its primitive state, it is also realised that western civilisation is far from flawless. Herein lies the danger. Experience shows that the Native is thirsting for education, that he is capable of assimilating it and that it makes him realise his personal responsibilities in regard to his people's interests. He is passing through a period of transition, and it is most essential that in the process of change he should not jettison what is best in his own traditions.

In conclusion, His Grace the Bishop remarks that it is most important that the Native should have the guidance and spiritual strength of Christianity to steer him safely through this changing period in his country's history. "We ought to sympathise with his new ambitions, and at the same time try and give him respect for himself and all that is of value in his own traditions, so that he may aim at becoming a really good African instead of a poor copy of a European".

The African Child In Proverb, Folk-Lore, And Fact

R. S. RATTRAY.

(Continued from our last issue.)

THE Akan-speaking tribes again have a delightful story to illustrate a precept—to parents, not to children—to the effect that little children should not be left alone in the house. A small boy, the son of a hunter, was left there surrounded by all the trophies of the chase which had been shot from time to time by his father, when who should appear but a leopard, 'the white-spotted-one,' as he is euphemistically called. This leopard, in a process of long drawn-out torture, made the child arrange all the heads in a long row, placing at the end of the line the skull of his brother which had fallen to the hunter's gun. He then commenced to ask the child the name of each. The infant, with great presence of mind, procrastinates and [illegible] over the name of each in hopes his father will return. To the leopard's stern query: 'What kind of beast is this?' the child replies not only with a recitation of the animal's name, but he also gives all the *sobriquets* of each kind of animal; for example, he says: 'This is *Otwe*, the little duyker, the little duyker, the little duyker, whose title is "If-ever-unhappy-the-fault-lies-with the hunter;" father killed this duyker; when his gun went off, pomm! I shouted, "Alas!"' And so on through a score of heads until the leopard comes to the skull of his brother. Then the leopard said, drawing nearer to his intended victim, 'And this one, eh?' and the child answered, 'Let father come first before I name it, for it is fearful.' To cut a long story short, the infant's presence of mind saves a very unpleasant situation, and the moral of the story points not at the child, but at his careless parent for his neglect.

The elders rather get their own back in another story the title of which is 'A girl should marry him to whom she is given in marriage.' This story relates how a certain maiden called Kwaboaso refused to marry a very worthy and eligible hunter with whom her parents wished to mate her, on what seemed to them totally inadequate grounds. 'Ugh!' she said, 'this man has ticks on him, I don't want him.' But this same hunter was to save Kwaboaso when she fell into the hands of the fairies, who were pinching her to death. So grateful was she that after due reflection she sent messengers to the hunter to say she would now wed him, but he, very much on his dignity, declined and sent back a message saying that was quite impossible, as the ticks were still there. This story, we feel, was certainly invented by some grown-up person.

There is one story which I feel must thrill every child of spirit whatever its colour. It bears the rousing and stirring title, 'How it came about that children were first whipped.' This title is seemingly a sure guarantee that its author was some irate adult, but a perusal of the narrative shows that if this were the case then the elders were not afraid to have a dig at their own foibles, for it is 'father' who first earns a good hiding, which his cupidity and duplicity well deserve. Only at the end of the story does the youngest child whose 'cuteness,' as the Americans would say, had been the means, of showing up father, come in for a good whipping. The whip used, which in the story is personified, is then cut into little pieces and scattered all over the earth. That is how it came into such general use.

'How it came about that children first learned to play by moonlight' might, I fear, be taken as a text by pedants or cranks who would use it to advocate early bed-time hours for the little ones, instead of dancing and singing half the night through on the cool tropic nights when the moon is full; so over this story I shall draw a discreet veil.

There is another charming tale about girl twin sisters, to illustrate another maxim, 'When some one spoils something of yours accidentally, don't demand payment for it.' One of the twins, accidentally, lost the other twin's beads. The owner, very angry, demanded in their stead 'a leaf from a tree that bears but a single leaf; the nest of the little Aserewa Bird; water gurgling pon-pon-pon-ponsa; the claw of father leopard; the tail of the Queen Mother of all the elephants off by the root.' This unfair demand led to the death of the elder twin.

There is the story of the fool of the family which illustrates how Africans seem well aware that it is not always the apparently most showy or cleverest children who will turn out the most practical or fullest of common sense in the long run. Here the food and butt of parents and brothers and sisters, whose sad little refrain runs:

Mother bore me a foolish child,
Hurutun!
Father begat me a foolish child,
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saved a wellnigh distracted family from the enchantments and machinations of a bad fairy. The story ends: 'That is why, if you have children, open your eyes wide, and look equally well after them all, for you do not know but that at some future time, in the day of trouble, the fool of the family may not come and save you.'

There are dozens of stories all centred round the childless woman who longs for a child. I suppose 90 per cent. of the prayers offered up to pagan gods by African girls solicit the blessing of children. I do not believe that this ardent desire is one whit in excess of their capability of bringing them up if these prayers are answered.

Children show great independence and never seem to lack resource and initiative in these tales. There is the story of the nagging mother of—be it confessed—a rather disobedient child. The mother was always threatening her child with the some what cryptic 'Wait there and you will see.' The child, at last thoroughly exasperated, retorted: 'I am sick and tired of being told "Wait there and you will see," so instead of waiting for it, I am going off in search of it that I may see it.' She met her death in this quest, but very strikingly, I think, the moral of that tragedy is not that children should be more obedient, but that parents should never threaten children with vague undefined punishments which worry their young immature minds.

Again, in these tales the youngest and somewhat kept-under child is constantly coming to the rescue of elder brothers and sisters.

There is another charming tale of how the interplay of friendship first came into the world. An infant, unknown to any one, had made friends with the child of a leopard. They grew up to boyhood and leopard hood respectively. But the leopard was accidentally shot by the human child's neighbours, and the human child could not survive in the grief. He shot himself and the two were buried side by side. From what I know of African and African fauna, this could easily be a story founded upon fact.

These are just a few extracts from tales chosen almost at random. These stories and scores more like them are known to every African child from the time he or she first learns to walk and talk. They give to us Westerners, [illegible] answers to many of our questionings regarding the position and status of children [illegible] their grown-ups. Not one of these tales exhibit any bad precepts which we need be concerned to eradicate; rather they show an understanding of child nature which may well often excite our admiration. Such things more than counteract, in my opinion, mistakes and even occasional foolishness

I propose to draw from two distinct areas of Africa for more precise details as to how the African child is brought up in actual practice. The first of these is the country known as the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. This territory forms part of the Gold Coast Colony. It is inhabited by a primitive people, properly. The sense that they still go about naked or dressed only in leaves or skins. The second area is to the south of this and is the better known protectorate of Ashanti. Here culture has for long been in that state which might be designated as barbaric.

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Africa

the Great War was second to none. You will perhaps have guessed that I place courage as the most lovely of the virtues, and these people are fearless and courageous to a high degree. And yet it is in this very region, with its almost unadulterated native beliefs and superstitions, that most of those evils which our western civilization would rightly wish to eradicate may still be found—witchcraft, incision ceremonies, blind faith in, and fear of, the power of ancestral spirits, but withal a firm belief in a High God. The data which I shall now lay before you are the actual answers to questions put to the parents as to what constitutes their principles in bringing up children.. I shall give you the actual words of my informants:

'About eight years of age when a girl can work and use reason, her mother is always showing her how to sweep out the rooms and yard and how to wash plates and calabashes. The girl herself will also learn little things from her companions—how to twist *kenkase* grass bangles, how to wear her leaves properly; she will at first only wear leaves behind, *vokapela*, *kenkalega nyea* and *lua* leaves. When she nears puberty and "strikes" having breasts, she learns how to weave and wear *visi* in place of always wearing leaves. If her mother is a potteress or a basket-maker, the girl will sit and watch her mother at work and the mother will also instruct her a little. She will follow her mother in the rainy-season time, when the shea-butter trees bear fruit, and learn how to collect the nuts and make shea-butter oil. She learns how to grind corn and fetch water; the making of grain foods, and how to make soup and stews, in order to know how to do all these things in the future. Her mother shows her how a girl should sleep on a mat with a boy who is not her husband. The mother teachers her daughter thus, You will perhaps have guessed that and if she follows her advice, people will say, "So and so has a good daughter." She advises her not to run after the boys, telling her that if a girl always run after boys, she will be called a *bon barega* (a worthless thing). She says, "Do not be of a flighty character, such conduct causes the good in a person to be wasted. When you and your companions are together somewhere don't let your mouth rise higher than theirs, that is how a person gets a bad character given her and how bad characters are formed. You do not want people to say that you are not a good girl. That will pour you out" and cause the loss of your things and of ours. If you are talking with a person let sense live in what you say, that will keep your head high, and you will be able to live with your husband and enjoy your things. Do not laugh at old men or old women, or if you see a person with part of his body crooked. When you laugh at such people, they will "do" you, and not say that you are some one's good daughter." When she learns dancing with her companions the mother says, "Beware of wildness in dancing, and of dancing new steps on your own, that will only bring you the reputation of being a light head; conduct such as that pours everything away." When she follows her companions to attend the incision ceremony, her mother instructs her how to behave in a strange town, so that a bad report of her may not be brought back among the compounds. Her mother says, "Be gentle that my heart may not be sick." If a girl has sense, she will follow this advice. Her mother will buy her wrist bangles, elephant teeth bangles, beads, waist strings, and everything a girl needs.'

And again, still dealing with these Northern Territory tribes: 'They perform all these small customs until an infant is grown, until it is able to fetch a thing, and has learned to work for itself. A male child will learn how to herd live stock, to follow sheep, and after learning how to do that—cattle. A girl must learn to work in the house, learn how to grind flour, sweep up refuse get grass for mats, and do other women's work. When a boy has followed the sheep and next the cattle and learned how to do work other than the following of animals, he will turn to farming with his father. He will have his own small plot for grain crops his own ground nut plot, his own plot for potatoes. He will also learn hunting with his neighbours.'

Questions in Parliament

QUESTION.

XXI. Mr. van Coller asked the Minister of Native Affairs.

(1) Whether, owing to the provisions of the Tobacco Quota Act and the unsuitability of Native grown tobacco for export, the European traders of the Transkei are refusing to purchase Native grown tobacco and as a result the Natives are unable to pay their taxes; if so,

(2) whether he has made any representations to the Minister of Agriculture on behalf of the Natives to relax the quota of Native grown tobacco; if so, with what result, and

(3) whether any Native grown tobacco has been exported under the provisions of the Tobacco Quota Act; if not what has happened to such quota liable to export?

REPLY.

(1) Information is to the effect that the great majority of traders refuse to deal in tobacco owing to the provisions of Tobacco Control Act and for this reason very few have taken out licences. It is not considered that their action in this regard has had any appreciable effect upon the Native tax position.

(2) No.

(3(The Department has no information in this connection. All returns are rendered by traders direct to the Agricultural Department.

Loc. Advisory Boards Congress.

(CONTRIBUTED)

(Continued)

By raising this matter "you have certainly thought in the right direction," said Mr. Ross. "I want to say further," continued Mr. Ross, "that Langa is still a very new Native township, and is now nearly full, but I hope you will see that every inhabitant is happy and healthy, and I hope you will see in it a token of the good spirit of the fathers of the City of Cape Town towards the Native population whom they wished a happy and prosperous future." He could assure them that so long as that duty was entrusted to him he would endeavour in the future as in the past to do everything humanly possible to make that township prosperous, and he hoped the time would soon come when there would be such contentment that the Native population of the City of Cape Town would come to stay there happily and contentedly. He trusted the delegates would go away satisfied from what they would see

that there was no town in the Union of South Africa which did so much for the Native population and recognised its responsibility as did the City of Cape Town. In conclusion he said they would take a keen interest in the deliberations of the Congress and hoped their decisions would be characterised by sound judgment (cheers.)

Mr. H. C. M. Jenner, Assistant Native Commissioner in Cape Town, welcoming the delegates said he thanked the members of the local Boards for their invitation, which was the first of its kind in Cape Town. He said that meetings of that sort could do much good as they afforded an opportunity for discussion and brought into personal touch those responsible for administration on local Boards. Discussion would enable the delegates to get information about the Bantu people in various parts of the Union. He was glad to see so many present. It was encouraging to see that what they were trying to do was being appreciated by the public. He wished them every success, and hoped their deliberations would be of practical assistance to the Administration (cheers.)

Mr. R. J. du Toit, M.P., said he was not there to make a political speech, but he and other members of Parliament who owed their membership partly to Native voters as far as lay in their power they would see that Natives were governed fairly, and that they of the Cape insisted that if fusion, which meant confusion to them and to some extent to Europeans themselves, came about, the rights of their Native friends would be protected. He said it was encouraging to see such a representative gathering as a result of which much good he hoped would accrue to Natives who lived in the locations. He wondered if the feature of the urban areas was fully realised in discussions of the Native problem. The urban Natives could not be treated as those who lived in the kraals, because they had adopted civilised methods of living. They will watch the decisions of that Congress very carefully. In Parliament they desired to express what they felt is what the Natives thought was in their best interests. They desired harmony between white and black (cheers.)

The Vote £35,000

A fortnight ago the Union Assembly passed the Native Affairs Vote amounting to the huge figure of £35,000. The manner in which this sum has been disbursed by the Government was prominently brought to the public gaze by several pertinent questions from Mr A. B. Payn, M.P. for Tembuland. The Acting Minister of Native Affairs (Mr. Duncan) explained, in answer to a question, that £23,250 of the vote had been expended on agricultural development in Native areas, the sinking of wells, eradication of noxious weeds, dam-making, conservation of water and the combating of soil erosion. Part of the vote was absorbed, he said, by measures to relieve unemployment among the Bantu, and in the supply of food among the distressed.

It was however of particular significance that Mr. Duncan failed to explain how much of the vote was expended in the Transkei. The member for Tembuland thereupon ejaculated that not a single penny was spent in this part of the Native reserves. He drew the ludicrous parallel of the Transkei's contributions in taxation being more than half that of the whole of the Free State, thereby depicting the Government's unfair distribution of funds in its favouritism of the Free State and other northern provinces.

It must be conceded, in fairness to Mr. Duncan, that his rejoinder that no requests for relief measures were received from the Chief Magistrate of the Transkei, rather weakens the claim for financial assistance to the Transkei. This however does not dispose of the glaring fact that employment in the Transkei is as keenly sought after as in any other part of the Union. Mr. Payn forcefully stated that the restriction as regards the quota of labourers for the gold mines has resulted in considerable unemployment. The question of providing labour to the unemployed Natives seemed to have been partly settled when Mr. Payn suggested that a large sum be set aside for repairs to the treacherous and boggy roads in the Transkei. We heartily endorse this idea. The Transkei and Ciskei Native territories have had precious little spent on them from the Native Affairs vote of £35,000. The fact that there existed local councils in these areas is no reason why they should be shabbily treated when the funds to which they largely contribute are being apportioned by Parliament. The local councils are more often than not out of funds to give what may be regarded as a fair attention to the roads which are in a disgraceful state of disrepair. Extra expenditure on them is necessary, and we opine that it is time the Native reserves in the eastern Cape province received some consideration from the Government.

It is unreasonable and unfair to pass the financial responsibility for this class of work on to the Provincial Administration. The Minister of Native Affairs has it in his power to ear-mark a substantial sum from this vote, and to pay the same over to the Provincial authorities with the necessary instructions, in the same way Native education funds are provided. The Cape Administration would then be enabled to take in hand the road repair work that has been sadly neglected for many years past. Incidentally the problem of unemployment among Natives in the Transkei would be solved, and a matter of national importance satisfactorily settled.

Religion and Race Relationship

In the Cathedral Hall, Cape Town to a large audience the Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh delivered an interesting address on 'Religion and Race Relationship.'

"No religion," he said, "has a place for colour bar." He did not believe that there was an instinctive colour prejudice in South Africa. He gave as an illustration the Bantu or Coloured nurse girl and the white child. "Coloured prejudice," he declared, "was caused by environment."

He dwelt at length on the Coloured problem of South Africa. "Repressive measures" he felt could not be carried to their logical conclusion, and gave several instances to show how miserably repression has failed in the past.

"All the great religions were born in Asia. Tell me," he declared with great emphasis, "where in the West have you such a galaxy of names like Buddah, Mohammed, Confucius, Moses, and the greatest of all Christ? What Christian worthy of his honour can be prejudiced against colour when the founder of his religion—Jesus Christ—was an Asiatic?

"I believe there are many of you who are convinced in your heart of the wrong done to your fellow brethren, but are too timid in the respect. I'm told that there are difficulties and difficulties there are—but they must be solved. You who are favoured with the fairer skin have a duty to perform to your less fortunate brethren by using your political influence and educating your children in principles which you believe to be right.

"Civilization," he concluded, "is one big co-operative movement, wherein all races must work in co-operation—every race has a work to do."

Race Problem – 1934

Africa

Political Notes For Gold Coast Students and Teachers

"THAT" SEDITION BILL

The Press The Best Educator Of The Gold Coast African.

By KWAKU WILLIE

Notes for the Teacher. You are aware, Teacher, of the expenditure into which Sir Shenton Thomas is plunging the country due to the necessity of sending a Deputation to Europe. Please, therefore, do not turn away from your school children who may delay a little to pay their fees. Pray be patient with them; their parents whose eyes the present Administration has opened to see our European friends in their true colour are now as interested in education as you yourself.

Notes for the Students. Sir Shenton Thomas has already dragged you into politics by ordering his Minute to be read and interpreted to you; thus now you are a student of politics. You will probably have heard that he declared in Nyasaland that he did not like our rapid progress in education. Now note an ingenuity in the Sedition Bill! The Bill as passed into law has been stripped of a few pernicious teeth; but you must remember that each of its teeth is enslaving, oppressive and destructive. The Bill, summarised, does the following: (1) it regards as offence the possession of a book, newspaper, *correspondent course papers*, etc. which the Governor (now Sir Thomas wishing to be a Dictator, may prohibit; (2), it prohibits the possession of seditious literature; (3 it really muzzles the people by the various definitions of sedition in it.

We will use the figures (1), or (2), or 3 to refer to these points. Now, you school children are in the habit of cutting coupons and sending them to Europe. The matter that is fowarded in reply may be deemed seditious or may contain writing; and since you may not discover that, you may leave it on your father's table. A police officer may see it there, and then arrest both you and your father who is your guardian. Thus the bill (No. 2) forbids you to gain valuable intelligence from abroad. When the Governor's Minute was explained to you, this fact was not mentioned. You see the position? But for you as a school boy this prohibition of foreign literature is not too great a matter, for you may not care to cut and remit coupons etc. With regards to No. (1), there will be a time when the Governor at his pleasure may (because the people to oppose him are muzzled by (No 3), prohibit the importation of books or pamphlets, or correspondence course papers. Here is then the fate of self taught students. What could they do but stop learning at once, and sit down until they forget their Latin and Mathematics? School children must note that they will suffer the same fate, for Sir. Thomas, the healthy obstructionist to West African education for the first time we must suspect, will lower the standard of education, in the Gold Coast Schools and afterwards cancel education entirely. But who could oppose his actions? (No. 3) makes you keep quiet. Each of the teeth of that abominable Sedition Bill can make you a savage and a slave. poor soul!

That's why. That is why your father is contributing to the Delegation Fund. So, for goodness sake do not spend his money foolishly; take great care of pencils and slates Learn hard. For the present, you need have no fear, for the Delegates will soon be going to the Secretary of State, who is waiting to learn our objections. The Aborigines, too say that Sir Thomas must be recalled. The Lords of Downing Street will recall him, because they surely do not want British reputation to be sullied by Sir Thomas. The Gospel is preached now all over the world. In every village of the Gold Coast the name of Jesus is known, and yet our father Sir Thomas, a British son living in the twentieth century, says that the African must not be educated. Even Emperor Nero could not do this.

The Press As Your Dictator. If your parent can afford, you will be educating yourself more, if every Saturday you ask for 6d to buy an issue of the "Gold Coast Independent," which you will read carefully and translate to your father and mother if they cannot read. It is the Press which is educating you, that Sir Thomas seeks to muzzle.

What huge thanks and what praises loud
Do all of us mete out to thee,
Dear "Independent" Editor
Who dost the people teach and me!

Vigilance. After all it is right that Sir Thomas has dragged you into politics, for he has made you really awake to your interests. He has taught you that you are to limit your confidence in the white man in this country, for this time he is changed; he is not the Gold Coast whiteman of the early part of the nineteenth century. He is the whiteman that holds that a Governor's promise is only a scrap of paper, and that his predecessor who did not introduce a Sedition Bill to agitate the whole country, was not acting wisely.

Not out of the Wood.

Recent happenings in the House of Assembly have conclusively proved that the Cape Natives had more than ordinary justification in being alarmed at the threatened disappearance of the King's veto by the Status Bill. The centres of Bantu agitation were in the Bunga, Umtata, and in King William's Town, where the Native Vigilance Association stressed a definite legal point in the South Africa Act (Section 64) which virtually commanded the whole situation. The Transkei Bunga was on all fours with the "King" compatriots in their insistence on the proctective clause being maintained in the Status Bill. The Speaker of the House of Assembly last Tuesday, in reply to Mr. Coulter's point of order, gave an important ruling regarding the entrenched clauses. He laid down that:

"The contention of the hon. member is that in effect the Constitution *Bill*, if it becomes law, will repeal the South Africa Act, including the entrenched clauses, and that it can therefore be dealt with only by a joint sitting of both Houses.

"In my opinion, that contention is wrong, and the passing of the Bill in its present form will not amend or repeal any of the entrenched clauses of the South Africa Act. On the contrary, it is more likely to preserve them.

"The question may arise whether this House can deal with any amendment or repeal of any of the entrenched clauses. Under ordinary circumstances I would not be prepared to give a ruling on that

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Race Problem – 1934

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"The question may arise whether this House can deal with any amendment or repeal of any of the entrenched clauses. Under ordinary circumstances I would not be prepared to give a ruling on that question will not be changed by the passing of the Status Bill or the Constitution Bill.

"The whole existence of this Parliament is based upon the South Africa Act, which is our constitution, in my opinion, until repealed by the provisions of the South Africa Act. It seems to me that constitution regarding the procedure to be followed in connection with the amendment or repeal of the entrenched clauses.

DOUBT REMOVED.

"Notwithstanding the provisions of the Statute of Westminster, I am of opinion that if we desire to amend or repeal any of the entrenched clauses, then we must follow the procedure laid down in the South Africa Act. It seems to me that where there seems to have been some doubt on the matter in the past that doubt will be removed by

the re-enactment of the South Africa Act as an Act of our own Parliament.

"My conclusions are, therefore, first, that the passing of the Constitution Bill in its present form will not repeal or amend any of the entrenched clauses of the South Africa Act, and there is no reason why it should not be proceeded with; second, that no amendments to the Bill can be allowed which seek to amend or repeal any of the entrenched clauses of the South Africa Act."

Strangely enough the considered opinion of the Speaker coincides with that of the "King" Natives who declared that they did not admit that any legislation existed which abrogated the entrenched clauses of the South Africa Act. This outcome gives the Natives the maximum of satisfaction; for all along they have been mercilessly accused by a large section of the European press of allowing themselves to be unduly instigated by a few ultra-imperialists to adopt this attitude. Ofcourse this is a serious reflection on the Native voters' intelligence—in fact it is nothing less than an impudent aspersion.

We believe now that our worthy members of Parliament have been disillusioned, and that they realise the heartless attitude they took up against the sound representations of their black constituents. It was the bombshell exploded by General Smuts in Mr. Payn's letter (that the King's prerogative which protected the Native vote had been withdrawn in 1926) which caused the conflagration in Bantu circles. Much time was wasted by our M.P.'s in supporting the theory as espoused by Gen. Smuts, which now transpires to be in direct conflict with the Speaker's ruling. The amendment asked for by Natives to be embodied in the Status Bill has not been accepted by Parliament in the Committee stage; but our contention has been that the Statute of Westminster cannot be used in any way to amend the South Africa Act. It was Gen. Smuts' thunderbolt that caused the feeling of insecurity about the King's prerogative, and with the assurance of the Speaker's interpretation, the Status Bill, so far as the Bantu care, can follow its own sweet course. It must be clearly understood however, that Natives have in mind the King's pleasure, and they contend that the new-fangled Statute of Westminster does not subordinate the King's right to the advice of his Ministers in South Africa. The Native mind has been so seriously agitated by the Status Bill that a few of the Bantu voters themselves had been driven to despair; thinking that the battle was lost, and that it was of no avail to make further representations.

We congratulate the fighters in the cause, for their contention has been upheld in the vindication of the Speaker's pronouncement.

Although we are not quite out of the wood, the Bantu voters can be contented with the knowledge that their wishes have been brought to the notice of the Cabinet more forcibly than at any time before.

[Written to express the views of "Imvo Zabantsundu" by A. M. Jabavu, Market Square, King William's Town.]

UNION AND THE PROTECTORATES

Daily Dispatch 5-25-34

IT has been exceedingly gratifying to note the extent to which public interest has been aroused regarding the proposal to transfer the Protectorates to the Union. As yet this question has not reached the stage when it can be viewed as a matter of practical politics, but there can be no doubt that it has attracted considerable attention not only in this country, but also in Great Britain and other parts of the world.

Our readers are probably aware of the reasons given by the Prime Minister of the Union why the protectorates should form an integral portion of South Africa. Why he should have chosen the present time for making his pronouncement it is difficult to understand, for there can be no possible doubt that in view of recent political happenings General Hertzog's statement was anything but opportune. In seeking an explanation it is difficult to avoid the impression that the Prime Minister's sole purpose was to test public feeling in the Union and elsewhere. If such were the case, then he has certainly succeeded, but not perhaps, to the extent he may have hoped. Our people for the most part have no illusions on the question. Their attitude has been made transparently clear, and their point of view has the support of quite a large and influential section of European opinion.

We have previously had something to say in this regard, and from what has since happened it is abundantly evident that there is wid spread opposition to the Union's plans. The latest expression of opinion on the subject comes from another friend of Native people, Sir Clarkson Tredgold, a former Judge of the Rhodesian High Court, who, in the course of a recent address to the members of the Empire Group at Cape Town, made some important and interesting observations concerning what he described as a political kite flown to test the wind of public opinion. The cardinal point stressed by Sir Clarkson was that there should be no change in the constitutional status of any people without their full consent, and he rightly asked whether this right could be denied to a people over which they had had the guardianship for over forty years merely because they were Natives? In an endeavour to find an explanation of General Hertzog's recent statement the ex-Judge recalled the fact that it was understood that while the Native Bills were under consideration there was to be a truce to the discussion of Native affairs; yet we have the spectacle of the head of the Government going out of his way to raise a question which he above all people knew would provoke a great deal of controversy.

There is much to be said for the view that before the Union even suggests that it should undertake the future control of the Protectorates it should prove its fitness to carry out such a highly responsible and important task It cannot be said that Union policy in regard to Native questions has been such as to inspire confidence, and signs are not wanting that in high places there is a distinct inclination to examine any new proposals affecting the welfare of our people with meticulous care. Those who know anything about Native Policy in South Africa are clearly of opinion that before seeking what has been termed "territorial aggrandisement" the Union should put its own house in order, and prove its ability to manage its affairs in a way that will reflect a sincere and earnest desire to do the right and just thing.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

THE NATAL NATIVE TEACHERS' UNION-BUFEALO FLATS BRANCH.

Ilanga Lase Natal
5-25-34

The first meeting of the above Association as an affiliated branch of the N.N.T.U. was held at Verdriet School on Saturday, April 14th, 1934. The meeting proved a great success being attended by 40 teachers. The Rev. E. A. Mahamba led the devotion. His theme was, "The Pattern and Strength." "As the Master derived his strength by daily communion with God in prayers so the teacher must do," said Mr. Mahamba. He said Jesus was the only infallible pattern, superseding the greatest men who have loomed high in the annals of the world.

In passing a vote of thanks to the minister, the President, Mr. S. M. Mtimkulu, remarked abont the magnanimity of the spirit of the minister, who is running an orphanage at Verdriet. Religion or Christianity is what every teacher needs. Religion or Christianity without service is dead. The ministers' address was highly appreciated by the teachers who need such advice at all times.

A telegram was read from the District Inspector reporting his inability to attend on account of having left the District. The teachers, who wanted to know more about the new revised Syllabus, were greatly disappointed.

In his presidential address the President Admonished all the teachers to join the N.N.T.U. which was doing much for all the teachers in Natal. He decried the perennial allegation by certain whites that Natives were intellectually inferior to the white people. He substantiated his remarks by referring to the great African geniuses like Shaka, Moshesh, Mzilikazi and others. Mr R. Ngubane, Head master of Inyanyadu, in well chosen words, passed a vote of thanks to the President for his elevating address.

Miss V. Mthembu gave a very interesting address on music in "Our Schools." She depreciated the teaching of Jazz music in Native schools. Mr. Theo. Msimang moved a vote of thanks to the young lady's interesting address.

As the result of discussions on various professional topics, the Secretary, Mr. H. Duma was directed to write to the N. N. T. U. to urge them to press on last years resolutions; namely, (1) That Head Teachers of combined schools work more than Head Teachers of purely primary schools and for that reason they should get more pay. (2) That teachers in rural areas should get their cost of living allowances. One resolution passed at the meeting was: Resolved that the regulation of having teachers remain in school on rainy days after the children have been dismissed is dangerous to the health of the teachers and we pray the Education Department to repeal it.

In the evening a grand concert was staged by the Verdriet teachers.

A Meeting of Protest against Transfer of the Native Territories.

The Comet.
Mochochonono
5-30-34

Short Report (By Flavius J. J. Senei Modibedi.)

Maseru, Basutoland.

On Saturday 14/5/34 Sons of Basutoland all over the Reef came roaring on their latest Sedan cars to the B.M.S.C. hall to attend a meeting of protest against transfer of the Native territories to the Union. The chairman in his introductory remarks emphatically appealed to one and all to work co-operatively for the common good and welfare of our country. "Our fathers' fathers, continued the chairman, used spears and assegais as weapons of defence. Today our fathers are using weapons such as guns etc., It therefore behoves us to adopt some kind of defensive measure whereby our country might be saved from this danger. The only weapon still left with us the younger generation is a mere application of our mentality and thereby express in both writing and speaking our strongest views against any tendency to transfer us to the Union Government."

Every man that rose to speak felt that the time had now arrived that Basutoland should work in co-operation with the other two territories namely Bechuanaland and Swaziland so that they might, with one voice, be in position to fight against neighbouring enemy. After a lengthy and heated discussion, it was unanimously agreed to the following resolution (1) That the Sons of Basutoland on the Reef have learned with great alarm the intentions of the Union Government to requ st the Imperial Government to hand over to the Union Government the three native territories, as the Union Government native policy is based on the old Republican ideas of ruling natives, namely "No equality with natives in church or state. That in view of the oppressive policy of the Union Government towards its natives: Such as the white jury system, pick up vans, land tenure, deprivation of votes, pass laws etc., we are not prepared to accept the proposal of the Prime Minister.

DR. MOTT'S CONFERENCE AT BLOEMFONTEIN.

Ilanga Lase Natal
5-25-34

Dr. Mott concluded his evangelistic Campaign in the Union of South Africa by convening a general meeting at Bloemfontein on May 15th and 16th inclusive. This Conference met to consider, revise and amend the findings of the various Regional Conferences which had taken place since Dr. Mott arrived in Cape Town.

At the Bloemfontein Conference about 100 delegates from all parts of the Union focussed discussion on seven significant subjects which had a direct bearing on Evangelisation. Evangelism, African Christianity, Medical work, Christian Education, Relationship between whites and non-white people of South Africa, Co-operation and Christian Literature.

As the findings are going to be prepared and published in the Outlook and also in pamphlet forms we need not deal with them here.

Among those disciples who were going to Emmaus felt as they talked with us!"

Among the Bantu delegates were: Bishop Sims, Revs. T. Jabavu, J. R Rathebe, S.S. Mahabane, H. D. Hlangwane, N. Motshumi, E. Mokone, J. Calata, J. R. Jolobe, and the proposed Christian Mollife and J L. Dube, Council may become a living force for the advancement of God's Kingdom in our land.

This was a unique gathering of representatives of Briton, Boer, Bantu Indian and Coloured people. They gathered around at Chief Fenyang, Messrs. D. D. T. Jabavu, J. R Rathebe, S.S. Thema and the Coloured delegate R. Desmore of Cape Town.

"Did not our hearts burn within us while he talked with us!" We wish the Lord's servant much success as he journeys through the Rhodesias and the Congo, and that he may safely reach his native shores We trust the Continuation Committee and the proposed Christian Council may become a living force.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

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Short Report (By Flavius J. J. Senei Modibedi.)

Maseru, Basutoland.

On Saturday 14/5/34 Sons of Basutoland all over the Reef came roaring on their latest Sedan cars to the B.M.S.C. hall to attend a meeting of protest against transfer of the Native territories to the Union. The chairman in his introductory remarks emphatically appealed to one and all to work co-operatively for the common good and welfare of our country. "Our fathers' fathers, continued the chairman, used spears and assegais as weapons of defence. Today our fathers are using weapons such as guns etc., It therefore behoves us to adopt some kind of defensive measure whereby our country might be saved from this danger. The only weapon still left with us the younger generation is a mere application of our mentality and thereby express in both writing and speaking our strongest views against any tendency to transfer us to the Union Government."

Every man that rose to speak felt that the time had now arrived that Basutoland should work in co-operation with the other two territories namely Bechuanaland and Swaziland so that they might, with one voice, be in position to fight against neighbouring enemy. After a lengthy and heated discussion, it was unanimously agreed to the following resolution (1) That the Sons of Basutoland on the Reef have learned with great alarm the intentions of the Union Government to requ st the Imperial Government to hand over to the Union Government the three native territories, as the Union Government native policy is based on the old Republican ideas of ruling natives, namely "No equality with natives in church or state. That in view of the oppressive policy of the Union Government towards its natives: Such as the white jury system, pick up vans, land tenure, deprivation of votes, pass laws etc., we are not prepared to accept the proposal of the Prime Minister.

DR. MOTT'S CONFERENCE AT BLOEMFONTEIN.

Ilanga Lase Natal
5-25-34

Dr. Mott concluded his evangelistic Campaign in the Union of South Africa by convening a general meeting at Bloemfontein on May 15th and 16th inclusive. This Conference met to consider, revise and amend the findings of the various Regional Conferences which had taken place since Dr. Mott arrived in Cape Town.

At the Bloemfontein Conference about 100 delegates from all parts of the Union focussed discussion on seven significant subjects which had a direct bearing on Evangelisation. Evangelism, African Christianity, Medical work, Christian Education, Relationship between whites and non-white people of South Africa, Co-operation and Literature.

As the findings are going to be prepared and published in the Outlook and also in pamphlet forms we need not deal with them here.

This was a unique gathering of representatives of Briton, Boer, Bantu Indian and Coloured people. They gathered around a wonderful man of God—Dr. Mott. To hear him talk and to be under his teaching makes one feel as those disciples who were going to Emmaus felt when Jesus talked with them by the way. "Did not our heart burn within us while he talked with us!"

Among the Bantu delegates were: Bishop Sims, Revs. Congo, Mahabane, H. D. Hlabangane, N. Motshumi, E. Motsai, J. Calata, J. R. Jolobe, J. Molife and J. L. Dube, Messrs. D. D. T. Jabavu, J. R Rathebe, S. J. Chief Fenyang, Messrs. D. D. R. Desmore of Cape Town.

We wish the Lord's servant much success as he journeys through the Rhodesias and the Congo, and that he may safely reach his native shores. We trust the Continuation Committee and the proposed Christian Council may become a living force in the advancement of God's kingdom in our land.

Modern Tendencies in Education.

Native Opinion
Bantu Sabantsundu
5-29-34

Mr. A E. Ball, M. Sc,. (Principal of the Zonnebloem Training and Secondary Schools) delivered an instructive address to parents at the anniversary of the Bethel A. M. E. Church Capetown a fortnight ago.

His dissertation on the subject was as follows :—

"The study of phychology and the importance placed upon this subject over the past thirty years had rapidly changed the method of teaching children at school. Modern educational tendencies were infinitely preferable to the old system, in order to fit children for their place in future activities."

"Education to-day was more than just a knowledge of a collection of subjects. To-day teachers study their children—a study of how the little mind works and the stimuli to which it most readily re-acts, whereby they are able to impart just sufficient knowledge capable of being digested at various stages. To show the importance of this, said Mr. Ball, even the Preparatory School to-day was recognised to have four distinct stages—the Nursery stage, the Infant stage, the Junior Primary and the Senior Primary stages. In each of these stages the child has different interests, ambitions and aspirations, and teachers have to adapt themselves to them all. A child only receives a good education, it has been discovered, when that child only completely understands the work and is able to enter into it, fully realising that there is some commonsense behind the problem it is attempting to solve. Another important tendency in modern education was to cut out the useless. Going a step further, educationalists have come to realise that the child, in addition to having an intellect, also has a keen appreciation of beauty and a love of sound and rhythm. Of the importance in the certain tendencies, which from entering to leaving school, moulds the character of the child, Mr. Ball laid particular stress on religious teaching and sport.

Mr. Sam Kahn (President of the Cape Town University Students' Council), the next speaker, maintained that the present conditions prevailing amongst the mass of the South African populace, black and white alike, was a blot on European civilisation.

"Europeans were deluding themselves into recognising a non-existent "Colour Problem." If they were convinced that white civilisation was the only means of salvation, that had only to make it possible for everyone to enjoy it and all racial problems would automatically dissolve.

"At no time in the history of this country, Mr. Kahn went on the say, was an educated non-European ever found to be a menace, rather the opposite. It was therefore of paramount importance to Europeans to educate them all.

"Colour prejudice in Europeans when stimulated by fear was not of the fear of the black man, but of the fear of himself. The fear of what position he would occupy if non-Europeans were given an opportunity to procure equality."

Kenya and Uganda Railways.

Points from the Annual Report.

Last week we called attention to one point in the Annual Report for 1933 of the Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours, issued with commendable promptitude considering the amount of statistical detail which it contains. Below we give a few salient extracts from what is, year by year, an increasingly valuable and interesting document.

"The percentage of ordinary working expenses to earnings is as follows :—

	Excluding depreciation	Including depreciation
1933 ...	... 46·21 ...	61·27
1932 ...	... 55·13 ...	71·66
1931 ...	... 66·43 ...	81·40

"The public railway ton-mileage was 308,338,673, as against 256,180,707 in 1932, and 300,763,341 *in the peak year of 1929*. While the public freight ton miles is the highest ever dealt with, the total revenue collected from the public is less by over £360,000 than the 1929 record figure.

"For the first time for many years catering receipts show an excess over expenditure, the surplus being £2,211 as against a loss in 1932 of £1,630. Bearing in mind the decrease in the numbers of first and second class passengers, the effects of the economy measures applied in this department are all the more apparent.

"The Administration has had under review the passenger train services and a revised service will be introduced reducing the time occupied on the longer runs. It is hoped also to meet in part the wishes of residents on the Nanyuki line.

"The progress of the light railway unit in other parts of the world is being carefully watched. The present financial position of the railway does not permit of experiments in this country. One difficulty in connexion with the introduction of rail cars is not generally understood. On most branch lines the passenger traffic both present and potential is insufficient to justify purely passenger services, but with the very steep gradients which exist on most of the branch lines the usual type of rail car cannot convey any additional vehicles such as a horse box, cattle van, or truck of very urgent goods. The introduction, therefore, of such a vehicle would undoubtedly lead to complaints. It is for this reason that the development of the light tractive unit is being watched, as this seems likely to be a better solution than the rail car.

"A very welcome improvement has taken place in time-keeping, the percentage of passenger trains arriving to time rising to 82·33—the highest figure recorded.

Reduction of Freight Charges.

"Average rail costs are already enormously less than the average costs by road transport. When an adequate reserve has been established, even the highest rates can be brought below road transport costs.

"This depends upon a gradual return to normal business conditions, and upon our ability to keep our operating ratio at 47% or thereabouts. This requires active co-operation of the general public, as it means a 'pioneer' service. It means the complete elimination of services that do not pay. If the desire of the country is for cheaper transport, that transport must be limited to essential services without any frills.

"Being a mountain railway, operating at comparatively low speeds, we must expect to lose a large proportion of our passenger traffic, particularly first and second class, to road and air services. As this type of traffic has never paid, that will not matter. Elsewhere in the report it is shown that the goods revenue is 87·25% of the whole, and that for passengers 7·70% (but, for the reasons explained, we should lose little if any of our goods traffic). It will be clear, therefore, that the interests of these territories would best be served if we concentrate on the provision of cheap freight service, and *subordinate everything else* to that end.

"This means the gradual abandonment of ambitious passenger services, of higher (and more costly) speeds, and the gradual concentration on the essential services suitable for an agricultural country capable of producing commodities which can only be marketed with advantage if carried at very low rates.

AFRICA June 21, 1934.

"Summarised, these proposals involve :—

(1) Concentration on essential services and elimination of all waste movement and expensive services.
(2) Elimination of the deficit account and the building up of an adequate reserve.
(3) Protection against wasteful road competition until this reserve is established.

Then in due course the reward :—

Cheaper and ever cheaper rates on goods traffic.

"But this cannot be done by the Railway Administration alone. To be successful we need the understanding and the full support of the public.

"Watch the operating ratio : 47% is the lowest ever attained in our history, and *then only with a reduced standard of maintenance*. We want to restore our standard of maintenance to a proper economic basis. We can do this and maintain our low operating ratio only if we concentrate on essential services."

Rarely, if ever, has a General Manager of any East African railway taken the public so completely into his confidence, and appealed in such a straightforward way for their co-operation to enable him to give them what they want.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

TRANSFER OF NATIVE TERRITORIES.

General Hertzog's recent statement in the Union Parliament regarding the transfer of the native protectorates to the Union of South Africa was again referred to in the House of Commons on Monday.

Sir Robert Hamilton said that if the Royal Executive (Functions and Seals) Bill in the Union Parliament became law in its present form, the Union Parliament would have conferred on the Governor-General the right to transfer the native territories to the Union. The authority of the King-in-Council under the South Africa Act would need to be safeguarded, and it was desirable that they should have the clearly expressed view of the Government that this right would be in no way impaired.

Following this, Major Milner, the member for Leeds, asked for the Government's assurance that in all circumstances they would see first that no territories were transferred by the authority of any other Government but that of the Government of the United Kingdom and without full discussion by the House of Commons; and, secondly, whether in the event of any such case arising it was the policy of His Majesty's Government to see that the natives were consulted.

5-12-34

In reply, Mr. J. H. Thomas, Secretary of State for the Dominions, said he could give that assurance now. He could unhesitatingly say on behalf of the Government that every promise about that House being consulted and giving its consent would be carried out without qualification. Nothing arising out of any legislation of any kind would preclude His Majesty's Government giving effect to that pledge. He was legally advised that there was no ground for apprehension, but if there was any doubt there was no question as to what the attitude of His Majesty's Government would be.

At the General Committee of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society this week, it was decided to create a special committee to watch over the whole question of the proposed transfer to the Union Government of the Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland.

NEW EDUCATIONAL FELLOWSHIP REGIONAL CONFERENCE.

CAPE TOWN: JULY 2ND - 13TH
JOHANNESBURG: JULY 16TH - 27TH.

The biggest and most important educational Conference ever held in South Africa is now being organised. It will be held in Cape Town from July 16th to 27th, under the auspices of the New Educational Fellowship, an international body which includes the most prominent educational experts of the world.

There will be many distinguished speakers from overseas, such as Professors John Dewey (New York), Pierre Bovet (Geneva), Giovanni Gentile (Italy), Dr. W. Stern (Hamburg), Dr. William Boyd (Glasgow), D. v. D. Leeuw (Holland) and some fifteen others equally well-known.

There will be several sections of the Conference but the largest - and perhaps the most - will be the Native Education section, the programme of which has now been issued. The theme of the Conference is "the adaptation of education to meet the rapidly changing needs of society, with special reference to South Africa."

At Cape Town there will be nine papers in the Native Education section and forty in Johannesburg. At both centres the overseas speakers will co-operate with men and women who have exceptional knowledge and experience of African conditions. The anthropologists will include Professors B. Malinowski, Mrs. A W. Hoernle, Dr. I. Schampers, Dr. W. Eiselen and Dr. Monica Hunter and Mr. P. A. W. Cook; among the educationists will be Professor Mabel Carney (New York); Professor Victor Murray (Hull), author of "The School in the Bush; Mr. H. Jowitt, Director of Native Development, Southern Rhodesia; Rev. J Dougall, former Principal of the Jeannes School Kabete, Nairobi; several Inspectors of Native Education and several Africans including Professor D. D. T. Jabavu of the South African Native College Fort Hare; the Rev. K. T. Motsete, Principal of Tati Training Institution, Bechuanaland and Protectorate and Mrs. Mahuma Morake, Principal, Wilberforce Institute, Evaton, Transvaal. The economic aspects will be dealt with by Dr. J. E. Holloway, who was Chairman of the Native Economic Commission, and health by Dr. B. T. Squires of Jane Furse Hospital, Sekukukuniland and Dr. A. B. Xuma, the African Doctor resident in Johannesburg, who is medical officer of Health of Alexandra Township. Linguistic problems will be dealt with by the well-known authorities, Professors C. M. Doke and G. P. Lestrade, and others; while community work will be covered by Professor Coulter (Ohio), who has been in South Africa on two previous occasions to undertake social investigations, and by Mrs. Rheinallt Jones. Several Missionaries will also contribute papers.

The Conference is open to Europeans and Non-Europeans on payment of a fee of £2 2s., covering the meetings at the Cape Town and Johannesburg. Enquiries regarding the Native Education section may be addressed to Mr. W. G. A. Mears, Boys' High School, Rondebosch, Cape; or to the South African Institute of Race Relations, P. O. Box 11776. Johannesburg.

S. African Fascists Seek New Ways to Regulate the Natives

Plan New Skoda Ammunition Firm to Provide Arms for Whites Only.

JOHANNESBURG (By Our Special Correspondent) — Fascism in South Africa? The rapid growth of Fascism in South Africa is arousing tremendous alarm among the native population.

Already a number of storm-troop battallions, financed by German imperialism, have sprung up all over the country. They are known as the Grey-Shirts, the New-Guards, the South African Gentile National Socialist Movement, the National Socialist Democratic Party, etc. These hooligans are being encouraged to go about molesting Africans and Jews. They say that the Negroes are a menace and must be exterminated.

Native Press in Peril

At the same time the Government has introduced a new law known as the Newspaper and Imprint Bill, the aim of which is to silence and close down the native press, so as to stifle all criticism of the African people and to clear the way for an open Fascist dictatorship.

New Arms Firm

In order to provide arms for the white population to slaughter the Africans if they dare to put up any resistance, the Government proposes to grant a concession for the manufacture of arms and ammunition in South Africa to the great Skoda firm, which is one of the greatest armament producers of Europe, with headquarters in Pilsen-Czecho-Slovakia.

Pirow Talks

Oswald Pirow, white, the Minister of Transportation, and one of the leading members of General Hertzog's cabinet, was the guest of Hitler last year. Since his return from Germany he has taken an active lead in promoting Fascist propaganda and launching a vigorous anti-native policy. South Africa is in the grips of a severe economic crisis. Thousands of white farmers are being ruined. Every day the poor white class in the cities is increasing. Unemployment among the European as well as the native workers is developing at an alarming rate. Mr. Pirow and other Fascist leaders are trying to distract the attention of the poor whites from their misery by calling upon them to unite with the white capitalist to "make South Africa safe for white civilization."

In a recent speech delivered in Johannesburg Mr. Pirow said: "Our national destiny as I see it is positively terrifying in its scope and responsibility. It is nothing less than that our country must be the rallying-point of white civilization throughout South Africa, and, possibly, for the whole of the African continent.

"As time goes on our chances of outside assistance will decrease until we shall carry the whole responsibility and face the whole menace of between 100,000,000 and 200,000,000 black people who, in essentials, will be as different from us then as they are today.

Want Military Training

"The necessity of special training to meet that necessity becomes obvious. There are even people who see us as the last outpost of Western civilization, battling against impossible odds, while Europe and America sink away into the twilight of their decline.

"Even the immediate problems will call for the stiffening of our national fiber by means of proper discipline for the individual and the nation. That discipline, of course, must be instilled into the growing generation. Compulsory military training for a year or two would be the best way to achieve this result."

Native Lands in Kenya

The report of the Royal Commission appointed two years ago to consider the land situation in Kenya and native grievances was published on Tuesday. Most of the recommendations of this exceedingly important document have been accepted by the British Government. About 2,500 square miles are to be added to the native reserves, which at present cover 50,000 square miles, or rather less than a quarter of the whole country. Of the additions, some are to meet native claims and will be of right. Others will be given subject to the condition of economic user. A new system is also to be adopted when land is taken from the reserves for development. Instead of being "excluded" it will be granted on lease under safeguards, notably the consultation throughout of native opinion and a right of veto by the authorities. The Land Trust Board is to be reconstructed and its duties confined to the protection of native interests, leaving administration to the

Government. A cash sum of £50,000 is also to be advanced for native development. The report has had a good reception both in Britain and in Kenya. Apart from minor criticisms, as a settlement which should do much to secure native advancement under the guiding principle of trusteeship it is felt to be equitable and valuable.

(p. 393)

THE DANCE: AFRICAN LORE

'Kykunkor,' Ritual Drama, Given by Native Artists—Forthcoming Events

By JOHN MARTIN.

ONE of the most exciting dance performances of the season has been hiding itself away in a little second-floor studio theatre, the Unity Theatre Studio, at 26 East Twenty-third Street, for the past eight days and is to be seen for the last time tonight. This is a native African "opera" called "Kykunkor, or Witch Woman," composed, compiled and staged by Asadata Dafora Horton, with himself and a company of twenty-five other Negro dancers and singers comprising the cast. It is the hearty recommendation of this department to those who have not already done so to hasten down to Twenty-third Street at risk of missing an unusual adventure in the art of the theatre.

Mr. Horton is a native of Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa, and has devoted himself earnestly to the study of African folklore. His surname, incidentally, is an inheritance from his great-grandfather, who as a slave in Nova Scotia adopted the name of his master. He has lectured and sung and danced, it seems, in Europe and America for some time, but never before has he had a company to assist him nor a theatrical vehicle such as "Kykunkor." The company, which goes under the name of the Shogola Aloba, is made up in part of Africans from the Awassa, Temeni, Kru and Asaba tribes, and contains also a number of Negroes of American birth who have been taught their traditional lore by Mr. Horton. Though this difference is frequently noticeable in the performance, there is such an air of sincerity about it all that no very severe criticism is justifiable on this score.

* * *

For some reason "Kykunkor" is called an opera, though it is actually more of a ritual drama. It consists in by far the greater part of dancing, and its musical aspect is [illegible]. There are, to be sure several enchanting songs, and an unceasing background of rhythmic drumming by three extremely skillful drummers, who become almost possessed as the action progresses by the very hypnosis of their own playing.

It is, indeed, this possession that gives the performance its unique quality. Those who have delved into the origins of the arts and have read tomes about primitive dancing in which the dancers worked themselves into a frenzy, will find here the exemplification in the flesh of just such dancing. The twelve volumes of Sir James Frazer's magnificent "The Golden Bough" assume a new and more credible meaning under the impact of this extraordinary visualization of something of their content.

Mr. Horton has devised his simple story so that it is virtually a succession of tribal ceremonies. There are dances of maidens, an engagement dance, a beautifully lyrical love dance, a hunter's dance, a dance of welcome, a mad and marvelous Aguga, or festival dance, a dance of slaves, a wedding dance, a devil dance, a dance of joy, an eccentric dance, a challenge dance, a war dance and another festival dance, this time called Jabawa. Though the drums beat on, always in 4-4 time, there is constant variety in their ingenious rhythmic patterns, and similarly the dances for all their racial unity extend over a great range in color and form.

* * *

An amazing scene which is likely to remain long in memory is that in which the Witch Doctor is summoned to counteract a spell cast by the Witch Woman upon the young bridegroom. Playing upon a crude pipe, he approaches the prostrate body of the young man, interrupting himself frequently to sing snatches of an incantation in a high falsetto. He is keyed to an enormous vitality, and beats himself in the breast and utters guttural animal sounds, until by force of his grotesque ecstasy he succeeds in casting out the devil. Abdul Assen, who plays the Witch Doctor, does it superbly. Much of his performance appears to be improvisation. The same thing is true in every high moment of the ballet; the tribal chief quite obviously improvises under provocation, and though there is a definite form to the entire work, it is safe to say that the details vary in every performance. The effect of watching such authentic frenzy is impossible to describe. When in a war dance near the end of the evening four warriors approach the front of the stage with spears aloft, one feels that it is in no wise unlikely that they will hurl them into the audience.

It will be a lamentable misfortune if this unique and excellent piece of work is allowed to languish in an obscure corner. It has certainly an abundance of attractions, not only for the dance enthusiast but for the folklorist, the musical minded, the theatre lover and even the casual entertainment seeker who is out for a thrill.

Stone Cairns in Tanganyika.

Facts from the Mkalama District.

To the Editor of "East Africa."

SIR,—The Niramba of the Mkalama district of Tanganyika observe the custom, when on *safari*, of placing stones upon large boulders which lie along the trail. Piles of stones lying upon the tops of boulders, and put there by travelling Natives, may be seen along the sides of the passes up the Daua Plateau as one climbs it from the Kinyangiri side. Often *safari* porters will pluck wisps of grass from the trail-side, tie the wisps into a kind of lover's knot, and put these knots under the stones which at the same time they place upon the wayside boulders.

I was told by the Niramba (in 1920-1) that the grass knots so put upon the boulders ensured that the wives of travellers remained faithful to them during their absence on *safari*, and that this was assured by the *alungu* (spirits) which dwelled in the boulders. It is to the *alungu* that the stones are placed upon the boulders.

Up the steep passes of the Plateau I have often seen a porter put down his load at the cost of some effort and inconvenience to himself, and carefully add his knot and stone to the heap on some wayside rock. In return for the offering of the stone, the *alungu* are said to ensure that the traveller shall accomplish the remainder of his journey in safety, and when he arrives at that day's destination that he shall find a welcome in a village, with sufficient food, *ntulu* (beer), and a sleeping place.

At Kisam, on the main Mkalama-Singida road, at the village of Mtali, chief of the Niyambi (in 1920-1), an enormous rock like a gigantic inverted pear, might be seen poised upon the summit of the *kopje* behind Mtali's village. The cave behind this rock is said to be the haunt of a *lintu* (demon). Of this demon the villagers stand in much awe, and annually the medicine-men of the Niyambi climb to the cave and make sacrifice of a sheep with offerings of beer, in order, they told me, to prevent the *lintu* from hurling the enormous rock down upon the village. So perilously is it poised that it certainly looks as though the slightest touch might send it crashing down. At night strange cries, attributed to the demon, but made possibly by owls, hyraces and other creatures, are heard from the vicinity of the *lintu's* cave.

At a place between Gwao and Puma (between Singida and Manyoni) is a long and forbidding-looking valley flanked by tall, rocky *kopjes* and strewn with enormous boulders. Ten years ago it was impossible to persuade porters to camp near the spot. They said that the rock valley was the abiding place of the ghosts of the departed warriors of the Nyaturu people, and that at night one might hear the boom of ghostly drums and the clangour of phantom spears. If one slept there, they told me, one might be killed, and, even if not, any weapons that one had would be found stained with blood by the following dawn.

On one occasion I was forced to camp there, but as soon as the sun went down my Nyaturu porters bolted as one man for the *tembes* (villages) farther along the road, leaving my Swahili servants and myself to face a spectral army, which, to my mingled relief and disappointment, did not materialise either in shape or sound. The porters returned at dawn and were full of explanation and regret: only the fact that I was a white man, they said, had saved us from a most unpleasant experience!

There are other customs observed in regard to rocks by the Nyaturu, Niramba and Nisansu, but in no case have I heard that the dead are buried under "cairns." Nowadays they certainly are not. It is of note, however, that the founders of the Niramba tribe, under the chieftainship of one Kitandu, are said to have found Iramba a land of complete darkness, until one day they discovered the sun hiding in the cleft of a rock, from which lair they pursued him until he took refuge in the sky. Nzua, the sun, Munamweli, goddess of the moon, Mbula, their son, the god of rain, are, with Munankali, the Almighty, deities whom the Niramba observe. Wooden images of the first three were carefully cherished in my time in the chief's village upon the plateau. One of the prayers offered up during the sacrifice at the cave of the *lintu* of Kisam rock, is in the form:—

"*Munankali lama! Lama mulungu! Ponile antu ensi.*"

"Almighty have mercy! Have mercy, O God! Succour all the people."

It should be noted that the sacrifice is thus to God, and not to the rock, or to the spirit of the rock in this case. In Iyambi, however, there is said to live a race of tiny tree-people (half-men, half-tree) who haunt rocky valleys and who, for small gifts of beer and grain put out overnight, will come and till the fields while the villagers sleep.

Stones and rocks cleared from the grainplots in the course of tilling in this district are made into boundary lines (not heaps) between a man's garden and his neighbour's.

Yours faithfully,

Medstead, Hampshire. WM. HICHENS. (*Sometime A.D.O., Mkalama District.*)

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Africans Amongst Themselves

The Comet

Race Unity a failure

(Mochoshoaro)

What is the Cause. ?

6-6-34

(By G. R. KUZWAYO.)

Africans do not seem to be able to understand each other. Somehow they fail to pass the test of doing things successfully, and the condition of their affairs is little less than chaotic. Indeed they have shown themselves incapable of working together.

The reasons put forward from time to time for the failure of African unity by different writers of different schools of thought amount to this: Africans express themselves in different lingos; they are of different origin; far and above all, tribalism is the root evil of the perpetual separation. Hence their inability to come together.

This, however, does not represent the sum total of the Africans' disabilities. It is common knowledge that people who have suffered under similar circumstances and conditions, whatever their past, either as a class or group, usually get together either to stay or stem the forces working against their well-being. This does not appear to be the case with Africans. They are hopelessly divided and are waring amongst themselves insomuch so that one is inclined to take a pessimistic view of their future. By now Africans should have shown themselves capable of standing together.

Different experiments have been tried from time to time to bring Africans together by their more thoughtful fellowmen. And the result has always been the same,—a breakdown and total collapse. And to-day they do not know where they stand.

There are amongst them those who have sought consolation and solace for the weakness and failure of their fellowmen in such movements as joint councils, international movements and other organisations controlled by Europeans working for those who assumed the role of intelligensia, they have shown themselves ill-fitted to the task of rising above the level of mediocrity, and those who saw no use in continuing to help in the task of leadership are now disinterested onlookers.

The cause of African unity is still-born, and agitation along those lines seems useless. The cause of failure cannot be attributed to anybody or any group of persons. It seems but another case of the Africans' inability to rise above himself. Petty quarrels, race animosity and the general fact that Africans refuse to be followers but aspire to leadership is the reason.

Meanwhile those of the rising generation who aspire for recognition have nothing yet to back them. They get no encouragement from their elders, but instead all their efforts are looked upon as mere boyish enthusiasm.

Africans have not yet learned the spirit of comradeship. The evils of repression have taught them no lesson; their economic disabilities have not put them wise to the fact that their future well-being depends very much on themselves. Generally, they do not realise that no outside forces can save them expect in so far as they can contribute to the efforts of Africans themselves.

NOTICE OF EXTRAORDINARY CONFERENCE, OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Ilanga Lase Natal

6-8-34

All Africans are hereby requested to take notice that the African National Congress will hold a Special General Conference in the Inchcape Hall, Eloff Street Extension, Johannesburg, from 11 a. m. on the 3rd of August 1934 to the 7th. All Chiefs, Native Organized Bodies and Branches of the African National Congress are hereby requested to send Delegates.

The Subject for consideration shall be the following:-

1. The effect of the Status Bill upon the Africans in the Union and in the Protectorates.
2. The Natives' Land Act of 1913 and other Anti-Native Legislation in the Union.
3. The Depressing Economic conditions and Native Labour.
4. The Native Policy under the Union Government (We propose to ask a Representative of the Government to come and address the Conference upon this subject)
5. Other urgencies.

NKOSI SIKELELA.

P. ka I. SEME
President General.

ELAJAH MDOLOMBA
General Secretary.

MOSES MPAHLELA
Secretary for Chiefs.

OUR SCHOOL SYSTEM

Star 2-8-34

Dr. MacDonald, of the department of education at Salem College, makes a study of the status of public education in North Carolina and sums up 13 outstanding points, both pro and con, concerning the system. He finds four to its credit and nine against it, as follows:

Positive

1. North Carolina has adopted a state minimum educational program for an eight-month term.
2. North Carolina has paid teachers' salaries (such as they are) on time and in negotiable form.
3. North Carolina has consistently elected to public office only those persons who have avowed their interest in public education.
4. North Carolina has simplified the school district organization of the state.

Negative

North Carolina is the only state in the Union which—

1. Has deliberately lowered its educational standards by act of legislature.
2. Has levied a new tax purposely for schools and at the same time has appropriated less state money for schools.
3. Has adopted a policy of discouraging local interest in schools.
4. Has a city as large as Winston-Salem with only eight months of school.
5. Pays no teacher a living wage ($750 per year is the maximum).
6. Has two state boards of education with confusion as to their powers.
7. Provides no supervisors of instruction.
8. Has wiped out by a single act of its legislature all the constructive actions taken by popular vote in every school district in the state.
9. Spends this year less than $19 per child enrolled as a state average for operating its public schools.—Wilmington Star.

Natives Destiny in Fusion.

Native Opinion 6-12-34

General Herfzog has announced the terms on which the two white races in South Africa are led into fusion. In the same way that he dictated the terms which formed the basis of the coalition government he with the concurrence of General Smuts the leader of the South African Party, has assumed that Hitlerite dictatorship which leads from victory to victory. The rank and file of the Nationalist Party are enthused at the virtual adoption of their principles superficially, and are content to wait and see what the practical results of the future will yield. Whatever uncertainty appears to exist in the terms for fusion, they can rely on their General to do the rest. It is notable that Dr. Malan will play the part of an auxiliary fighting force for Nationalist ideals even if he succeeds in forming a junior Nationalist party as a so-called opposition to the Government.

The South African Party's only function in the formation of the terms of fusion is conspicuously that of toning down the glaring injustices towards the English-speaking section

in its ranks, and of maintaining a temporary barrage against excesses towards the subject non-European races. General Smuts realises that he has a duty to perform, and a promise to keep with the Coloured and Bantu races, inasmuch as the principles of his party adumbrate. Clause (6) of the terms of fusion is the crystallisation of the South African Party's attempt, however effeminate and equivocal, of fulfilling its pledge to the Bantu. We now know by bitter experience to what extent that pledge was broken when the protective clause in Section 64 of the Act of Union was insidiously abrogated by (in the words of General Smuts) the Statute of Westminster in 1926. The next step in the treatment of Natives under fusion is detailed by General Hertzog in Clause (6) as follows:—

(6) NATIVE POLICY.

"(a) An earnest endeavour will be made to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the Native question along lines which, without depriving the Native of his right of development, will recognise as paramount the essentials of European civilisation.

(b) It is recognised that a solution of the political aspect of this question, on the basis of separate representation of Europeans and Natives or otherwise, being fundamental in character and not having hitherto been a matter of party division, should as far as possible, be sought through agreement and should be left to the free exercise of the discretion of the individual members representing the party in Parliament.

(c) The recognition of the Natives as a permanent portion of the population of South Africa under the Christian trusteeship of the European race is accepted as a fundamental principle of Native policy, together with the definite avoidance of race intermixture and the promotion of a spirit of good-will and mutual confidence between the two races as being in the best interests of South Africa."

Outstanding is the fact that the Native may expect nothing more than his right of development which will respect as paramount the essentials of European civilisation. Under which civilisation the Native must develop without clashing or running parallel with the white man it is not defined. Possibly the fusion Government will propound a second civilisation for exclusive Bantu assimilation. The political representation of the Bantu on separate lines is to be sought through agreement, and obtained by a free exercise of the vote by individual members representing the party in Parliament. So, we will still have the Party machine within the fusion structure. How can an individual member vote of his own free will when he owes allegiance to a party with set principles?

In a word, coalition has done much harm by converting the loyalty of M. P's from constituents to party leaders; but we venture to predict that it is at present not possible to gauge the calamity awaiting the whole country that will result from a fusion founded on points that are either meaningless or capable of several interpretations.

A German Authority on African Life

BERLIN.

LEO FROBENIUS, that great explorer of the soul of Africa, has given us a powerful, unique work, a product of the period when conditions of war prevented him from pursuing his researches in the Dark Continent. We have here, not the story of his last expedition into the desert regions of the Sudan, but a comprehensive summary of the view of the world he gained in the course of a life dedicated to Africa. ("Kulturgeschichte Afrikas." Phaidon, Vienna.)

Frobenius does not recognize any absolutely distinct cultures as the products of the various continents, even though they differ greatly in time and space. The fundamental basis of his point of view is his profound knowledge of the unity of all the peoples of the earth—indeed, the unity of the entire cosmos, to the extent that we can survey it or instinctively feel it.

Because of this knowledge of his he has often been attacked violently by other scholars. As he explains in his extraordinarily lucid and brilliant introduction, the entire past century has contented itself with the accumulation and arrangement of the results of manifold researches in every field. An enormous amount of factual material has been collected; and, of course, this was necessary, to enable us to penetrate to that intuitive realization of cosmic unity of which Frobenius speaks.

* * *

BUT even now the discoverers as well as thinkers and interpreters of the facts still fall into different camps, the conflicts between which often become excessively violent. One faction still persists in that cult of rationalism which reigned supreme until the end of the nineteenth century, and consequently distrusts all emphasis on emotion, while Frobenius designates this very emphasis on emotion as the beginning of culture and civilization.

He calls it "Ergriffenheit." Devotion to the point of self-forgetfulness brings to life the creative urge in man. The creative element reflects that which has gripped the emotions. Thus art comes into being, and laws that mirror the cosmic realities. Thus, too, emotion gives rise to religious feeling and the yearning for the symbolic. And while originally this symbolism was sacred exclusively, profane elements later made their appearance to meet the inevitable needs of everyday life.

By means of an overwhelming wealth of pictures, legends and accounts of religious and political institutions Frobenius presents his thesis that certain cultural phases and their manifestations have sprung up throughout the world and among all its peoples. On what does he base his statement?

* * *

WHILE centuries rolled past, filling entire continents with the noblest fruits of civilization only to destroy them again, the same early stages of great promise exist among other races today just as thousands of years before our era. In this regard Asia with its multifaceted configuration and Europe with its more compact development enjoy no advantage over Africa.

Africa was not always, from the earliest ages, an uncoordinated mass of barbarism. But here the flourishing periods of art and political and religious institutions commenced much earlier than in the other continents. These periods came to an end, however, probably suppressed and strangled by slave traffic in its most terrible form, until nothing remained but crude drawings scratched on rocks and the tissue of legends and religious symbolism that has survived to this day among the various entirely different native tribes.

Frobenius divides the peoples of Africa into two major groups, the Hamites and the Ethiopians. I leave it to the reader to obtain his keen and illuminating characterization of these two groups from the book itself. Wherever they meet and overlap a new type of man arises, a type in which the outstanding qualities of both often are most happily combined. The finest example of this mixture Frobenius sees in the Nubians; and he closes his work with an ancient Nubian sermon on "The Life Pleasing to God," a splendid piece of literature, full of thoughtfulness and humor.

* * *

IT is unfortunately impossible, within the limits of this review, to give even a partial glimpse of the many new ideas which emanate from this book. But let me say that Frobenius views the cosmos as an artist, and with his vitally vivid style opens our eyes to the great marvelously harmonious blending of all cosmic manifestations.

GABRIELE REUTER.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

FUSION AND NATIVE POLICY

Natal Mercury 15-3-34

It is noteworthy that amid the torrent of comment and criticism regarding the recently published terms of fusion, little attention has been given to the question of Native policy. This may or may not be attributable to the fact that at the moment the political position in South Africa is pregnant with tremendous possibilities, and that in considering the probable result the people of the Union are more concerned with parties than with policies.

Be this as it may, it is important to note that the basic terms of fusion include a reference to Native policy, and in order that there shall be no misunderstanding their import, it is both necessary and interesting to read, mark and inwardly digest the actual language used. In the first place we are informed that an earnest endeavour will be made to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the Native question along lines which, without depriving the Native of his right development, will recognise as paramount essential of European civilisation.

"It is recognised," proceeds the statement, "that a solution of the political aspect of this question on the basis of separate representation of Europeans and Natives or, otherwise being fundamental in character and not having hitherto been a matter of party division should, as far as possible, be sought through agreement, and should be left to the free exercise of the discretion of the individual members representing the party in Parliament. The recognition of the Natives as a permanent portion of the population of South Africa under the Christian trusteeship of the European race is accepted as a fundamental principle of Native policy, together with the definite avoidance of race inter - mixture and the promotion of a spirit of goodwill and mutual confidence between the two races, as being in the best interests of South Africa."

In its more important aspects this statement does not indicate any marked advance upon the position set out in the coalition agreement of last year. It is obvious that differences of opinion regarding actual policy still obtain, and that these can only be met by agreement. Apparently each and every member of the new Party will have absolute freedom of judgment, thus ensuring that the question shall not be made the sport of party politics.

In the stress and turmoil which must inevitably follow such a far - reaching proposal as the binding together of the two great political entities, it is more than probable that the question of Native policy will not receive that close and earnest attention it merits. At the moment the whole position is in the melting pot, and some time must elapse before the Government which is to be created under the proposed new Party will be able to function. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that there will be a marked change in the political future of the Union, but whatever happens, it is the bounden duty of our people to keep a close watch upon the trend of events, and to use every endeavour in promoting that spirit of goodwill and mutual confidence, without which their welfare and interests cannot be assured.

Africans Amongst Themselves.

The Comet 6-3-34

IS IT TIME?

The question of leadership seems to be altogether providential. It is not every body who can stand up before a nation and say, "Look here, I am now going to be your leader." That is very much easier said than done. Even among those Nordic races who acknowledge themselves, and, indeed, with reason, to be the leaders of mankind we find that real leaders can be counted on the fingers. Men of the type of Moses, Julius Caesar, Abraham Lincoln seem to be born, not made, and they appear once after many centuries. Moreover, if you study their history a little, you will find that in addition to their peculiar mentality, they are usually products of long national sufferings and despair. It took Israel four hundred painful years to produce a Moses.

If it is so difficult with these gifted races of the Northern Hemisphere to produce a leader of only six hundred thousand human beings, how much more difficult for an inferior Bantu race of millions to do so!

So that, when we blame our people for "petty qaurrels, race animosity and the general fact that Africans refuse to be followers but aspire to leadership," we ought, at the same time, to modify our impatience by remembering what leadership really means.

However, I should like to mention one or two essentials of true leadership for the benefit of those who aspire thereto.

The first of these essentials is, simplicity of purpose. "The main reason," says Oskar Mann," for the great successes of Mohammedanism, especially among the uncivilized heathen of Africa, consists in the great simplicity of the religion in question," Again he says "It is possible that if, in the coming century (20th, that is), some gifted man succeed in inspiring these tremendous masses of Mohammedanism with *one* aim, we shall have a hard battle to fight," meaning Christians. *Condense your opinions into one clear statement in which lie a million dynamites.*

It is to be feared that our would-be leaders, even among Europeans, have been rather too elaborate in their teachings, either political or religious. People simply don't understand what they are up to and, even the leaders themselves loose sight of their purpose in the maze of their opinions.

Another essential is that the leader shall feel the absolute necessity of what he would have the people aspire to. The momentum must be great and emotional. Every minute of doubt is a seed of death to his movement. Every feeling of self agrandizement, not relentlessly suppressed in the field of battle is a dirge – a funeral hymn, and every moral whim allowed to interfere therewith spells disaster.

Just one word and then I stop, please. There is no line left for African aspiration to leadership at present except religion. In politics the European is too clever; in commerce he is too big; and in every thing he is simply the master. Let him be, so long as he gives you bread and a little butter. But in religion he might think you were aspiring after peppercorns and marvel when you discover America.

Misconception of Justice.

Native Opinion 6-12-34

(By a Native African).

(Continued.)

And when we take the words of the Bible into our mouths in a congregational way, to be sure whether we mean merely to chant a piece of melodious poetry relating to other people (we know not exactly to whom), or to assert our belief in facts bearing somewhat stringently on ourselves and our daily business. And if you make up your minds to do this no longer, and take pains to examine into the matter, you will find that these strange words, occurring as they do, not in a few places only, but almost in every alternate psalm and every alternate chapter of proverb or prophecy, with tremendous reiteration, were not written for one nation or one time only; but for all nations and languages, for all places and all centuries; and it is as true of the wicked men now as ever it was of Nabal or Dives, that "his eyes are set against the poor."

Set against the poor, mind you, not merely set away from the poor, so as to neglect or lose sight of them, but set against, so as to afflict and destroy them. This is the main point I want to fix your attention upon. You will often hear sermons about neglect or carelessness of the poor. But neglect and carelessness are not at all the points. The Bible hardly even talks about neglect of the poor. It always talks of oppression of the poor—a very different matter. It does not merely speak of passing by on the other side, and binding up no wounds, but of drawing the sword and ourselves smiting the man down. It does not charge us with being idle in the pest-house, and giving no medicine, but with being busy in the pest-house, and giving much poison.

May we not advisedly look into this matter a little, even to day, and ask first, Who are these poor?

No country is, or ever will be, without them: that is to say, without the class which cannot, on the average, do more by its labour than provide for its subsistence, and which has no accumulations of property laid by on any considerable scale. Now there are a certain number of this class whom we cannot oppress with much severity. An able-bodied and intelligent workman—sober, honest, and industrious, will almost always command a fair price for his work, and lay by enough in a few years to enable him to hold his own in the labour market. But all men are not able-bodied, nor intelligent, nor industrious, and you cannot expect them to be. Nothing appears to me at once more ludicrous and more melancholy than the way the people of the present age usually talk about the morals of labourers. You hardly ever address a labouring man upon his prospect in life without quietly assuming that he is to possess, at starting, as a small moral capital to begin with the virtue of Socrates, the philosophy of Plato, and the heroism of Epamonindas. "Be assured, my good man (you say to him), that if you work steadily for ten hours a day all your life long, and if you drink nothing but water, or the very mildest beer, and live on very plain food, and never lose your temper, and go to church every Sunday, and always remain content in the position in which Providence has placed you, and never grumble, nor swear; and always keep your clothes decent, and rise early, and use every opportunity of improving yourself, you will get on very well, and never come to the parish soup kitchen."

All this is exceedingly true; but before giving the advice so evidently, it would be well if we sometimes tried it pratically ourselves, and spent a year or so at some hard manual labour, not of an entertaining kind—ploughing or digging, for instance, with a very moderate allowance of beer; nothing but bread and cheese for dinner; no papers nor muffins in the morning; no sofas nor magazines at night; one small room for parlour and kitchen and a large family of children always in the middle of the floor. If we think we could, under these circumstances, enact Socrates or Epamonindas entirely to our own satisfaction, we shall be somewhat justified in requiring the same behaviour from our poorer neighbours; but if not, we should surely consider a little whether among the various forms of the oppression of the poor, we may not rank as one of the first and likeliest—the oppression of expecting too much from them.

But let this pass; and let it be admitted that we never can be guilty of oppression towards the sober, industrious, intelligent, exemplary labourer. There will always be in the world some who are not altogether intelligent and exemplary; we shall, I believe, to the end of time find the majority unintelligent, a little inclined to be idle, and occasionally, on Saturday night, drunk. We must even be prepared to hear of reprobates who like skittles on Sunday morning better than prayers; and of unnatural parents who send their children out to beg instead of to go to school.

Now there are the kind of people whom you can oppress, and whom you do oppress, and that the purpose—and with all the more cruelty and the greater sting, because it is just their own fault that puts them into your power. You know the words about wicked people are: "He doth ravish the poor when he getteth him into his net." This getting into the net is constantly the fault or folly of the sufferer—his own heedlessness or his own indolence; but after he is once in the net, the oppression of him, and making the most of his distress, are ours. The nets which we use against the poor are just those worldly embarassments which either their ignorance or their improvidence are almost certain at some time or other to bring them into: then just at the time when we ought to hasten to hely them, and disentangle them, and teach them how to manage better in future, we rush forward to pillage them, and force all we can out of them in their adversity.

A record of Medical work in Basutoland.

The Comet

Mochochonono 6-12-34

This pamphlet of thirty-five pages contains the history of the medical work and service in Basutoland compiled with the permission of His Excellency the High Commissioner by Dr. M. Macfarlane, C.B.E., M.D. Acting late Principal Medical Officer and printed by the Cape P&P Co." Ladybrand Its first of its kind and contains valuable information.

Maseru Basutoland

In the Preface Dr. Macfarlane says: "This little brochure aims at giving a short account of what has been done to provide a health Service for the Territory.

It is not claimed that this service is adequate for the needs of the population, but greater expansion is limited by "financial and other considerations."

On page 19 the writer deals with a scheme of training Native men as medical aids for work in outlying dispensaries under the supervision of the District Medical Officer, a scheme which, unfortunately had been made known to the people and when afterwards it was dropped for reasons explained in the book, nobody cared to enlighten the people that what they had been promised had been found impossible at that moment to fulfill. It will, however, be of interest to the Basuto to learn that there is still hope of the scheme being tackled again in future.

On page 20 it is stated: 'Efforts are being made by a representative committee of medical men, trained nurses and others interested in Native welfare, to initiate a scheme for Native nursing on a lower grade than that demanded by the South African Medical Council. Masera hospital, in which a number of European nurses have been trained, is recognized as a training school As regards the provision of fully trained medical men for work in the remote and mountainous parts of the Territory, the difficulty was and is felt that no European would stand the isolation for any length of time. Two natives from Basutoland have trained and qualified in Great Britain and been employed by the administration; and others may follow suit. As there are no facilities for the complete training of Native medical men in South Africa it might be to the advantage of the Government to give financial assistance to Native students to go overseas on the understanding that their services would be at the disposal of the Basutoland Administration when they qualified

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

The Visit of the Sultan and the Emirs.

The Closing Week in London.

The Sultan of Sokoto, and the Emirs of Kano and Gwandu are about to depart. Leaving London on Sunday, they will sail from Liverpool, homeward bound, on Wednesday.

West Africa

They will then leave behind them the tumult and the shouting, all the varied kaleidoscope of modern Western life which day-by-day has dazzled them.

7-7-34

It has done more than dazzle. Behind the mechanism of another civilisation they have discerned the men, they have sensed the friendship which, striving to reassure them, has made them feel at home as friends and citizens within the fabric of the British Commonwealth of diverse nations and peoples. Quickly responsive to courtesy, they have seen this golden thread running through all their gay programme of doings. The King in his palace, the coster trundling his barrow, alike have given them welcome.

It must be confessed that the first few days of sightseeing had the pace that kills. The mental and physical strain of taking in the London scene was felt alike by the Rulers and their retinue, but time works wonders. They soon got into form as sightseers. The reassuring presence, the tactful ways of the administrative officers accompanying the party, worked like a charm.

On Thursday of last week, they visited Windsor Castle and this, the finest country house in the world, needless to say, was regarded with great interest as the "House of the King."

The Emir of Kano visited York, where Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, as host, revealed the modern miracles of chocolate manufacture, showing how the indigenous raw product becomes a highly sophisticated dainty for Europe's millions.

Pottery at Ashtead, seen on June 29, furnished occasion for comparison between the primeval technique of Africa and that which Surrey knows.

Racing at Sandown provided a crowded hour in the afternoon. Two events on the card were watched, and that was enough for a day.

On Saturday they beheld the inscrutable wonders of Broadcasting House, where Sir John Reith is the master magician. The thought of the miracles of sound transmission wrought through every minute of the 24-hour clock doubtless held them, but their preference, of course, like that of many of us, is for something simple and spectacular.

On Saturday Hendon air pageant, crazy flying parachutes and all, deafened and dazzled, but their avowed preference was for Croydon, London's air port, seen on a subsequent ordinary working day.

"This is the railway station of the air," said one of the Emirs, watching the passenger liners arrive and depart for Germany, Holland, France, India—the ends of the earth.

The party had arrived shortly before the accident in which the Lord Mayor's son was killed, and the Sultan hastened to send a message of condolence from himself and Emirs to the bereaved parents, who had been their hosts on the Monday previous. This message has since received grateful acknowledgment.

Sunday brought a pleasant and memorable visit to Lord Lugard in his country home, and there, at tea-time, the famous Arab horses from Lady Vaughan-Williams's farm next paraded for the visitors' pleasure. The Royal Show gave them the master thrill of the week. Rarely seeing anything much bigger than a polo pony they scarcely believed in the towering Shire horses, the Suffolk Punches, the Percherons which Ipswich showed them in strings and squadrons. Sheep as well were a revelation. To see such enormous creatures was still not quite to believe in their authenticity!

On Monday the Rulers were granted an audience by his Majesty at Buckingham Palace. Brief as was the ceremonial, with its formalities of greeting, and the putting of a few questions by his Majesty, the occasion will be ever memorable, and treasured in recollection.

At noon on Thursday, the party was received at the Colonial Office by the Earl of Plymouth, with whom were Sir John Maffey, Sir George Tomlinson, and Professor Bottomley. In response to questions regarding their visit, the Rulers said that they had had a most enjoyable time, and were especially impressed by their audience with the King. The Secretary of State for the Colonies then showed his close interest in the administration of their territories by a number of questions, and complimented the Rulers on their progressive policy, and particularly on their interest in veterinary work and in the improvement of the hides and skins industry. The Emir of Gwandu was pleased to hear an appreciation of his energetic efforts to open his territory more fully to trade, particularly to the new trade in reptile skins, and the Emir of Kano was complimented both on the water and electricity supplied enjoyed by Kano city and on his interest in the expansion of education among Moslem women. The Sultan of Sokoto briefly returned thanks on behalf of the party for a visit which owed much of its success to the fine services rendered by A. E. V. Walwyn as interpreter. With Mr. Walwyn on this occasion were Captains Symes and Thompstone.

Later in the afternoon a visit was paid to the Cowley works, where Morris motor cars came into being. The party were entertained to tea by Lord Nuffield, who provided three 25 h.p. cars for their use in London.

Friday brought a visit to Aldershot as guests of the War Office. In the afternoon the African Society, founded in memory of Mary Kingsley, that good friend of West Africans, gave a reception.

To-day the Rulers visit the Houses of Parliament, and in the afternoon Ranelagh, surely a lovely place to keep in memory, with its green lawns and gay gardens, the polo matches, the music, the atmosphere of quiet, thorough English hospitality.

On Sunday afternoon the Sultan and the Emirs are due at Liverpool. They will make the Adelphi Hotel their headquarters until Wednesday, when they sail in the Apapa. They will visit Lord Derby at Knowsley to-morrow evening, and they spend Monday at Manchester, being the guests of the Elder Dempster Lines at luncheon at the Midland Adelphi Hotel. On Tuesday they are guests of Lord Leverhulme and Lever Bros. at Port Sunlight. Mr. F. Bateman-Jones, manager of the Coast Department of the Elder Dempster Lines, has made himself responsible for the arrangements at Liverpool on their final day in this country and also for their transport arrangements.

It has been decided to reserve the morning of Wednesday for their personal requirements, but shortly before two in the afternoon Mr. Bateman-Jones has arranged with the Lord Mayor of Liverpool (Councillor George A. Strong, J.P.) that his "State" coach, used only on special occasions, shall be placed at the visitors' disposal. The Sultan and Emirs with their suite will be taken to the Town Hall, where the Lord Mayor will conduct the party on a tour of the historic building, when there will be on exhibition the treasures of Liverpool's "Mansion House."

After the inspection the visitors will rejoin the coach, and will be taken through the principal streets of the city in the open carriage before driving to the Prince's landing stage, where they will be received on board the liner by directors and the principal officials of the steamship company. Mr. Richard D. Holt (chairman of the Elder Dempster Lines and also chairman of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board) has written a personal letter to each of the guests giving them a hearty welcome to Liverpool.

Similar arrangements were made some two years ago on the visit of the Emir of Katsina, and some weeks later the then Lord Mayor received a letter from the Emir expressing the delight it gave him to drive in the coach, and also a present of a handsome rug.

Dr. Werner on Cairns.

Why Natives Knot Grass.

To the Editor of "East Africa."

SIR,—I have been much interested in the recent correspondence on "cairns," and wonder that none

of your contributors has called attention to the well-known examples in South Africa. The most famous are the "graves of Heitsi-Eibib," the legendary hero of the Hottentots. The multiplicity of his graves is explained by the alleged fact of his having died many times and as often returned to life. See McCall Theal, "The Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa South of the Zambezi" (London, 1910), pp. 80-84, and Bleek, "Reynard the Fox in South Africa," pp. 75-82.

In Zulu *isi-vivane* is a "heap of small stones thrown together by travellers, it is scarcely known why; but each Native passing throws a stone on it, lest ill luck befall him" (Colenso's Dictionary). Samuelson (Dictionary, p. 492) adds some further particulars: "A Native will be walking along, and it suddenly occurs to him that he should do something to secure luck for himself and a safe journey; he gets a portion of a particular herb or of grass and lays them down alongside the path, and on the top of these he places a small stone after he has spat on it and wished himself luck; other Natives passing that way and knowing that that has been done, also pick up each a stone, spit on it, place it on the same place, wish for luck to themselves, and pass on; in this way a heap of stones is formed and left undisturbed by Natives; there are still some of these cairns in Zululand."

(Christian Natives have adopted the word to express a collection for some common object. To be precise, this usage originated in 1895, when those of the *ibandhla las' England*, fearing that they were about to be deprived by the Church of the Province of South Africa of their own place of worship, initiated a movement for acquiring land on their own account.)

On the edge of a *wangwa* (tidal creek) between Gongoni and Ngomeni in the Malindi district of Kenya but not on the main track, is a spot known as Kwa Kibibi where a small mound (hardly to be called a cairn) marks the grave of a *mtu wa kae*, concerning whom I could get no information. Everyone who passed it, when I saw it in 1913, was expected to throw something on the heap—a leaf, a twig, a bunch of grass, in fact, anything within reach. There is another site called Kwa Husaini between Kwa Kibibi and Ngomeni—but I have no note about this.

Mr. Hichens's letter in your issue of June 14 mentions the custom of making knots in grass when on a journey. This seems to be done for various reasons. Sir James Frazer, in the "Golden Bough," mentions it as intended to stay the course of the sun and allow the traveller to arrive by daylight. M. Junod ("Life of a South African Tribe") says that Ronga lovers, when parting at the cross-roads, knot the grass as a symbol of constancy.

In 1893, on the road from Katunga to Blantyre, I noticed that several tufts of grass had been knotted in this way, and was told, on inquiry, that it was done to keep the wet grass out of the path. (It rained heavily all that day, though it was in June.) I have since suspected that this explanation was the one kept for European consumption. Another occasion on which I noticed knotted grass was in the middle of a patch between two paths at Nthumbi (Ncheu district of Nyasaland). I have no reason to doubt the explanation given here—that someone had marked the plot for cultivation in the coming season.

Two other points in Mr. Hichens's letter are of interest. The haunted valley in the Iramba country recalls the belief mentioned by Pausanias that the ghosts of those who fought at Marathon were heard at times on that battlefield. Also see an article by Colonel W. H. Besant in the *Journal of the African Society* for April, 1934 (p. 167), where he mentions an Arab village deserted by its inhabitants because the neighbourhood was haunted by those slain at Abu Hammed.

The late Emil Torday found that, in the region of the Kasai, it was thought that the pygmies had been originally produced from trees. But the Iyambi "tree-people," who seem to be akin to our Brownies, are new to me.

Yours faithfully,

Welwyn Garden City. A. WERNER.

AIMS OF NATIVE EDUCATION.

What is meant by Native education? East Africans will agree that attention must be paid to the views expressed in the majority report of the Native Economic Commission of South Africa, which now spends £600,000 per annum on such education. The aim is declared to be that of freeing the mass of the Natives from reactionary conceptions, such as witchcraft, primitive fears and tabus, the removal or transformation of which is defined as the first problem of education; it should proceed from the foundations of Native society (hardly compatible with the removal of tabus!) and build up, giving the Native a pride in his own people (since when has he not had this?), and a desire to develop what is good in his own institutions; it should, further, aim at making the educated Native a missionary to his own people. and an instrument in advancing their material progress. East Africa, in which a later, and a much better, start has been made, might well consider these findings of investigators further south, for they have more, though somewhat different, data from which to deduce, and have undoubtedly much to teach the younger British African territories.

A West African Historian.

With Mr. Ajisafe in the Northern Nigeria group are, back row, left to right, Messrs. J. O. Mabogunje, financial secretary, W.A.S.U., and chairman, U.N.A. Church, Kano; and T. I. Olafinhan, vice-president, W.A.S.U. Sitting, the Rev. T. K. Aderin, Supt. Pastor, U.N.A. Church, Northern Provinces; Chief E. G. France, president of Sabongari Native Court, Kano; and Mr. A. K. Ajisafe.

Mr. Aiisafe is the author of "Aive Akamara," African poems; "Enia Soro," and other works in Yoruba; a "History of Abeokuta," in English and Yoruba languages; and "Yoruba Laws and Customs," a standard work recognised by the local courts, which was published by Messrs. Routledge, and the C.M.S. Bookshop, Lagos.

Leather-bound copies of the "History of Abeokuta" and "Yoruba Laws and Customs" were accepted by the Prince of Wales when his Highness visited Nigeria. and a letter of thanks was subsequently sent to the author, who is organist of the United African Methodist Church, as well as poet and author.

Mr. Ajisafe is touring the Northern Provinces in connection with his research work in African history, customs, etc.

Mombasa's Population.

In a section of his annual report dealing with vital statistics, the Medical Officer of Health for Mombasa states that the population figures obtained by census in 1931 for Mombasa Island only are as follows:

Europeans, 1,132; Indians, 11,841; Goans, 1,077; Arabs, 6,679; others 446; Natives, 22,077; total, 43,252.

The estimated population for 1933 for Mombasa Island only is: Europeans, 892; Indians, 10,425; Goans, 1,036; Arabs, 6,431; others, 441; Natives, 19,843; total, 39,068. These figures show a decrease in the population of the Island of 4,184 in two years. In 1931 the estimated total population of the whole Municipal Area was between 50,000 and 55,000. The estimated population for the Municipal Area for 1933 is 48,000.

Once again attention is drawn to the difficulty experienced by the Medical Officer of Health in presenting any statistical comparison of the state of the public health for 1933, with that of previous years owing to the lack of information on which such comparison is based. To collect such data it is an essential to have: (i) A correct estimate of population, with numbers of each age and sex. (ii) A complete registration of births and deaths. (iii) A correct statement of cause of death, with the age in each case. For years Medical Officers of Health, in compiling these reports, have asked for legislation to be introduced for the compulsory registration of births and deaths. So far their pleadings have been devoid of result, and it is recommended that early action be taken in regard to this matter.

NATIVE ATTACKS ON KENYA SETTLERS.

Drastic Punishment for Lumbwa Tribesmen Demanded.

NAIROBI, July 3.

In view of the uneasiness caused among settlers by the attack on Mr. and Mrs. Semini, a Maltese farmer and his wife, by natives on June 15th, a public meeting at Naivasha yesterday appointed a deputation to make representations to Sir Joseph Byrne, the Governor, about public security in sparsely populated areas. The police have arrested seven men who are believed to have been the gang of Lumbwa responsible for the attack. Mr. Semini is still in hospital, and it is now established that Mrs. Semini, who is an Englishwoman from Purley, Surrey, was criminally assaulted. For this offence the law provides the death penalty.

Public Execution Suggested.

At the public meeting speeches were made inviting the Government to consider how best the punishment of the guilty men, in case of conviction, could most effectively be made known to the natives, and it was suggested that there should be a public execution in the Lumbwa Reserve. Another suggestion was that headmen should be sent for to witness the execution at the prison. It was further proposed that in future all Lumbwa labourers should be recruited direct through the District Commissioner from the Lumbwa Reserve, and that a pass system should be instituted.

The Governor is to be asked to impose a tribal fine on the Lumbwa or raise money in some other way for the purpose of compensating Mr. and Mrs. Semini, who are said to have been made destitute by the attack.

The effective work of the police in making an early arrest of the gang has calmed public opinion.—"The Times."

Witch Doctor Clan to be Removed.

NAIROBI, July 5.

A clan of hereditary witch doctors, known as "Laibons," numbering 700 men, women, and children, is likely to be removed from the reserve of the Lumbwa tribe in Kenya Colony.

This is due to legislation which has been introduced by the Government of Kenya because of the clan's alleged evil influence on the Lumbwa tribe, which is stated to have beeen begun at least fifty years ago.

It is proposed to remove this clan to an area near Kisimu, on Lake Victoria.—Reuter.

Race Problem -1934

Africa

An African on Love Marriages.

THE Uganda Literary and Debating Society must have been glad that it recently invited an African to address it on "Western Influences on African Marriage," for a most interesting, and quite valuable, paper resulted. East Africa

"Western civilisation," said the speaker, "introduced what I may term 'love marriages.' The unions or marriages of the past were void of anything like love, and because of this many of them, if not all, amounted to just what Mr. Hattersley called 'on approval.' Western civilised marriage has got something deeper than that. It is based on the solid foundation of love. 7-5-34

"It opened our eyes to the true meaning of marriage as I believe our Maker meant it to be: the marriage of companionship. Not merely a marriage or union because there are benefits one seeks to get from the other; or because men and women must marry, or just to suit the passion of the individual. But because each has weighed facts within himself or herself and obtained that internal conviction that he or she has found a companion. . . .

"Although this has not yet completely eradicated our former conceptions, it is gradually pulling us round to look upon a home life as meaning more than just owning wives, cattle, servants, etc. Formerly the man was a separate unit from the home: he never had the real love of a father towards his children. Hence he never knew them, and they in turn never understood their fathers as children should. They grew up in the care of their mothers away from the companionship of their father and to all appearance they were their mother's children only. To-day, thanks to Western laws and ideas, this is slowly being remedied. The child grows up in the hands of both parents.

"Western civilisation came with her blessings, but brought about a dislocation of existing customs and traditions. For our purpose we will mention the clan system which has almost entirely been disrupted. The results ensuing therefrom are:—

"(*a*) Due to the disappearing influence of parents over their children in matrimonial matters, and due to the economic pressure as the result of this Western contact with our primitive social customs, the young men have now to depend upon their own efforts, first to raise the marriage dowries, and, second, to establish a home, with the result that now many young men are reluctant to get married who would, in the olden days when the clan system was existing, have already taken wives and established homes;

"(*b*) Young girls are experiencing the same difficulties arising out of the same course, and they find themselves in a much worse position, as they cannot provide for their living like the young men, due to the fact that they are not educationally given the necessary equipment; and

"(*c*) When a married man dies, unless he makes suitable provision, his dependants are left destitute, whereas in former times these people were always looked after and provided for by the clan."

THE WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

Natal Witness

Bantu Branch, Durban.

6-8-34

The Christian Bantu women of several denominations have a united meeting of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. This meeting was established by the late Mrs. Cameron who acted as president and secretary. It was re-organised by Mrs. Smithers who was then president of the European W.C.T.U. in Natal. It now forms part of the World's Temperance Union. Olive Schreiner

At the present time the office bearers are as follows:- Mrs. J. E. Little, President, Mrs. K. Makanya and Mrs. A. Mtimkulu, vice Presidents. Miss A. M. Uys, Treasurer, Mrs. F.M. Caluza, Secretary.

The women meet once a month to discuss ways and means and to pray that God in His own way may bring about the much—longed—for prohibition. "With God all things are possible."

On April 7, 1934, the interesting department of Little White Ribboners (Native children) was started. The organisers were Mrs. J.E. Little, President, Miss A M. Uys, treasurer, Mrs.F.M. Caluza, Secretary. (The other office bearers being absent). Miss Fernie was also present.

The aims are to educate the young people in Temperance facts and principles, and to teach them the sinfulness of strong drink. Liquor is the cause of much crime and misery amongst our Native people, and nothing but the power of God can stop the evil habit. What we teach our children now they will remember when they grow up.

The Little White Ri boners' Meeting was held in the Bantu Men's Social Centre. Mrs. Little presided. There were 126 children present. Miss Fernie was the speaker. She told the children a very fascinating story which was also very instructive. 81 boys and girls gave their names as wishing to join the movement.

Musical items were rendered at intervals. Delicious and juicy grapes were served in saucers all round. They were enjoyed with grateful thanks to the givers.

On May 6th a meeting of the Little White Ribboners was held in the Bantu Men's Social Centre. Mrs. J. E. Little presided. Mrs. Makanya and Mrs. Caluza were the speakers. 46 boys and girls enrolled as members in addition to the previous enrolment of 81.

An interesting musical programme had been arranged for. It was delightful to hear some children singing solos, duettes and quartettes so merrily, and others playing the piano in accompaniment.

Raisins were served to the enjoyment of all present. Thanks to the president who so kindly provided the refreshments.

The meeting closed with a hymn and prayer.

The movement is interdenominational.

E. CALUZA.

45, Sydney Road,
Durban.

S.S speaks to the people

The Comet

If Moshesh came back This noble chief's name glitters with diamond spangles of all the adjectives that can be employed in the decoration of a great name, which have been liberally sprinkled upon it like sweet perfume, and which it so richly deserves. This great name sails so leisurely and majestically like a great big battleship, in company with other great names in the great furious ocean of human history.

Mashonaland 6-12-34 Modern Basutoland

Only a black man he was and lived in those days of turmoil, darkness and barbarism. Nay, such calm waters of peace he knew not, such dazzling light of civilization his dreams never had the audacity to carry him into But—and a big but too—what an edifice! What a magnificent structure he has established! Yes, a great man indeed.

He founded the Basuto nation, and like a wise man, took a further step and insured it with Queen Victoria The Good for security's sake, by paying his premiums in homage and loyalty.

When he took refuge under the mighty and loving wing of the British Throne he said metaphorically: "Keep me, my blanket and its lice," meaning himself, his land and his subjects. What is here that is greater than security? Moshesh, what a man!

This noble genius, his perspicacity deemed another step necessitous. He called the missionaries, for he believed that 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom,' what a legacy, what a heritage, Moshesh, what a man!

It was just a year last April since the centenary celebration of the advent of the French Missionaries. It is 101 years to-day since that powerful torch of civilization was introduced and brandished in Basutoland, and what-

ever we are today, we owe it all to the noble Moshesh.

If Moshesh came back! If Moshesh could only come back, what a series of pleasant fits he would undergo! He would have a fit of astonishment, a fit of appreciation and a fit of self-importance.

On the other hand, what horrible mental paroxysms he would be obliged to suffer when he observes the moral disintegration and corruption of the nation, such man butchery, theft, disregard of sound social bonds etc. and general national decrepitude as he has not seen in his savage days, and this state of affairs in all this glorious light of civilization. "Ah! it is shocking," the old man would say and shake his head sheepishly endeavouring to restore his mental balance.

Moshesh said his land was his blanket and it was. He said his subjects were his lice, and it was equally true. Lice as you know depend for their sustenance on the blood of the owner of the blanket. Moshesh's subjects drank Moshesh's blood. But to-day the order is reversed somewhat, Moshesh still owns the blanket but he drinks the lice blood.

After all these years of civilization, couldn't we find a Moshesh from the nation? couldn't we raise one somehow? can't we buy one somewhere? do all the Basuto wish to be interred intact—bone, flesh, name and all!—what about leaving a name, even if not as great as that of Moshesh, just a little name bespangled with a few or one valuable spangle, you will have contributed something to Moshesh's Great National Fund and you will be a Moshesh on a smal scale.

Last of all but not least, I say, "Sons of Moshesh, some of you who have little or no faith in themselves, may have been startled by the Prime Minister's statement in Parliament, that the time has now come, when Basutoland and her sister Protectorates should be incorporated in the Union. I bid you to hold your peace and be calm. Your father was a wise man, he has insured yourselves and you all with the British Throne, you are directly under the good King's powerful and loving arm, you are secure, you are safe and comfortable and shall continue to be so, as long as you pay your premiums regularly in the form of homage and loyalty which your father undertook to pay to maintain the policy in full force until it matures. If ever any alteration be deemed necessary in the terms of the policy as it now stands, you shall be consulted, and your opinion sought.

Once you falter in the payment of your premiums as delineated above, your policy lapses, and you have nobody to censure but yourselves.

Protectorates And The Union.

(Mochochonono.)

It is reported in the daily papers that Professor McMillan in an article to "New Statesman" referring to General Hertzog's statement in the Union House of Parliament recently on the question of the transfer of the Protectorates into the Union says that the essence of the matter, beyond a doubt, is that the Natives of the Protectorates are solidly against the incorporation in the Union." 6-6-34

He asks! "Is it too much to hope that His Majesty's Government may belatedly take the occasion to use its influence on behalf of the Union Natives, whom she has so often left to their fate? General Hertzog reopening of the question may be the opportunity to put an end, once and for all, to the present neglect of the interests in the Protectorates. As things are, they cannot be handed over, neither can they be left as they are. The Treasury has to make up for the past neglect. Only a settled understanding with the Union can secure to the Natives the benefits of a long delayed economic development. Public opinion must see to this, in spite of and, if need be, outside of the Statute of Westminster.

THE NATIVE PROBLEM - A JUDGE'S VIEW.

Ilanga Lase Natal

IT is always interesting to read or learn what the thinking men of South Africa have to say concerning the future of the Bantu people. As we have often observed, one point for regret is that the opinions expressed regarding the progress and development of our people are more often or not the outcome of prejudice or ignorance. Such views are not worth considering. They do, however, serve one useful purpose, in that they throw into bold relief the opinions of those competent to judge, and thereby provide a premises upon which even the ignorant and prejudiced may at least have an opportunity of building anew.

Of late many outstanding public men in South Africa have been telling the world much that is important and interesting regarding the Native problem, and it is a matter for satisfaction that their views on all the material points have invariably coincided. Among those whose views should commend themselves to most our Judges are surely outstanding. Their long experience of life in its various phases, their insight into human nature, their mature judgment, derived from many years of intimate acquaintance with all sorts and conditions of men, entitle their opinions to the fullest respect.

Mr. Justice Sampson, in the course of a letter to a Capetown journal, has a greatdeal of interest to say concerning the Native question. In his review the history of the matter he finds in the fact that an end has been put to the decimation of the Bantu race by inter-tribal wars and that many thousands have been spent upon Native education. Seeing that as a result the Natives have multiplied beyond all calculation, he contends that it is illogical to educate them and then deny them the rights of civilisation. To collect them into one area and tell them to feed themselves is an impossible way to solve the problem. On the contrary the learned judge thinks that the best plan is to leave them where they are, in other words let them take their place with all who seek to make a living.

Amplifying this doctrine, Mr. Justice Sampson remarks: "They must take their chance in their struggle for existence, and cannot ask to be more favourably treated by the Government than any poor white. They should at any rate remember that but for unemployment of the white race in mines, on farms and in towns they would starve to-morrow in tens of thousands. They get protection from us and the means to live. We get their services, and on the whole pay them reasonably for the kind of work they do and the quality of it. There are thousands of white people in South Africa not as well off as thousands of Natives.

In the opinion of the learned Judge there is no danger of the Bantu ruling the roost in South Africa, even were the franchise granted in the other Provinces of the Union. The idea of the Native ousting the white man he considers utterly absurd. He thinks that the best thing to do is to leave the Native alone, to let him take his chance in the community, in effect Judge Sampson says that with few exceptions the Native will always be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water.

All this is very interesting, but it does not in the least assist in solving South Africa's greatest problem. It is all very well for the learned Judge and those who think like him to imagine that our people have no ambition, no initiative, no outlook. He at least ought to know that with the spread of civilisation and all that it implies, the Native is destined to play a large part in the march of progress. He is not content with his present lot, and no matter what may be said to the contrary, it is as certain as anything can be that the future destiny of South Africa is irrevocably linked with its social and economic development.

Race Problem - 1934
Africa

HIGHER EDUCATION IN NIGERIA.

PLAIN SPEAKING BY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION.

Speaking at the annual prize day at Igbobi College, Lagos, on April 28, Mr. E. R. J. Hussey C.M.G., Nigeria's able and active Director of Education. took occasion to refer to recent criticisms of the new Higer College at Yaba and to clear away prevalent misunderstandings as to the purposes which such institutions are designed to fulfil.

Weekly News

"I think it may be as well to point out," said Mr. H. Hussey, "that the establishment of an institution of this sort is not the irresponsible act of an individual, be he Director of Education or any-one else, but is part of a considered plan of Educational development in British West Africa, envisaged by the advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Dependencies with the approval of the Secretary of State. This committee is composed of men and women of pre-eminent distinction and ability in the sphere of education. It has from the start taken an active interest in this institution and in other institutions for higher education in Africa. And I suggest that those people in Nigeria, who are genuinely anxious to see advance in educational standards and ideals, watch the work of this very competent and disinterested committee, who are concerned with this College, and are at the present moment considering policy for higher education not only of Nigeria but also of the other great African Dependencies. To give fuller opportunities in Nigeria of academic and professional qualifications is a democratic measure, which may not commend itself to those who are swayed by personal motives. but that its results will be appreciated by the vast majority of Nigeria's millions no honest man can doubt.

Freetown Sierra Leone

OPPORTUNITY FOR NIGERIAN YOUTHS.—"In saying this I want to make it quite clear that we do not in the least wish to discourage in any way those who prefer to go to a British University. It is indeed a matter of surprise to me that Africans have not themselves founded some scholarships for this purpose. British higher education depends very largely on endowment. Very few, if any, Nigerians have yet endowed colleges or scholarships, and I suggest that a beginning be made in this direction, and that those earnest young Lagosians who are apparently so interested in the subject should constitute themselves into a committee for the purpose of collecting an endowment fund. It is pleasing to find them interested, and here is an opportunity to put their keenness to a practical test.

"With the foundation in Africa of colleges of the type of the Yaba Higher College, it will be possible for students of proved industry and ability to proceed from them for post-graduate work at a British University. Not every student is fit for post-graduate work, but there will be some who can derive very great benefit from it, and the advantage of going at this stage is that they know by them on what lines they can best specialise. Universities in England are alive to this possiblity, though no definite plans can be made until those colleges have had sufficient time to develop, but I hope that it will not be very long before Nigeria sends regularly specially selected students for post-graduate studies."

NEW AVENUES OF EMPLOYMENT.—Refering to the effect of the financial depression upon the students of the college and similar institutions, Mr. Hussey said: "Boys who pass out of Igbobi in these days cannot be sure of employment in what are sometimes called the 'blackcoated professions.' There are a far larger number of suitable applicants for these posts. . . . Industry in the European sense does not exist in Nigeria to-day. But there is a move on the part of some prominent Africans to develop in the first place minor industries which can be started with moderate capital. I believe that the system of co-operation will be of great assistance in this respect, and that with the arrival of Major Chadwick, who is to be the Co-operative Officer, a beginning will be made, which may be the foundation of serious industrial development."—*The African World*, June 2.

THE SIERRA LEONE SETTLERS IN THE PROTECTORATE.

Weekly News

WE referred to a decision in the Circuit Court relative to an action brought by Mr. F. S. MACAULAY for trespass against one KALILU, given by His Honour ARTHUR HUDSON, Esq., once Circuit Judge on the 5th of December 1905, in which it was adjudged that the Defendant had trespassed upon the lands of the Plaintiff and for which he was awarded damages to the extent of ten pounds. This and other considerations to which we have referred were over ridden in a recent action before the very Circuit Court; not only was the land for which he had received damages taken from him, but the strong hands of the law sent him to prison for offence it was alleged, he had committed during the trial. Thus it could be seen that it was not so much what was alleged, that this attitude of Government was taken with the view of keeping the law of land tenure inviolable, but it was more of a policy of keeping out the Sierra Leonean from the Protectorate, because it was felt that he was more a trouble, a hindrance to progress, that is to say such progress which the District Commissioners wanted to effect by becoming a law unto themselves, doing just what they liked but for which, the presence of a Sierra Leonean, they were persuaded, would bring trouble for them.

6-16-34
Freetown Sierra Leone
West Africa

There is no doubt that there have been great help in the direction of good and faithful service rendered by District Commissioners in the Protectorate; but the disposition to treat the people of the Protectorate as primitive and backward, could not be done, because

THE NEGRO ANTHOLOGY.

LETTER, AS SENT THE EDITOR OF *The New Statesman* LONDON, IN REPLY TO LORD OLIVIER'S REVIEW OF "NEGRO," BY GEORGE PADMORE, AND NOT PRINTED BY THE *New Statesman*.

To the Editor of *The New Statesman*

Sir,—As a West Indian Negro reader of your journal permit me to make a few observations on Lord Olivier's review of Nancy Cunard's Anthology, "Negro," which appeared in the March 10th issue.

Weekly News

My purpose in writing is not to defend Miss Cunard's views on the Negro question. If such a defense is necessary I think she is capable of doing that for herself. Rather, my object is to challenge some of the false impressions which statements by Lord Olivier are likely to convey. For example, he accuses Miss Cunard of saying "In Jamaica . . . the blacks . . . have no voice politically or economically."—"A thing blindly untrue," says his lordship. In the first place, Miss Cunard never said such a thing, but even if she did, she would be right and Lord Olivier, wrong. The fact of the matter is that on page 448, she was merely quoting from an article in the *Independent* by Eric Walrond, the West Indian Negro author and journalist, whose exact words are "The blacks who outnumber them (whites) 3 to 1, have *actually* no voice politically or economically. (Italics mine. G.P.)

Freetown Sierra Leone
West Africa

Surely Lord Olivier, as an ex-Governor of Jamaica, should know that this is true. However, in order to bolster up his assertion to the contrary he quotes the Property Roll of 1930 which shows 213,395 freeholders. But these figures in themselves mean nothing to those of us who know the actual situation. It is one thing to be on the voters' list and quite another thing to possess the property qualifications to stand as a parliamentary candidate. And it is just here where the rub comes in the much detested Crown Colony system of government which is a mockery of democracy. The vast majority of black workers and peasants and even the middle classes are not able to stand for election, therefore they are compelled to either vote for men, black as well as white and mulatto, who really do not represent the class interests of the masses, or refrain from voting. Furthermore, the strategic, economic, political, and social positions in Jamaica are vested in the hands of Europeans and their mulatto lackeys. Quite true, whem compared with colonies like Kenya, the whites dare not treat the blacks as they do black East Africans not because they are more civilised and Christian than the European settlers in Kenya, but because of historic reasons like which are beyond the scope of this letter.

Furthermore, it is difficult to understand how Lord Olivier can reconcile such obviously contradictory statements as the following: "Money wages are *low* and casual labourers are *very poor* but Jamaica is a *free* and *happy* country for the *vast majority of her argricultural workers.* (Italics mine, G.P.) If this is so one wonders why the Imperial Government is wasting the taxpayers money in maintaining the largest garrison of British troops in the West Indies in Jamaica. The truth is all is not so rosy there as Lord Olivier would have us believe; Jamaica is no earthly paradise where the blacks neither work nor want; where they live on bananas and coconuts, bathe their bodies in the tropical sunshine and run about catching butterflies. This is all nonsense! The majority of the people are starving. Unemployment is widespread and there is no social insurance, not even the cursed Means Test. In the rural districts of the island the unemployed are looked upon as vagrants and treated as such by the authorities. If a starving man takes a banana from a plantation he is liable to arrest and imprisonment; with flogging, for a second offence. If this is a paradise I wonder why Lord Olivier has not yet recommended that the English unemployed be shipped to Jamaica.

A word about the so-called Co-operatives referred to in Lord Olivier's review. Notwithstanding its 150,000 members it is an abuse of the term. This so-called Co-operative was instituted by the Jamaica Government in order to help the local planters and British fruit dealers in their struggle against the American-controlled United Fruit Company. The black peasants do the work, while the local profiteers and British financiers capitalists and bankers reap the profits.

Weekly News

I have not the time, nor do I presume you have the space to permit a more detailed expose of the many more mis-statements of Lord Olivier. However, before closing, I want to point to another glaring distortion in his review. His lordship writes: "Her (Miss Cunard's) prescription for what she believes to

be the miseries of Jamaica is Communism and "Marxist Missionaries"—tell that to the 180,000 Jamaica Kulaks." Again Miss Cunard never said this. The term "Marxist Missionaries" appears in the concluding sentence of an article entitled "Labour Conditions in Jamaica" by A. A. Colebrooko (page 450), who, by the way, is a Jamaica and the son of one of the 180,000 black kulaks referred to by Lord Olivier.

I have come to the conclusion that his lordship either has it in for Miss Cunard or is evidently very much confused on this subject. Because of his reputation of having been a more intelligent administrator of Jamaica than, say, Governor Eyre, because of his frequent contributions to the press on matters affecting Negroes, and his position in British public life; Lord Olivier is considered as *the* authority on the Negro by a large number of English people who unfortunately know still less than he doos about much questions. None-the-less, there are many things about the Negro question which Lord Olivier either does not know or does not wish to know, and one of his mis-statements is that "Jamaica is a free and happy country for the vast majority of her agricultural workers."

Such statements savour of the cheap sentimentalism about blacks which every intelligent Negro is accustomed to hear from ignorant white men in the Southern States of America, South Africa and Kenya. But when they emanate from a Fabian Socialist and from one who poses to speak *ex cathedra* on the Negro question, then it is necessary to challenge them in public.—I am, yours respectfully,

(Signed) GEORGE PADMORE.

95, Cambridge Street,
London, S.W.

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA SIERRA LEONE SECTION AND THE GOLD COAST DELEGATION.

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONLENT.

It had become public news during the past few days that the Gold Coast Delegation which was proceeding to England to Register its protest and respectfully ask for H.M. the King's dissent on two recent Gold Coast Legislations, was on board the Appam. The Local Branch of the Congress came in touch with the Delegates by wireless as a result of which four representatives of the Congress in the persons of the Hon. Dr. Bankole-Bright, (Vice-President) Messrs. T. J. Carew and J. Benka Coker (Secretaries) and Barrister O. J. V. Tuboku-Metzger boarded the vessel at 1.45 p.m. and after the Hon. Dr. Bankole-Bright had introduced the Deputation, the Delegates were escorted on shore where they were met at the Landing Stage by several members of the Congress Committee. The party then moved on to the Wilberforce Memorial Hall at the entrance of which had stood A. E. Tuboku-Metzger, Esq., M.B.E., President of the Congress, Mrs. C. May President of the Female Branch and Several other members. Within one of the Committee Rooms, interchange of views were expressed. Mr. A. E. Toboku-Metzger. Hon. Beoku-Betts spoke on the Congress side. The Hon. Nana Sir Ofori Atta, Hon. Dr. Nanka Bruce and Dr. Danquah spoke on behalf of the delegation which then moved on to Government House to see His Excellency as per arrangement of the President of the Congress. Hon. Dr. Bankole-Bright introduced the Delegates to His Excellency who gave them a very fine reception. The delegates who were accompanied by the President, Vice-President, Secretaries and Barrister O. J. V. Tuboku-Metzger and Rev. J. O. E. Taylor then proceed to the wharf for re-embarkation where they said good-bye to all present. They were accompanied on board by two of the Secretaries, Messrs. S. A. Hughes and J. Benka Coker. The names of the delegates are the Hon. Nana Sir Ofori Atta K.B.E. of Abuakim and his attendants, Hon. Dr. F. Nanka Bruce (Accra) Hon. J. Kossah Barrister-at Law, (Cape Coast) G. Akilagpa Sawyerr Esq., Barrister at-Law (Accra) Dr. Danquah, P.h.D., Barrister-at-Law, (Accra) Secretary of the Delegation.

We wish the delegation Bon Voyage and a prosperous time in England.

"AN ORDINANCE TO MAKE PROVISION RELATING TO THE TENURE OF LAND BY NON-NATIVES IN THE PROTECTORATE."

THE ACTING ATTORNEY-GENERAL:—Your Excellency, in pursuance of notice given at the last meeting of Council, I beg to move that the Bill entitled—

"An Ordinance to make Provision relating to the Tenure of Land by Non-natives in the Protectorate," be read a second time.

THE SECOND URBAN MEMBER:—Your Excellency, I am moving an amendment to this motion, viz., that this Bill be considered this day six months.

My reason for making this amendment is that I consider that this Bill is unnecessary as there is a Bill in existence which answers all the requirements of the day. I refer to the Ordinance referred to by the Honourable the learned Acting Attorney-General, namely the Protectorate Native Law Ordinance of 1924. I submit that Parts III and IV of that Ordinance answer all requirements. That Ordinance gives absolute protection to the settler and the tribal ruler. It was an Ordinance conceived, piloted and supported by a former Governor of this Colony who was a barrister, I refer to Sir Leslie Probyn; that Bill was carefully gone into and supported by the local authorities and since then nothing has happened which has demonstrated that the law has not been operating in the right way.

My next point is that the provisions of this Bill are restrictive of the rights both of the tribal authorities and of the settler. It must be admitted that the lands are vested in the chiefs. By this Bill I respectfully submit an attempt is being made to give the political officer extraordinary powers in that the Bill gives the District Commissioner the right to dictate to the chief, who is the tribel authority, as on what terms he should lease his land and furthermore as to who should receive his rents. This does not seem to me to be compatible with the principles of indirect rule.

This Bill will also I believe militate against improvements in the Protectorate. I was interested to hear the Honourable the learned Acting Attorney-General say that in view of the extention of trade this bill was necessary. I would say that in view of the extention of trade this Bill would militate against improvement in the Protectorate. Neither an individual nor any commercial firm will attempt to invest money on lands, the occupation of which are so narrowed or restricted by legislation. By the already existing ordinance leases can be obtained for any number of years and non-natives can lease for ninety-nine years if they like: I have known some cases; by this bill you cannot lease for longer than twenty-one years though there is a provision for an extension afterwards. No commercial firm would undertake to embark on agriculture or other industrial pursuits with a lease of only twenty-one years when he is not sure of what is going to happen after that. Take for example kola; it is just at the time when an individual would begin to reap the fruits of his labours that his lease will be up and he cannot be sure of a renewal. To restrict leases to twenty-one years is only to attempt to check development.

Furthermore, this Bill in my opinion would increase the reluctance of natives of the Colony to reside in the Protectorate. A native of the Colony might find himself in the Protectorate where he may have settled down comfortably when an adventurous District Commissioner might come who would refuse to renew his lease.

The Protectorate is the natural outlet for the energy and capacity of the natives of the Colony and it is no use the Government trying to demonstrate a certain policy that the native of the Colony is not sufficiently qualified to assist his brother of the Protectorate. Long before the proclamation of a British Protectorate, the natives of the Colony had been in the Protectorate, had assisted his brother and had entered into commercial relationship with him; and this relationship had to a certain extent developed socially by inter-marriages, etc., that one was able to see a heterogeneous mass become a homogeneous whole. While the natives of the Colony before time had been of advantage to the natives of the. Protectorate and had also before the advent of a British Protectorate fanned by his own influence British interests, it seems unfortunate that at this time of the day an attempt is being made to block those advantages by blocking enterprises he would try to engineer in the Protectorate.

Again it strikes me that this Bill is setting up an inequitable adjustment between the Colony and Protectorate. In the Colony the native of the Protectorate is entitled to be in possession of property without any restriction, he is allowed to purchase freehold property, while the native of the Colony can only with great difficulty obtain land in the Protectorate and this is under lease. I say it is an inequitable adjustment. I would refer Your Excellency to the Concessions Ordinance in Volume I. You will find that by the Concessions Ordinance power is given to Europeans to lease land for ninety-nine years but by this Bill a native of the Colony can only lease for twenty-one years. I say it is important. How has it come about that a native of the Colony who has more interest in the Protectorate could only be restricted to a lease of twenty-one years and a European, a foreigner, can lease land for ninety-nine years for concession purposes? It strikes me that we are tightening the cord too much in the Protectorate. Government is at present carrying out a topographical survey of the Protectorate which would undoubtedly bring the Protectorate more prominently in the eyes of the civilized world. I think the time has come when some consideration should be given to the natives of the Colony. I think after the topographical survey has taken place certain lands should become freehold but with certain reservation. I am speaking plainly. There should be a reservation in the Protectorate like the Kru reservation in the Colony. Certain natives of the Colony should obtain freehold in the Protectorate which should not be transferred to any foreign power. It should be limited to native settlers and their descendants. I think that would be in consonance with the principle of the Kru reservation in Freetown.

Supposing we had white settlers would an attempt be made to bring in legislation of this nature? I say no; and my answer is based on the state of things existing at present in Rhodesia and Kenya. We know what operates in these places. If the natives of the Colony have entered into alliances with the natives of the Protectorate and for years have socially developed themselves and are fully developing other alliances, I think the time has come when Government should begin to realize that we are developing to one people. I hope Your Excellency will not allow yourself to be encouraged to demonstrate as one of your last acts, the beqneathal of such an iniquitous legacy to the natives of the Colony. If a European can go to the Protectorate and lease land for ninety-nine years the native of the Colony must have that right also.

Finally, I think that this Bill is unnecessary, because it gives the chiefs less powers with reference to negotiations of their lands and vests on the District Commissioners greater powers which by the existing Ordinance were vested on the Governor of the Colony. The

you are taking a
principles of
them such elastic powers, you
political officers are executive officers; they
exercise administrative, as well as judicial position antagonistic to the
functions. When you begin to arrogate to indirect rule.

Race Problem – 1934

Africa

TEACHING BY DEMONSTRATION.

GREAT SCOPE FOR NATIVE INSTRUCTION.

It has been well said that teaching better methods of agriculture in schools will have little effect on Native methods unless it is followed up by demonstration work in the villages. The survey of the Agriculturist in the Native Department of Southern Rhodesia, which is incorporated in the annual report for 1933 of the Chief Native Commissioner, shows the considerable extent to which this policy has been put into actual practice in that Colony. There are thirty demonstration centres, and 542 plots covering 532 acres scattered throughout the country. On these ten varieties of crops have been grown, averaging (despite prolonged drought and locusts) a yield of 7·9 bags per acre, while the average yield on ordinary Native lands adjacent to the plots was 0·6 bags per acre; maize alone showed an average yield of 8·8 bags, that on the best plots reaching 28·5 bags per acre. Demonstrators also handled 141 veterinary cases, castrated 5,966 head of scrub livestock, and have a total of 2,785 co-operators who winter-ploughed, manured and used better tillage methods on their own lands. In the demonstration areas the Natives purchased 1,828 ploughs, 347 harrows, 128 cultivators, 71 planters and 607 bush drags—all of which shows that demonstration fosters an infectious progress. In some areas the progress is almost incredible, and it must be gratifying in the extreme to the organisers of this vital work. It must, however, not be imagined that this happy state of affairs has been reached without persistent effort, or without some set-backs; in one centre, for instance, after seven years' demonstration there are only eight plots, and the only crop rotations are those of the demonstrator himself.

Attack on Settlers in Kenya.

Seven Lumbwa Arrested.

In view of the uneasiness caused among settlers by the attack on Mr. and Mrs. Semini, a Maltese farmer and his wife, by Natives on June 15, a public meeting at Naivasha appointed a deputation to make representations to Sir Joseph Byrne, the Governor, about public security in sparsely populated areas. The police have arrested seven men who are believed to have been the gang of Lumbwa responsible for the attack. Mr. Semini is still in hospital, and it is now established that Mrs. Semini, who is an Englishwoman from Purley, Surrey, was criminally assaulted. For this offence the law provides the death penalty.

At the public meeting speeches were made inviting the Government to consider how best the punishment of the guilty men, in case of conviction, could most effectively be made known to the Natives, and it was suggested that there should be a public execution in the Lumbwa Reserve. Another suggestion was that headmen should be sent for to witness the execution at the prison. It was further proposed that in future all Lumbwa labourers should be recruited direct through the District Commissioner from the Lumbwa Reserve, and that a pass system should be instituted.

The Governor is to be asked to impose a tribal fine on the Lumbwa or raise money in some other way for the purpose of compensating Mr. and Mrs. Semini, who are said to have been made destitute by the attack.

The effective work of the police in making an early arrest of the gang has calmed public opinion.—*Times* telegram from Nairobi.

NATIVE METHODS OF AGRICULTURE: AND A MORAL.

The community demonstrators propagandise, guide, advise, assist and supervise reserve Natives in community-improving enterprises, such as the laying out of community tree plantations, kraal and village sanitation, improvements in water supplies, construction of dams, road making, and the lay-out of buildings. One demonstrator has laid out a model rural village, with space for twenty houses, school and grounds, sports ground, a community hall and a community workshop, and as the village grows local tradesmen will establish themselves there to serve the community. The report rightly remarks that the possibilities of development in this direction are unlimited; we would add that this is a great step forward towards the building of the better Africa of which so much is heard. It would be a good thing if those critics who harp on "cruel exploitation" would study reports like this, and realise what is being done in an unostentatious, but eminently practical way by a young self-governing Colony of British settlers: so young that many of the pioneers are still living in the land of their adoption. Incidentally, it is worth noting that but for the gold of Rhodesia none of this would have been practical politics.

Not everyone will admit that there is anything good in Native systems, or even that they have anything worthy of being designated systems. There are, however, constant new proofs of the fact that real systems do exist among them, and that these are often based on sound local principles. In the matter of agriculture Native methods have been held up to scorn from the earliest days of our occupation; but, as we have chronicled, agricultural experts in Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia in particular have, on investigation, found that there is definitely "method in their madness." Now we have further testimony: from Uganda this time, whence Part II of the Departmental Report on Agriculture for 1933 has reached us—very belatedly. The Department has been experimenting with the cultivation of groundnuts, one of the few indigenous crops in Eastern Africa. Various varieties have been tried, and four different spacings tested; there have also been experiments in roguing and in mulching. In general it appears that the ideal practice is to obtain a close cover of the soil from the viewpoint of both yield and avoidance of disease. The present Native practice of sowing broadcast at a heavy seed rate per acre, is a close approximation to this ideal, although close spacing in rows might result in an additional advantage over broadcasting. The main thing is that the Native method is, after all, basically right. There is a very obvious moral: that what we have evolved as most suitable for these islands is not necessarily best for East Africa, to say nothing of the fact that our systems were evolved, and slowly through the centuries. We can improve Native agriculture, as we can doubtless improve his marriage customs and his law, but we need to find out first the reasons for existing methods, and not spurn or despise them in superior arrogance.

Italian-Ethiopian Relations

That relations between Italy and Ethiopia are strained almost to breaking point is stated in Press communications from Rome. The correspondent of *The Morning Post* says:—

"Difficulties and differences which have existed between Italy and Ethiopia during the past six months have now reached a critical stage. The point at issue is Ethiopia's refusal to abide by the conditions of the economic and trade convention concerning the use of Port-Assab in Italian Eritrea. Despite Ethiopia's obligation to give preferential concessions in favour of this Italian port, all trade has so far been directed to other nations—principally Japan. The situation is complicated by Ethiopia's insistence that Italy should adhere to the letter of the agreement and allow Ethiopia trade facilities at Port Assab.

"According to my informant, the Ethiopians are adopting a menacing attitude. Small arms and war material are being openly imported from Europe and the Far East, and the Ethiopian tribes are being given field training. Negotiations are proceeding in the hope of securing an amicable settlement, although the bellicose attitude of Ethiopia is not encouraging."

The *News Chronicle* correspondent says that "Italy is ready for any emergency," and that business men now in Rome from Ethiopia say that the situation is tense, but that negotiations are being feverishly pursued to avoid dangerous clashes. Two of Italy's chief objections are to the grant by Ethiopia to Japan of a vast cotton-growing concession, and the rapid growth of Japanese trade with Ethiopia, to the detriment of Italian exporters.

FUSION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Little Hope for the Native

(From our South African Correspondent.)

[This article was written before the meetings on June 21, at which the principles of the new united party were adopted by the Nationalist and South African party leaderships. The adoption was followed by the immediate secession of Dr. Malan and his followers from the Nationalist Federal Council.]

The fusion of the main political parties in South Africa has been carried a step further by the publication in the names of the two leaders, Generals Hertzog and Smuts, of the basis on which they propose that the united party should be built.

Manchester Guardian

most interesting parts of the programme are those referring to constitutional issues and to what in South Africa is still called "the Native question."

The United Party

The constitutional position has been considerably modified by the passing of the Status Bills, and the only bone of contention left is the question of Republican propaganda. The proposed terms of fusion leave the members of the united party free to express their opinions on the future constitutional development of the Union, and this further concession is exceedingly unpalatable to English-speaking supporters of fusion, who feel that the great concessions of sentiment on their part during recent months demand in return an assurance that the constitutional position is as permanently settled as human affairs well can be. Undoubtedly this clause will provoke much discussion, but, although it may delay or complicate fusion, it will not prevent it.

While some elements of English-speaking South Africa are perturbed at the tolerance extended to republicanism by the new proposals, the extremer sections of the Afrikaans-speaking group are vocal in their discontent at the half-hearted compromise of General Hertzog and those associated with him.

Fear of Dr. Malan's influence and propaganda explains, no doubt, why the uniting parties have been content to take so negative a view of the relationship of South Africa to the Commonwealth. Almost the whole stress is laid on rights rather than on duties, on independence rather than co-operation. Gone is the spirit of the immediate post-war years, when General Smuts had the vision of a South Africa playing a real rôle in world affairs by her influence within the counsels of the Commonwealth. In its place is a desire to emphasise at all times and in all places the fact that South Africa is not bound to frame its external policy in consultation with Great Britain. A small State like South Africa can hope to achieve comparatively little by its own unaided influence, while its pressure in the fields of Commonwealth policy might be important for the world.

The clauses of the fusion pact which refer to natives are vague. That members of the united party will be left free to vote as their conscience may dictate on issues of native policy is in itself a gain, for the views of the party as a whole are bound to be conservative. Yet it is symptomatic of the curious atmosphere in which fusion is taking place that the united party will not, as a party, be able to give any decided lead to public opinion on one of the most vital questions affecting South Africa's future.

The ambiguity of the fusion terms is not more surprising than the differences between the Ministers who form this Government of unstable equilibrium. While the Minister of the Interior has been planning schemes of native medical training and the Minister of Native Affairs relieving distress caused by poverty in the reserves, the Minister of Labour is using all the resources of his Department in what is essentially a campaign against the black man. In one of the larger South African ports the local representative of the Department of Labour has been occupied in consulting with industrialists with a view to their employing more "civilised"—and hence less "uncivilised"—labour. Industries protected by the Customs tariff have been singled out for a special attack, and the Department has not been ashamed to tell them that the continuance of protection depends largely upon their attitude towards "uncivilised" labour.

Pressed for a definition of the terms "civilised" and "uncivilised," the Department of Labour has admitted that Indians and men of mixed birth may be regarded as "civilised" if they conform to the European standard of living. But for the native there is no hope. He is totally excluded from the definition, and it has been categorically stated that neither skill, length of service, nor rate of wage will avail to turn the native into a "civilised" worker. He remains for all time the object of discriminatory legislation on the part of the authorities of the State. It is sad that the Union should have made this turn of policy synchronise with a claim to rule further territories. It is as though "All hope abandon, ye who enter here" is being written across the portals of the Union. It would be well for those engaged in the writing to remind themselves of the intimate association of these words with the gates of hell.

So diametrically opposed is this attitude of the Department of Labour to the well-known views of certain members of the Cabinet that it is possible that it will be revised before the coming into effect of fusion. In effect the Government is setting up a de facto colour bar more effective than the legal one has ever been. There is nothing new in the attitude of the Department of Labour, but the Durban statement has given it an ugly explicitness which it never possessed before, and more has been expected of fusion than was looked for from the Nationalist Government.

The Remaining Parties

Unhappily, supporters of native rights are still too much in a minority and too diffused to organise politically for the defence of their ideals. They must follow the path of influencing other parties from within. Among those committed to fusion are many who care for the future of the black man. And of the three groups opposed to fusion it may well be said that their little fingers will be thicker than fusion's loins!

What are those three parties? The most important is the group of from twelve to twenty members who follow the banner of Dr. Malan. He and his followers stand for a native policy much less favourable even than the present one.

No better, perhaps a little worse, is the attitude of the Labour party, which continues to limit its enthusiasm to the cause of white labour. The inevitable reaction against coalition has been of great service to the Labour party. The fact that for the first time it has an Afrikaans-speaking member in its ranks has proved significant. It is beginning to influence opinion in that Mecca of Hertzogism the Free State.

As for Mr. Tielman Roos's "Centre party," with its solitary representative in Parliament, it caters, with no excess of scruple, for the tastes of the "man in the street," principally the Johannesburg street. Such tastes are not in any way overtender towards the industrialised native.

If the extremists on the English-speaking side repudiate fusion and form a party of their own there will be little to hope for from that party. It will include one of the most liberal and one of the most conservative members of the House, and will, like the party of fusion, have to compromise on meaningless phrases instead of a real policy.

On the whole, therefore, those interested in native progress will be constrained to accept fusion without enthusiasm, as representing the movement likely to make fewest mistakes during the period of educating public opinion through which the Union still has to go.

DR. MOTT TO PROBE SLAVERY IN AFRICA

Christian Science Monitor 3-15-34

NEW YORK CITY, Mar. 15.—(CNS)—Dr. John R. Mott, President of the International Missionary Council and head of the International Council of the Y. M. C. A., sailed March 6th on the Cunarder Berengaria, on his way to Africa. Dr. Mott goes to investigate reports that thousands of members of the Bantu tribes in South Africa are working in slavery under exploitation of Europeans.

KENYA MURDER CHARGE.

African World 8-4-34

Alleged Flogging of a Native.

London, England

NAIROBI, July 28.

Mrs. Helen Eugenie Selwyn, widow of Mr. Geoffrey Selwyn, who was for several years a farmer in the Kitale district, has been committed for trial by the Supreme Court, with five natives of the Kitosh tribe, on a charge of murder. The preliminary hearing by the Magistrate's Court at Kitale lasted two days.

Mr. Selwyn, who was arrested simultaneously with his wife, died at Eldoret Hospital of blackwater fever last Monday, having been ill since the date of his arrest. Mrs. Selwyn was also admitted to hospital after her arrest owing to the condition of her heart, and she was still looking ill and was accommodated with an easy chair when she appeared in court.

The case arises out of the death in hospital on June 25 of a native of the Suk tribe. The Crown alleges that three weeks earlier, following the reported theft of some cow bells from his farm, Mr. Selwyn, accompanied by a group of natives, set off early in the morning to follow tracks apparently leading in the direction of the Suk reserve. Mr. Selwyn was unable to keep up with his natives, and later found them quarrelling in a hut at a neighbouring farm with four Suk, who were denying any connection with the theft. They were itinerant dealers in hides and skins. Mr. Selwyn instructed his men to bring the four Suk to his house. There, the Crown alleges, they were confronted by Mrs. Selwyn, who charged them with the theft. They denied it, whereupon she ordered her houseboy to beat them and four others to hold them down. Before the last man was beaten the rubber "kibobo" broke, so a strop was used in his case.

Mr. Selwyn reported to the police that there were several Suk on his farm who had no registration certificates, and the men were taken to the station by a policeman. On arrival there the officer in charge sent them to hospital for examination. There the man who had been beaten with the strop died. According to medical evidence, his death was due to exhaustion following septicæmia caused by the wounds on his back and thighs.—"The Times."

Race Problem - 1934

Book Reviews.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa.

Negro Conference in London.

A Conference on "The Negro in the World To-day" is being held this week-end at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C., the object being to bring together the negro and those working on his behalf to work out in a careful and thorough manner some plan for his general improvement, and to make representation to government and other responsible bodies in an effort to give effect to the findings. The speakers will include H. E. O'Connell, J. H. Oribery, Carl Heath, Una Marson, Lady Procter, C.B.E., Bishop Neville Talbot, Stephen Thomas, and David Tucker. Members of the Gold Coast Delegation now visiting the country will attend and take part in the discussion.

A reception to meet Nana Sir Ofori Atta and the other members of the Gold Coast Delegation is being held this afternoon at Dr. Harold Moody's residence, 164, Queen's Road, Peckham, S.E.15, from 4 to 6 p.m.

LUMBWA WITCH DOCTORS TO BE REMOVED

"Evil Influence" in Native Reserves.

NAIROBI, July 7.

A whole witch doctor clan in Kenya, numbering 700 persons, is likely to be removed from the heart of the Lumbwa Native Reserve as the result of legislation introduced by the Government of Kenya. It is proposed to remove this clan of hereditary witch doctors to a new area near Kisumu on Lake Victoria, where they will be compelled to stay on pain of imprisonment.

The object of this legislation is to remove the evil influence of the witch doctors from the territory of the Lumba tribe, where they are held responsible for increasing crime and unrest. The heads of this witch doctor clan, known as Laibons, are called the "Big Night."

Once they are established in the new reserve, the Government will use all means in its power to change the outlook of the witch doctor clan, especially of their sons, to whom, according to belief, the supernatural powers of their fathers are transmitted.—Reuter.

Married Women Teachers.

The current Education Gazette contains the following important announcement: "The attention of School Committees and School Boards is drawn to the fact that the Department will not in future be prepared to approve of the appointment of married women teachers supported by their husbands unless it has been established to the satisfaction of the Department that the services of an unmarried certificated teacher were not available. A married woman teacher, supported by her husband, should therefore not be allowed to assume duty without the Department's approval first having been obtained.

Similarly teachers who do not hold professional certificates should not be allowed to assume duty unless the Department's approval has been obtained."

In a later issue, the Education Gazette contained the two following excerpts of considerable importance to the Bantu:

"The attention of women teachers in the service of the Department is drawn to Section 22 of Ordinance No 17 of 1930, which reads as follows:—

"Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in any law, the appointment of a woman teacher who at the commencement of the Ordinance is in, or who may hereafter enter, the service of the Department, shall if she marries terminate on the last day of the calendar quarter in which her marriage takes place, unless such appointment has been terminated earlier at her own instance; provided that it shall be competent for the Superintendent-General to authorise the re-appointment of such teacher after her marriage; provided further that, in the event of the teacher not having given any notice as required in section *one hundred and eighty-one* (*a*) or section *three hundred and fifty-two* (*a*) of the main Ordinance, the Superintendent-General may require her to teach for a period not exceeding three months after the date of her marriage."

"Teachers in the service of the Department who contemplate marriage must therefore note that they will not be allowed to take up teaching work under this Department after their marriage for the reason, perhaps, that their husbands are not able to support them adequately."

"The attention of principals of Native schools is drawn to the availability of arithmetic text books in Xosa for Standards I and II.

These books have been on the Requisites Store catalogue for some little time (numbers J.83 for Standard I and J.84 for Standard II), but it would appear from the very limited demand made for them that many teachers are not yet aware that arithmetic books in Xosa for these standards can be obtained.

In view of the Department's regulations in regard to medium of instruction in Native schools up to Standard II, it is necessary to remind teachers that the use of the arithmetic books in an official language in these standards is not permissible, except with the special authority of the Circuit Inspector."

Removal of Ridsdel.

For two days commencing Wednesday last week the Native Affairs Commission sat in King William's Town to inquire into the question of the Municipality removing Natives from the precincts of the old Ridsdel Location. It is some 50 years this location, an offshoot of the Brownlee Mission, came into existence, through the overcrowding of the latter mission. The resident missionary at the time, of the London Missionary Society found it convenient to draft the surplus population to this spot. It was never anticipated that as a result of a town springing up nearby, difficulties of commonage rights, sanitation, and policy would arise and prove highly contentious. The municipality has in the past made several herculean efforts to force the removal of Brownlee station residents to another site but these have failed. Not so long ago the instrument of the Public Health Act was requisitioned, ostensibly to cleanse the location of its indisputably squalid conditions. A case was taken on appeal to Grahamstown, and the judgment confirmed the Council's right to undertake operations under the Public Health Act, but denied that the Council had a right to remove the Natives. The Brownlee people were settled under a certificate of special reservation; but such certificate did not cover the area occupied by the Ridsdel Location. Beyond a meagre arrangement to erect old-fashioned latrines on the outskirts of these locations many years ago, the Council was never enthusiatic about catering for the sanitary needs of these Natives. Probably the location residents' adamant attitude when asked to remove hardened the hearts of the Council towards entailing any more expenditure to provide for the health amenities of the people concerned. A situation of deadlock ensued, and meantime the inevitable results of a locality denied the privileges of elementary hygiene for years in succession made themselves felt to the discomfiture of all.

Pressure was brought to bear from the ratepayers who felt that the Council must act; and Natives were given notice to remove lock, stock and barrel by the end of this month. On certain representations being made on behalf of the Natives by Europeans who rightly felt that Ridsdel people were not getting a fair deal, a nebulous scheme to settle them at the Leightonville municipal location under rent-paying conditions was offered by the Council. The proposal meant that the people who originally lived in their own houses free of rent were now to pay high rentals to Council after getting no compensation for their houses or whatever one cares to designate them.

It was under these circumstances the Native Affairs

Commission was asked to mediate between the parties.

What the outcome will be is not known. The Natives are only asking for a square deal. We understand that some of the Native spokesmen before the Commission suggested reconstruction of the location on modern lines, and in support of their contention pointed out that the town's water-main from the Pirie dam passed through the location itself—a fact much in favour of installing a sewerage scheme; but, as we have already pointed out, the Council is not prepared to spend money on improving the location as such. Indeed its policy, as stated on a past occasion, is to remove all Natives east of the Buffalo to the west side, and presumably the changes are to be effected without expense to the Council even if they mean the financial ruination and homelessness of the Natives concerned. This is where the shoe pinches.

The efforts of European friends who have the welfare of Natives at heart are highly appreciated by our people. We realise that they court the opprobrium of their own kith and kin in so doing, but let justice be justice to all human beings irrespective of colour. It is remarkable and unfortunate to read in the White press references to these friends of Natives as people "who ought to know better." Statements of this kind are nothing but assumptions of arrogance, and a demeanour on the part of those who make them of over-estimated infallibility in themselves.

AFRICAN GAOLS.

East Africa 7-19-34

Are African prisons a real deterrent to crime, or do Natives regard them merely as comfortable homes of rest? This is a question that many have asked, and we are glad that the Annual Report for 1933 of the Prisons Department of Kenya attempts to answer it. The answer given is that hard manual labour is a deterrent, but that soft sedentary employment, sometimes given because it is a revenue earner, is not. The moral is drubbed in that imprisonment is meant not only as a punishment but as a deterrent. A good example is given of an old lag who, being immediately allotted to the quarry party on reconviction, struck, complaining that this was the first time he had heard of such labour being inflicted except for misconduct in gaol. When it was explained to him that the laws had been altered, he replied that, had he known that, he would not have come back again! A lesson of that sort often leads to real reform. Another good point made is that recidivism could be materially reduced by an after-release aid or care society; and here too an example is cited of a Native mason who had spent twenty years off and on in prison, for whom work with the Mombasa Municipality was found on his release, and who was so grateful that he promised never to return to prison, an undertaking he has kept. Gaols are a European innovation in Africa, and it behoves us to justify them. This report suggests that the authorities are alive to their responsibility.

RACIAL PROBLEMS.

East Africa 7-19-34

We were told the other day by a recently returned traveller that the French and Portuguese are making a better job of things in Africa than the British. They aim at turning educated Natives into good nationals, and then accept them as such—a comparatively easy task. The British, who hold different views, have a harder one, and so would the Germans had they remained in Africa. True, at a few schools, such as those in Dar es Salaam, Tanga and Tabora, the endeavour was made to turn out good black German citizens, but it was the Prussian idea of good under-dog citizens, and the French idea of social equality was certainly not present. With the present Aryan-cult the idea would be utterly preposterous. A learned and friendly German, Dr. Westermann, has recently written, in a book meant chiefly for the English, that "both races, black and white, will agree that social intercourse between the two will probably not be the rule." That is a fair presentation of the British point of view, and explains why we have a harder row to hoe than the French, but not necessarily the wrong one. Having educated the African, we still will not mix socially, though we need to try to impress upon the Native that though this implies difference, it is not necessarily disparagement. We may sit on occasion at the same table—it is done, for instance, in Uganda and in Barotseland—but we do not dance with their womenfolk or they with ours. Cultures, interests, and tastes are so divergent that there is a social difference which it is idle to ignore, but we must fight against the growth in the educated African of an inferiority complex engendered by it. The natural Native, generally, has no such complex, and it is one which must be resisted, lest it breed dissatisfaction, suspicion and racial strife. This need not be, so we should do our utmost to prevent it.

Africans Amongst Themselves.

The Editor, *"Mochochonono,"*

Sir,—Allow me to congratulate your correspondent on "Africans Amongst Themselves"—with a reserve.

The Comet (Mochochonono) 7-4-34 Mazeras Basutoland

The question of Native leadership as against mere leadership—is a thorny one. And here, in parenthesis, let me say: it does not strike me that Mr. G. R. Kuzwayo wrote in a carping spirit; rather he was analysing the causes, both contributory and fundamental, underlying the question of Native leadership.

I do not propose having a "dig" also on this question. I merely want to point out that to say "there is no line left for African aspiration to leadership at present except in religion" seems to be to no purpose. It is not competitive leadership between Black and White in politics, commerce and everything that is the subject of this correspondence, but merely the leadership of African masses by the Africans.

And while it is true that the white man is master in everything, it is equally inconceivable that we should allow ourselves to drift because a Moses is not yet born unto us, or that because the white man gives us bread and butter we should permit ourselves to remain underlyings and helots for all time. Indeed, I cannot help but close by commending these moral precepts from the *imitation* to your correspondent:

"A life without a purpose is a languid, drifting thing:—Everyday we ought to renew our purpose, saying to ourselves: This day let us make a sound beginning, for what we have hitherto done is nought,—Our improvement is in proportion to our purpose,—We hardly even manage to get completely rid even of one fault, and do not set our hearts on daily improvement;—Always place a definite purpose before thee."

MUSKET-BEARER.

Race Problem — 1934

Africa

The Gold Coast Delegation.

West Africa

Tributes to Sir Gordon Guggisberg and Mr. Mercer.

[By a Special Representative.]

When Nana the Hon. Sir Ofori Atta and his fellow delegates from the Gold Coast decided to visit England, a prominent place on the programme was given to a reverent ceremony in memory of Sir Gordon Guggisberg. This was performed at Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex, on Saturday last—the placing of a wreath on the grave of the former Governor of the Gold Coast.

The mission to the Sussex seaside resort, where Sir Gordon died three years ago, was arranged for the preceding Saturday, but the tragic death of Mr. Mercer made that a day of mourning for the delegation and the pilgrimage to Bexhill was postponed.

When the Mayor of Bexhill, Lord De La Warr, a member of the Government, heard of the visit of a number of distinguished men from the Gold Coast, with characteristic friendliness he immediately arranged a civic welcome, inviting the party to take tea in the Mayor's parlour at the Town Hall. The board of Bexhill Hospital invited the delegation to visit the new building, of which the town is justly proud.

8-11-34

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The party, which included Sir Ofori, Mr. A. Sawyerr, the Hon. Dr. F. V. Nanka Bruce, the Hon. K. A. Korsah, Dr. J. B. Danquah, the State umbrella-holder, Yao Boaffo, Mr. K. Minta, Okyeame (linguist), and the "Awoso," Jones Osare, was received at the station by Mr. A. Cartwright, the editor of West Africa, who is a resident of Bexhill, and Mrs. Cartwright. The first visit was to the cemetery, the party being led to Sir Gordon's resting-place by the Cemetery Superintendent. Sir Ofori Atta, an imposing figure in vivid green and gold, preceded by the awoso in pale blue satin and silver, bore a glorious wreath of carnations, roses and lilies, to the grave, and under the rose and gold State umbrella of Akim Abuakwa, one of the most reverent ceremonies ever seen in an English burial ground took place. There was a quietly intoned message and then the Nana, whose face seemed to be carved in bronze, closed his eyes and offered up a silent prayer to the memory of an old friend, whose name will be long remembered at the Gold Coast and whose familiar tall presence could almost be felt appreciating the tribute among his old friends round the graveside. Those privileged to witness the ceremony stood impressed and awed. Among them was Dr. Le Fanu, formerly of the Gold Coast Medical Service, who attended Sir Gordon Guggisberg at Bexhill until his death. The wreath bore the following inscription :—

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On the return journey to the station, a visit was paid to the house in Canteloupe Road, where Sir Gordon Guggisberg died. When the owner saw the delegation standing reverently in the street she opened the door and invited Sir Ofori and his colleagues to enter and see the room in which Sir Gordon spent his last days. She had helped to nurse him devotedly. The civic escort saw the delegation into their saloon at the station after a drive along the sea front. The Southern Railway was courtesy itself in seeing to it that the visitors had all comfort on the journey. The Bexhill public was keenly interested in the arrival and departure of "the most distinguished African visitors" the town has ever had the privilege of entertaining. A number of old Coasters were present, among them being Mr. A. B. Campbell, formerly of the Nigerian Railway, who now resides at Little Common.

The Late Mr. James Mercer.

The Delegation was present at St. Augustine's Church, Queen's Gate, on the morning of August 3, when a Requiem Mass was said by Father A. J. Knight, the principal of St. Nicholas Grammar School, Cape Coast, of which the late Mr. Mercer was a governor. In the course of his tribute to the deceased, who had been a churchwarden of St. Andrew's, Sekondi, for six years, Father Knight mentioned that he first knew him as the father of two promising boys at St. Nicholas. He was a clear and affirmative answer to the common query, "Is missionary work worth while?" and had embarked on an enterprise on behalf of his country which, at his age, demanded high courage and self-sacrifice. It was from one of the less-considered risks of that enterprise that he had died, but his life had been given up in the service of his country as truly as had those of many patriots of the past.

Among those present at the service were: Messrs. W. E. Asafu-Adjaye, J. V. Akrofi, A. C. Attoh, K. Ayiw, J. A. and Mrs. Barbour-James, Messrs. R. Broadhurst, A. C. Butler, A. Cartwright, H. R. Donaldson, A. Duncan-Johnstone (Commissioner, Western Province, Gold Coast), V. K. Edwin, J. P. Fletcher (Society of Friends), A. George, Maj.-Gen. W. H. Grey, C.B., C.M.G., Mr. J. D. Gwira, Miss Havergal, Mr. T. Hutton-Mills, Maj. F. W. F. Jackson (Chief Commissioner, Ashanti), Messrs. A. Latunde Johnson, K. Kessie, C. Kingshott, J. H. Koens, Miss le Blanc, Miss U. Marson (League of Coloured Peoples), Messrs. D. Martin, B. Myers, P. A. Percy, E. Prempeh, J. T. Sackeyfio, L. Solanke (West African Students' Union), Dr. Tagoe, Miss Stella Thomas, Mr. Stephen Thomas, Mrs. Warwick, Messrs. E. S. Wilkie, J. R. Wright, B. Young, Mrs. Young, and the Matron of the Hallam House Nursing Home.

In the afternoon, at the Paddington Coroner's Court (Dr. S. Ingleby Oddie), an inquest was held into Mr. Mercer's death. The motor-driver was represented by Mr. E. White, and the relatives of the deceased by Mr. H. Glyn Jones, of Messrs. Donald Jackson & Co.

After Dr. J. B. Danquah had given brief personal particulars of the deceased, and of his reasons for visiting this country, Dr. Ivor Black, surgeon at St. George's Hospital, said that Mr. Mercer was admitted to the institution suffering from what an X-ray examination showed to be a fracture of the left thigh-bone. He asked to be removed to a nursing home, and was transferred to Hallam House.

The fracture was found to be irreducible by the usual means, and when Mr. Mercer was told that although the bone would unite, he would have a stiff knee for life, he agreed to an operation. As he was 66, and not a first-class surgical risk, Lord Horder was called and concluded that an operation would be safe. Mr. Mercer was accordingly operated on at 10.30 a.m. on July 27, and taken back to his room at noon. His pulse was bad at 1 p.m., and no better an hour later, so he was treated for shock, but the ordinary measures failed, and at 3.55 p.m. he died from "operation shock."

A plan of the area was submitted by Mr. G. Poole, who gave evidence as to the surface and condition of the road, and the only independent witness, Henry Hunter, labourer, who had come forward in response to a wireless appeal, was called. He said that Mr. Mercer seemed to hesitate when a car travelling at about 20 miles an hour was within 20 yards of him. Then part of the car hit him, and turned him round. The vehicle stopped and the driver came back. He thought no blame attached to the latter, but that the accident was due to a mistake on the part of the deceased.

The position in which the injured man was found unconscious and his transfer to hospital were described by a police constable, and the driver, George Field, 29, of Maida Vale, said that he was going from his office to lunch. Rounding Hyde Park Corner, he saw Mr. Mercer about 20 yards away in the centre of the road. He himself was travelling at 20-30 miles per hour. The deceased hesitated and then started to run towards the refuge. There was no time to pull up, but he swerved, and the near side wing and running-board struck Mr. Mercer. There would have been room to pass either side, and he took Mr. Mercer's pause as an indication to go straight on, otherwise he could have

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The position in which the injured man was found unconscious and his transfer to hospital were described by a police constable, and the driver, George Field, 29, of Maida Vale, said that he was going from his either side, and he took

stopped. In the course of cross-examination by Mr. Glyn Jones, the driver added that had deceased stood still or walked on, there would have been no accident.

In his summing up, the coroner pointed out that the original injury was not in itself very serious, and that the only independent witness thought that the accident was due to misjudgment by the deceased. It was, perhaps, reasonable of the driver not to stop when a pedestrian looked and stopped, and in this case the question seemed to be one of such reasonability.

A verdict of "Accidental death" was returned, and the driver was exonerated, and joined with the jury in an expression of sympathy with the relatives of the deceased.

On Wednesday the delegation visited the warehouses of the English and Scottish Joint Co-operative Wholesale Society, and were received by Mr. J. Bradshaw, chairman of the board, and other directors. At a subsequent luncheon, Mr. Bradshaw made appreciative reference to the growth of co-operation in the Gold Coast, and Sir Ofori Atta and Dr. Nanka-Bruce replied with suggestions as to the way in which assistance could be given to the farmers' co-operative societies. A sound-film of the function was made, and it is probable that in due course it will be exhibited at the Gold Coast.

THE MISSION OF THE GOLD COAST DELEGATION TO LONDON.

Weekly News 7/-V.14-34

West Africa

Sierra Leone

It is highly gratifying to be able to publish in this issue an important article *culled* from our English Contemporary *The African World* of the 16th ultimo, dealing with the matter of the troubles at the Gold Coast and expressing views similar to what we have given, both in relation to the attitude of Sir Shenton Thomas and the prospect of Sir Arnold Hodson being able to adjust the serious differences in that progressive Colony. We attach great importance to this co-incidence, because it is not usual that such a "sharing" of views with the African Press on such matters becomes a feature of this rather conservative Organ. It only shows how far the possibility lies in the realisation by the African Peoples of the different colonies of their rights, if they could only present a unanimous front, manifesting a solid agreement amongst themselves because their aims and aspirations are one, although amongst themselves, there may happen to exist some minor differences which ought to vanish away, on occasions as what has taken place at the Gold Coast.

We cannot but recall to mind the case of the birth of the National Congress, when it appeared to have sprung surprises and bewilderment in the minds of the British West African Governments and the attitude of the respective Governors except that of Sierra Leone, to smother or strangulate the young aspiring organisation and not allow it to survive its immediate post-natal stage. The position the Gold Coast has now been obliged to take, at such great expense, would have been settled long ago, and some of the questions the Delegation is now asking to be considered, for example, the granting of Africans a place in the Executive Council could have been conceded, if there had been that unanimity amongst the Colonies which after developments have proved the wisest course to have been taken

At the time, there was also the fight against the introduction of Criminal Codes in the Colonies. The two sister Colonies were rather lethargic on the question; but Sierra Leone stood valiantly against its introduction, and has been able to keep that strange African brand of Legislation out of its Book of Statute and Laws, at least, up to the present, even though very recently some attempt was made to put in the thin edge of the wedge. We wish to stress this essential point of unity amongst the West African Colonies, not to talk of amongst the people themselves. For, it ought by this time to be quite apparent that the only qualification towards the attainment of the greatest privileges from Government, is substantial unity amongst the articulate section of the community, where progress in the matter of the length of their purse strings and the power of their brain would admit of no doubt or quibbling. What ever might be said of the colour of the people, it ought to be seen that developments in the psychology of Government by the White Races over what are called *subject* Races instead of *Trustees* Race have assumed marked changes, since the League of Nations came into being.

The establishment of the Mandate policy of Government has compelled certain rights of the people to be recognized and nothing but the most glaring inconsistency would happen, if the attitude of any of the leading Nations in the League were to have been otherwise. So that, all that is required is that the people should show an appreciable amount of agreement in setting forth their aspirations; should be able to put forth their case intelligently and irrefutably, and to support their position with the weight of their purse. This aspect of development ought to be pondered well by the people of this colony because it is quite clear that even at the present it doss not seem to have been brought home to us that we are in some perilous times; and nothing short of a wholesale unanimity backed by the force of our brains—of that there could be no fear—and of our purse, could put us in the position of working out effectively our salvation.

The change of administration which we expect would take place shortly, is bound to present problems perhaps, serious ones at that, for our solution. It is earnestly to be hoped that we shall not suddenly be awaken from sleep to face them; when the possibility may be that in these essential points we are far from being prepared. We must endeavour to profit from the hint given us by the Delegation when they landed here, to the effect that ours would be the next chapter to be added in the volume of West African administrative policy; though spoken in joke, it may yet come true to our serious mortification if we fail to be prepared in the directions we have pointed out.

WHITE MEN AND TRIBAL CUSTOMS

Guardian Weekly 8-10-34

The Conference on Anthropology

Manchester, England

A warning that the coming of the white man had created unparalleled difficulties in connection with African marriage customs, the core on which all African society is based, was given by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, of Kenya, in the African Section of the International Congress on Anthropology and Ethnology in London last week. European civilisation, Dr. Leakey contended, had been too suddenly and hastily forced into the midst of well-organised systems of African tribal laws.

The section approved the principle of a proposition to be submitted to Congress expressing the opinion that all missionaries and Government officers sent to work among the so-called primitive peoples of the world should have a course of social anthropology included in their training; that missionary societies and others working to spread Christian teaching among primitive peoples should take very great care not to confuse Christianity with the many social customs of Western Europe built up on Christianity but not inherent in it; and that missionary societies and Government institutions should do all in their power to place up-to-date anthropological knowledge at the disposal of their staffs.

Dr. Leakey said that some missionary societies were already giving anthropological instruction to their recruits. Marriage laws in tribes all over Africa, he said, had been evolved under tribal conditions and in almost every case were well suited to the conditions in which each tribe lived. The Christian missionaries had introduced new conceptions of marriage and a new code of morals which were usually not suitable or practicable for the African still living under his own tribal conditions. Often the effect of the missionaries' efforts to change things too rapidly was a complete breakdown of both the old sanctions and of the newly introduced code.

The problem to-day was to find some way of getting an adjustment of native African marriage law that would fit into present conditions. If changes were to be effective they must come from the natives, perhaps through guidance in education by white people, but they must not be arbitrarily imposed upon the natives.

Has civilisation, which had destroyed so much, done anything constructive in heightening the ideals of marriage, asked the Rev. F. W. Dodds, of Nigeria. "I believe it has," he said. "If it has done nothing else it has greatly improved the position of women. All is experimental yet and it cannot be denied that failure is often all to manifest, but as women rise higher in their own estimation and in the respect of their menfolk ideals of marriage must improve."

The Rev. W. Groves, also of Nigeria, said it seemed a hopeless task to seek to adapt native tradition and native authority to the changing conditions of this modern world. The present generation of Africans knew very little, if any, native tradition, and for nearly thirty years there had been a weakening of native authority.

Governments, administrators, missionaries, and anthropologists should realise that very little was left of what was called African culture. They should get together to formulate some system. He believed the Christian Gospel would bring moral stability to the African in the welter of things and peoples.

WITCHCRAFT

Ill-fortune attended an eminent anthropologist who was to have taken a leading part in a discussion on witchcraft in the African section of the Congress. He is Professor E. Evans-Pritchard, of the Sudan, who had almost completed his paper to be read before the section when he was bitten by a mad dog.

The announcement was made by the Rev. Edwin W. Smith, a missionary, when presiding over the section on Friday, Mr. Smith added: "I don't know that it is altogether an alarming matter, but Professor Evans-Pritchard had to go to Paris to the Pasteur Institute."

The Professor's paper, which was read by Mr. Smith, said that, according to the notions of witchcraft in certain African tribes, misfortune was due to witchcraft co-operating with natural forces. The question, he said, was not whether witchcraft should be regarded as a crime, but whether it was a fact.

Mr. Frank H. Melland, of Northern Rhodesia, said that colonial legislation had hitherto dealt with the problem of African witchcraft from the wrong side, troubled by what shocked our Western twentieth-century ideas.

"To help these millions of people," he said, "we have done nothing and less than nothing, for, denying them help, we have made the only help they know a crime. In their eyes we are on the side of the witches, from whose machinations, as white men, we may be immune, such witches being intensely real to them and a great personal and anti-social danger." He was convinced that in the great majority of tribes natives would co-operate with wonderful enthusiasm in finding a way out, but solution was utterly impossible so long as we held on to our present course.

We should first say to the natives, "Sorry we have been acting foolishly. Now we want to help you." Then we should authorise properly constituted native courts to try persons accused of witchcraft in open court, and as a sequel be ruthless to irregular witch trials. Evidence would be taken and he would not rule out approved ordeals of witches when necessary. If a person accused of being a witch were found guilty the witch should be punished—humanely, not beaten or speared to death, but relegated to a witch detention camp, whether we believed the witch capable of committing what we regarded as a non-existent crime or not. On the other hand, if the accusation proved to be frivolous or malicious, the accusers in turn should be proceeded against. All this would be in consultation with witch doctors, allies. They are a grave menace to us intelligent to the native. Above all he would register and license a code as to what they could and would, largely because we have made their devise a code as to what they could and would not do. profession a crime and have driven them These men," he said, "are a power into opposition. Some of the nicest and in the land, and the ablest men in the tribe, and they would be invaluable as doctors." best men I have known have been witch

stopped. In the course of cross-examination by Mr. Glyn Jones, the driver added that had deceased stood still or walked on, there would have been no accident.

In his summing up, the coroner pointed out that the original injury was not in itself very serious, and that the only independent witness thought that the accident was due to misjudgment by the deceased. It was, perhaps, reasonable of the driver not to stop when a pedestrian looked and stopped, and in this case the question seemed to be one of such reasonability.

A verdict of "Accidental death" was returned, and the driver was exonerated, and joined with the jury in an expression of sympathy with the relatives of the deceased.

On Wednesday the delegation visited the warehouses of the English and Scottish Joint Co-operative Wholesale Society, and were received by Mr. J. Bradshaw, chairman of the board, and other directors. At a subsequent luncheon, Mr. Bradshaw made appreciative reference to the growth of co-operation in the Gold Coast, and Sir Ofori Atta and Dr. Nanka-Bruce replied with suggestions as to the way in which assistance could be given to the farmers' co-operative societies. A sound-film of the function was made, and it is probable that in due course it will be exhibited at the Gold Coast.

THE MISSION OF THE GOLD COAST DELEGATION TO LONDON.

Weekly News
7-V.14-34

Freetown, Sierra Leone
West Africa

It is highly gratifying to be able to publish in this issue an important article *culled* from our English Contemporary *The African World* of the 16th ultimo, dealing with the matter of the troubles at the Gold Coast and expressing views similar to what we have given, both in relation to the attitude of Sir Shenton Thomas and the prospect of Sir Arnold Hodson being able to adjust the serious differences in that progressive Colony. We attach great importance to this co-incidence, because it is not usual that such a "sharing" of views with the African Press on such matters becomes a feature of this rather conservative Organ. It only shows how far the possibility lies in the realisation by the African Peoples of the different colonies of their rights, if they could only present a unanimous front, manifesting a solid agreement amongst themselves because their aims and aspirations are one, although amongst themselves, there may happen to exist some minor differences which ought to vanish away, on occasions as what has taken place at the Gold Coast.

We cannot but recall to mind the case of the birth of the National Congress, when it appeared to have sprung surprises and bewilderment in the minds of the British West African Governments and the attitude of the respective Governors except that of Sierra Leone, to smother or strangulate the young aspiring organisation and not allow it to survive its immediate post-natal stage. The position the Gold Coast has now been obliged to take, at such great expense, would have been settled long ago, and some of the questions the Delegation is now asking to be considered, for example, the granting of Africans a place in the Executive Council could have been conceded, if there had been that unanimity amongst the Colonies which after developments have proved the wisest course to have been taken

At the time, there was also the fight against the introduction of Criminal Codes in the Colonies. The two sister Colonies were rather lethargic on the question; but Sierra Leone stood valiantly against its introduction, and has been able to keep that strange African brand of Legislation out of its Book of Statute and Laws, at least, up to the present, even though very recently some attempt was made to put in the thin edge of the wedge. We wish to stress this essential point of unity amongst the West African Colonies, not to talk of amongst the people themselves. For, it ought by this time to be quite apparent that the only qualification towards the attainment of the greatest privileges from Government, is substantial unity amongst the articulate section of the community, where progress in the matter of the length of their purse strings and the power of their brain would admit of no doubt or quibbling. What ever might be said of the colour of the people, it ought to be seen that developments in the psychology of Government by the White Races over what are called *subject* Races instead of *Trustees* Race have assumed marked changes, since the League of Nations came into being.

The establishment of the Mandate policy of Government has compelled certain rights of the people to be recognized and nothing but the most glaring inconsistency would happen, if the attitude of any of the leading Nations in the League were to have been otherwise. So that, all that is required is that the people should show an appreciable amount of agreement in setting forth their aspirations; should be able to put forth their case intelligently and irrefutably, and to support their position with the weight of their purse. This aspect of development ought to be pondered well by the people of this colony because it is quite clear that even at the present it doss not seem to have been brought home to us that we are in some perilous times; and nothing short of a wholesale unanimity backed by the force of our brains—of that there could be no fear—and of our purse, could put us in the position of working out effectively our salvation.

The change of administration which we expect would take place shortly, is bound to present problems perhaps, serious ones at that, for our solution. It is earnestly to be hoped that we shall not suddenly be awaken from sleep to face them; when the possibility may be that in these essential points we are far from being prepared. We must endeavour to profit from the hint given us by the Delegation when they landed here, to the effect that ours would be the next chapter to be added in the volume of West African administrative policy; though spoken in joke, it may yet come true to our serious mortification if we fail to be prepared in the directions we have pointed out.

WHITE MEN AND TRIBAL CUSTOMS

Guardian Weekly 9-10-34

The Conference on Anthropology

Manchester, England

A warning that the coming of the white man had created unparalleled difficulties in connection with African marriage customs, the core on which all African society is based, was given by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, of Kenya, in the African Section of the International Congress on Anthropology and Ethnology in London last week. European civilisation, Dr. Leakey contended, had been too suddenly and hastily forced into the midst of well-organised systems of African tribal laws.

The section approved the principle of a proposition to be submitted to Congress expressing the opinion that all missionaries and Government officers sent to work among the so-called primitive peoples of the world should have a course of social anthropology included in their training; that missionary societies and others working to spread Christian teaching among primitive peoples should take very great care not to confuse Christianity with the many social customs of Western Europe built up on Christianity but not inherent in it; and that missionary societies and Government institutions should do all in their power to place up-to-date anthropological knowledge at the disposal of their staffs.

Dr. Leakey said that some missionary societies were already giving anthropological instruction to their recruits. Marriage laws in tribes all over Africa, he said, had been evolved under tribal conditions and in almost every case were well suited to the conditions in which each tribe lived. The Christian missionaries had introduced new conceptions of marriage and a new code of morals which were usually not suitable or practicable for the African still living under his own tribal conditions. Often the effect of the missionaries' efforts to change things too rapidly was a complete breakdown of both the old sanctions and of the newly introduced code.

The problem to-day was to find some way of getting an adjustment of native African marriage law that would fit into present conditions. If changes were to be effective they must come from the natives, perhaps through guidance in education by white people, but they must not be arbitrarily imposed upon the natives.

Has civilisation, which had destroyed so much, done anything constructive in heightening the ideals of marriage, asked the Rev. F. W. Dodds, of Nigeria. "I believe it has," he said. "If it has done nothing else it has greatly improved the position of women. All is experimental yet and it cannot be denied that failure is often all to manifest, but as women rise higher in their own estimation and in the respect of their menfolk ideals of marriage must improve."

The Rev. W. Groves, also of Nigeria, said it seemed a hopeless task to seek to adapt native tradition and native authority to the changing conditions of this modern world. The present generation of Africans knew very little, if any, native tradition, and for nearly thirty years there had been a weakening of native authority.

Governments, administrators, missionaries, and anthropologists should realise that very little was left of what was called African culture. They should get together to formulate some system. He believed the Christian Gospel would bring moral stability to the African in the welter of things and peoples.

WITCHCRAFT

Ill-fortune attended an eminent anthropologist who was to have taken a leading part in a discussion on witchcraft in the African section of the Congress. He is Professor E. Evans-Pritchard, of the Sudan, who had almost completed his paper to be read before the section when he was bitten by a mad dog.

The announcement was made by the Rev. Edwin W. Smith, a missionary, when presiding over the section on Friday, Mr. Smith added: "I don't know that it is altogether an alarming matter, but Professor Evans-Pritchard had to go to Paris to the Pasteur Institute."

The Professor's paper, which was read by Mr. Smith, said that, according to the notions of witchcraft in certain African tribes, misfortune was due to witchcraft co-operating with natural forces. The question, he said, was not whether witchcraft should be regarded as a crime, but whether it was a fact.

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Race Problem – 1934

Africa

Piles of Stones in Africa.

Chevalier Kirschstein's Explanations.

To the Editor of "East Africa."

East Africa 23-3-34

SIR,—To the several explanations of your readers why Africans make stone cairns, I may add two further reasons.

London England

Among the many tribes inhabiting the south-western part of Tanganyika Territory, including the Ufipa Plateau, it is a common joke of travellers to place stones on such spots of the path where during a rest somebody told a story which is considered by his comrades to be an outstanding lie. These cairns then grow steadily by the pebbles which are often added by passers-by.

Rather uncommon are similar cairns representing a kind of war memorial. I know a big pile of stones on the escarpment of the Malagarasi Valley, in the country of Tongwe, which was erected by the Bende in the old days when they were performing raids into Uha. It was a practice of the Bende warriors to each place a stone there on the track before leaving the country for the raid.

Yours faithfully,

Kigoma, EGON FR. KIRSCHSTEIN.
Tanganyika Territory.

Native Health in Uganda.

THE editorial reference in our issue of August 2 to Native health in Uganda has brought us inquiries from well-known students of East Africa, who appear to be particularly interested in the statements made regarding the secondary boarding school at Jinja.

For their information, and that of a wider circle of readers, it may be stated that the number of pupils in the school was 260, and that at the end of the year the Senior Health Officer reported that he considered 100% of them diseased in some way! The paragraph in the report reads:—

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London England

"They suffered chiefly from ankylostomiasis, syphilis, trachoma, malaria, skin diseases, and general malnutrition. The Kahn test was carried out in 105 instances and a specimen of blood and fæces was examined from each child. The following is a summary of the diseases affecting the 157 children of one school which was of the nature of a secondary boarding school into which entrance would be denied to the obviously diseased: syphilis, 47%; ankylostomiasis, 59%; trachoma, 34%; malaria, 68%; anæmia, 38%; sore throats, enlarged tonsils, etc., 11%; skin diseases, 8%; eye diseases, 7·5%; dull and backward, 6%; other helminth infections, 5%; carious teeth, 5%; various other disabilities, 3%. The Senior Health Officer concluded his report by stating: "It seems amazing to me that these children, each of whom harbours a veritable museum of assorted parasites, should be able to carry on with their work."

Anthropological Congress.

FROM other papers of special East African interest read before the International Anthropological Congress in London we quote the following necessarily abbreviated passages.

East Africa

Distribution of Population.

Mr. S. J. K. Baker, in a most useful paper on the distribution of the Native population over East Africa, spoke of three categories of distribution: dense, moderately dense and sparse.

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London England

(1) Dense distribution.—The most obvious concentration was in the highlands of Ruanda-Urundi, including Kigezi in Uganda. Here the average was 136·5 per square mile. Southwards it became sparse until the Rungwe district of Tanganyika was reached, where it rose to 111·5. The next great concentration was found around the shores of Lake Victoria, notably in the Kyadondo *saza* of Buganda (where it was 375), and many other parts of Buganda and around Lake Kioga. In the Kavirondo Reserves the figures were 144 (North), 198 (Central), and 106 (South).

Southward, keeping near the lake but passing into Tanganyika Territory, the Kwimba district had 109·3 some areas being definitely overpopulated in relation to the technique of the inhabitants, since the overstocked pastures were rapidly deteriorating and soil erosion was proceeding apace. Among the Kikuyu and related groups the density rose in the Fort Hall district to 351, and in parts of the Kiambu to over 500. Finally there was the coastal fringe.

(2) The areas of medium distribution were naturally widely distributed.

(3) Sparse distribution he contrasted with the "dense" areas, mentioning the arid zone from between the well-populated coast area to the Kenya Highlands, and the Masai steppe, the Tanganyika section of which had a population of only 1·7 per sq. mile.

Rich volcanic soils, succulent mountain grassland, and well-watered lacustrine regions had all attracted population, while other factors had discouraged it. Racial factors also entered into the situation. Then there were historical events, such as the Hamitic invasion and Arab slave raids, the harsh suppression by the Germans of the Maji-Maji Rebellion of 1905-6, while extensive operations during the War, especially in 1917, had left their influence in the Lindi Province of Tanganyika. In Kenya there had been the influx of white settlement and many other aspects of European economic development, while European administration was quietly changing the ratio between birth-rate and death-rate.

Mr. Baker declared with confidence that a general increase in the population of East Africa was occurring, at the rate of between 2·2% and 2·6%. Social stability could be maintained only if the increase in population was paralleled by improvements in the technique of Native food production.

Native Marriage Laws.

Opening the discussion on "African Marriage Laws," Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, of Kenya, said that African marriage laws had everywhere been evolved under tribal conditions, and undoubtedly were generally well suited to the conditions under which each tribe lived. He gave contrasting examples from the Masai and Kikuyu. The coming of the white man had created unparalleled difficulties in connexion with these customs.

On the one hand the Christian missionaries introduced new conceptions of marriage and a new code of morals which they believed to be better than those of the African, but which, nevertheless, were often unsuitable or impracticable under tribal conditions, so that the effect of their introduction was often the breakdown of the old sanctions, and of the newly introduced codes as well; in fact, chaos.

The introduction of various aspects of European economics and commerce also disintegrated tribal organisations, causing tribal marriage to come to grief in other ways. Those old marriages were dependent on two things, religious beliefs and sanctions, and the power of the tribal authorities to inflict punishment for the infringement of tribal law. The introduction of our legal views had almost nullified this second controlling power, for most of the old punishments were forbidden.

Dr. Leakey held that the problem to-day was to get an adjustment of Native marriage law into something that would fit into modern conditions, without trying to mould it on European lines. If changes were to be effective, they must come from the Natives, though perhaps after guidance through education by the white man; they must not be arbitrarily imposed upon the Natives.

Bantu Clan Organisation.

Speaking of "Clan Organisation of the Lacustrine Bantu in Tanganyika Territory," Mr. H. A. Fosbrooke pleaded for immediate investigation of such clan organisation, as at present many factors fostered an individualism which was opposed to clan solidarity. The introduction of an economic system which encouraged wage-earning permitted a youth to marry in defiance of his parents' wishes, though it was noticeable that in the more backward areas a man returning from a protracted period on the plantations had no hesitation in distributing his wages in gifts to those who by custom should receive them.

Individual responsibility for crime and tort was also usually accepted by European courts, though in cases where joint clan responsibility had been a marked feature, efforts were being made to retain it in a modified form. Finally, the Christian religion, gaining converts each year, was one of individualism.

An enlarged social unit had been the basis of all development throughout history: the clan, the tribe, the nation, the empire. The weakening of the clan should therefore be welcomed as a sign of development, but there was a danger lest this be over-rapid. It was noticeable that the detribalised Natives in the towns reacted to the loss of social cohesion by forming societies and dance clubs, the clan being sufficient to fulfil that want where conditions permitted of its existence.

Religious and Economic Sanctions.

A joint paper by Mr. and Mrs. A. T. Culwick on "Religious and Economic Sanctions in a Bantu Tribe" dealt with the Bena of the Upper Ulanga Valley, Tanganyika, the central figure of whose religion was, they said, ancestor-worship, which was led by the chief, who was both the secular and religious head of the tribe. The ancestral spirits were considered the source of all law, the givers of all prosperity, and the senders of all misfortune; theoretically every tribesman follows custom for fear of incurring the wrath of the spirits should he do otherwise. There was, however, something more behind such conformity than a mere religious sanction.

East Africa 23-3-34

London England

"Custom is made up of rules that have in men's experience been found to work, and to its practical nature it owes most of its binding force. These rules are enforced by sanctions which are economic in nature and work through the Bena system of mutual help. This is a complicated network of rights and obligations which react to the detriment of those who break the rules. There is thus a great difference between the sanctions the Bena *believe* govern their lives and those that really do so. They tend to interpret everything in terms of the supernatural, and it is hardly surprising, therefore, that economic necessity, too, should appear invested with supernatural authority and clothed in ghostly raiment which to them is none the less resplendent through being acquired in the bargain basement of compromise and expediency."

Visiting Journalist's Impressions.

The diarist of the *New Statesman and Nation*, referring to the Congress, wrote:—

"I saw a fascinating gallimaufry of nationalities and types, elderly administrators, nuns, youthful scientists, and Negro ecclesiastics. Some fine squabbles resulted, particularly between the missionaries, who, naturally, wish to stamp out heathen customs, and the 'pure' anthropologists, who regard the break-up of a culture as a vandalism worse than the demolition of a Gothic cathedral. There is certainly something pathetic in the devotion of European missionaries who give up their lives to spreading among savages 'truths' which their own more civilised compatriots have for the most part rejected. On the other hand, it is impossible (even if it were desirable or humane) to preserve backward peoples from contact with exterior cultures. Communists, like Christians, have convictions and a creed to export. . . .

"How the vast Native populations of Africa are to be educated from a belief in witchcraft into a humane agnosticism remains mysterious. Some people consider that Islam would provide the best intermediate stages, others press the claims of Christianity. Meanwhile in some countries the camel and the human pack-animal are being replaced directly by the motor and the aeroplane, and the stage of traffic development represented by the railway is simply omitted."

Law and the African.

A New Aspect of the Question.

To the Editor of "East Africa."

East Africa 8-23-34

SIR,—The thanks of many are due to *East Africa* for the publicity given to the Bushe Report and the problems which it compasses. There is, however, an aspect on which you have not touched, and I think attention should be called to it. *The Listener* devotes its chief editorial this week to the report (a sign of the interest it has aroused), and in it states:—

London, England

"It seems reasonable to suppose that a supply of Native lawyers will present itself, in these as in other Colonies, in due course, and that a useful place will be found for their services, since the English system of justice assumes legal knowledge and competence on the part of everybody, and makes it in consequence essential for accused persons or litigants to secure for themselves an instructed champion."

To the first part of this may I say "Heaven forbid!"? Anything that will lead further away from *justice* I cannot conceive, nor anything more likely to bring our rule into disrepute. We can see the results of this system in parts of the West Coast, and surely we can profit by their example.

The second part is more serious. It implies the introduction of the artificiality of the whole of our procedure, and the dependence on professional advocates—truth or innocence mattering but little in comparison. "It is essential for litigants to secure an instructed champion." Here, in a sentence, compared with the time-honoured procedure of the African courts, our procedure stands condemned out of hand. If this is the goal of the Legal Adviser to the Colonial Office, then let the Secretary of State show himself a statesman by saying publicly that he will have none of it. This sort of thing is not a proud product of our civilisation, but a vicious excrescence, the kind of thing that wrecked so many of our essentially sound institutions, like the Guilds and the Star Chamber of Tudor days.

Yours faithfully,

"PRAETOR."

London, S.W.1.

MORE ABOUT NATIVE WAGES.

Ilanga Lase Natal 7-27-34

Following closely upon the report submitted by Dr. Edgar Brookes to the Durban Joint Council of Europeans and Natives a well-informed special correspondent, writing in our Durban evening contemporary, discusses at some length the urgent necessity of increased wages for Native workers. His main contention is that the average wage of a Native does not allow even the Durban Corporation's own Natives to live in the Umlazi Location makes the elimination of slums impossible, and injures the very people it was designed to benefit.

Ohlanga Phoenix

The writer of this enlightening and informative article pointed out that for years anyone advocating better treatment Natives was regarded as a negrophilist in the derogatory sense. This, unfortunately is true. At long last, however it is being realised that this country can never make headway, as it should while Natives are paid wages which compel their becoming a burden on the towns and of very little real economic value to the country. It has been computed that the average wage of a Native in South Africa is not more than from 30s. to 35s. per month. It was found by the Native Economic Commission that in certain trades in Durban about 47 per cent of the Natives employed received wages of less than £3-10s. per month, this amount including the value of their food and accommodation. Regarding the Native village at Umlazi, the correspondent makes a point that the Town council charges 17s. 6d. a month for a two-roomed house with kitchen, but that in addition the occupier has to pay 8s. 6d, per month for a railway season ticket to and from Durban. Therefore out of his earning he has to pay 26s. for rent and fares, leaving him a margin of £1. 14s. to meet all his other living expenses. In the circumstances it is perhaps not surprising that there are so many vacant houses at the Umlazi village.

When it is remembered that there are some 64,000 Natives in Durban, it will be realised that the accommodation provided at Umlazi and in Durban itself is quite inadequate to meet the needs of married Natives. For single Natives and women there are, of course, a number of hostels. The subsidisation of Native Housing may not be an unmixed blessing, but in view of the fact that Natives cannot pay an economic rent the system, though undesirable, has become an imperative necessity. Even allowing for the fall in prices which took place during times of depression, the Native Economic Commission found that the present level of wages was too low to provide for a decent standard of living for a Native with a family. "We think, observed the Commissioners, "that there is no justification for the fear that the raising of Native wages in the towns will aggravate the present downward drift either from the Reserves or from the farms. An increase in Native wages in the towns might even have the unexpected effect of reducing the number of Natives coming to town." We support the view that the drift to the towns can best be prevented by improving conditions in the Reserves. This view, we believe will be generally shared.

Our next article we will deal with other important phases of this intriguing subject.

NATIVE PROTECTORATES

South African Minister's Reply

Guardian Weekly

Reuter telegrams from Aix-les-Bains say that when the attention of Mr. R. Stuttaford was drawn to the report issued in London on Tuesday by the Parliamentary Committee on the Transfer of Native Protectorates, the South African Minister without Portfolio made the following statement:— 8-17-34

The conditions under which the Protectorates were to be handed over were fixed by the Imperial officials in 1909 and those conditions remain, irrespective of whatever may be the native policy of the Union of South Africa.

There is provision that no territory in native occupation shall be alienated, that no intoxicants shall be sold to natives, and that all native councils should be maintained so that natives would be amply protected if transferred to the Union.

Manchester Guardian

I resent the suggestion that the native policy of the Union is detrimental to native welfare and the fact that thousands of natives from the Protectorates seek their living in the Union is proof that the natives are recognised. Whatever the South African Select Committee of the Union Parliament decides is immaterial. As the natives are of the Protectorate they will be protected by the conditions under which these territories are handed over.

In 1909 the conditions were fixed under which the Protectorates should be handed over at a suitable time, and today is a suitable time because the difficulties of administering these territories apart from the Union become daily more apparent. In fact, the territories can only exist economically by the goodwill of the Union of South Africa.

Our Government have always treated these natives from a labour and fiscal point of view as our own no disabilities being placed upon them. But it is daily becoming more difficult to allow them to compete with our natives in the labour market and the farmers in the produce markets of the Union unless the Protectorates are definitely incorporated in the Union.

But if the Imperial Parliament hands over the Protectorates under the conditions laid down in the schedules of the South Africa Act it is unthinkable that any South African Government would not carry out the terms of the agreement in the letter and in the spirit.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Wave of Distrust Growing.

Native Affairs Department
Umtata
7-7-34
Kingwilliamstown, South Africa

The fact that H. M. the King has signed the Status Act in England has not had the effect of abating the agitation among the black races in the Union and the Protectorates. Indeed the wave of distrust of the Union Government is growing with wonderful rapidity in the political circles of Great Britain. Nobody with any experience in politics could have expected the King of England to withold his assent to the Status Act. His Ministers in England were in duty bound to advise him to sign so as to honour the pledges given in the Statute of Westminster. The question now presents itself: 'What political significance has the fact that the Status Act was sent overseas for the King's personal signature?' Legal formality to conform with the terms of the South Africa Act may have had more to do with the procedure than anything else; but one cannot fail to realise the unexpected result brought by the passing of the Act in the Union Parliament. The only parties to congratulate themselves with the Status Act are the two leaders—General Hertzog and Smuts—and the followers who believed that by their actions they were doing South Africa the great service of killing racialism, and enshrining lasting peace against republicanism. Will they really kill racial divisions after gaining fusion? The answer to this question must be deduced from the study of speeches by racial propagandists like Dr. Malan, Dr. van der Merwe (M.P. for Winburg), Mr. Tielman Roos and others. History has a peculiarity of repeating itself, and it is foolish to disregard the pernicious doctrines preached by these men. General Hertzog was a thorn in the flesh of General Botha and his ministry in 1912 with his two stream policy and secession; but he assiduously carried on his campaign with a despised minority till in 1924 he proselytised the Labour party and gained a majority over the South African Party. General Hertzog did not rest on his laurels; but he continued to strengthen the Afrikaner electorate (which now predominates in numbers) by granting white women the franchise. In 1932 he performed a piece of political diplomacy by offering coalition to General Smuts without renouncing his treasured right to talk republicanism to his people. The latter right ensures his retaining Nationalist votes; and to-day General Hertzog stands on the peak of political ascendancy. If the one predicted in 1912 that the arch-secessionist would be **Prime Minister in 1924** the suggestion would have been **regarded as a "fantastic absurdity."** It is by no means pessimistic to predict on the same lines that Dr. Malan will be Prime Minister in 1938 with the help of the Nationalist party and its principles of republicanism. By that time the British connection will have been successfully uprooted, and General Hertzog returned to the fold by resigning the fusion party—quite a simple affair. General Smuts will have retired from politics, and the English-speaking section left to fend for themselves as best they can in the unfortunate circumstances.

If Dr. N. J. van der Merwe could state in a speech at Theunissen last week that "the continuance of the British connection would place the country in the same position as it was in when South Africa had provided cannon fodder in 1914 for England," can it be honestly expected that the embers of racialism will be smothered by fusion? Dr. van der Merwe was accorded a vote of full confidence by 189 votes to 58 for this utterance. Cradock has done the same, and rejected fusion. These decisions may conveniently be regarded as innocuous minorities at present; but the history of General Hertzog's spectacular rise to the summits of office by appeals to the racial element, justifies the fears entertained by the section who sighted danger in the Status Act.

Public opinion in England has sensed danger, and alertness in the case of transferring the Native Protectorates to the Union is much in evidence. The appointment of Sir William Clark as High Commissioner for the Protectorates is not without its significance; while Sir Herbert Stanley's succession to the Governorship of Southern Rhodesia points to the British Government's intention of fortifying its hold on the direct administration of these lands. It is further reported from London that following the decision to set up a Parliamentary South African Protectorates Committee, with Lord Selborne as chairman and Captain Victor Cazalet, Lord Lothian and Mr. W. Lunn as secretaries, the following members of both Houses have now signified intention of joining: Earl Buxton, Earl Winterton, Mr. L. S. Amery, Sir Edward Grigg, Sir Robert Hamilton, Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd, Mr. E. L. Mallalieu, Mr. A. A. Somerville, Colonel J. C. Wedgewood, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Lord Lugard, Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland, Lord Lloyd, Mr. Emrys Evans, and Mr. S. Storey.

These signs, together with the unrelenting protests of Bantu organisations in the Union against the Status Act are portents that the Imperial authorities do not regard the Union Government as capable of being entrusted with the tutelage of the Bantu races in South Africa.

African Leadership.

The Comrade
(Mecklenburg)

This is a subject that has excercised the thoughts of both the Africans and the Europeans, and different views have been expressed. The European school of thought sees in the present African leaders a sad want of merits that are essential for a true leadership and if we have to be guided by reason and good argument we cannot but admit that this is true to a certain extend. In most cases we find that our leaders have not been selected for merit but merely because they are educated and can express their views in English language and pretend to understand the ethics and Western civilization and have a habit of expressing themselves in strong terms and arouse the feelings of their comrades by condemning those in authority.

That those who are responsible for choosing these leaders are acting wisely cannot be denied when it has to be considered that the Africans have been suddenly brought against the impact of European civilization and have to conform to the demands of Western habits and methods and in order to deal with the ruling element they must look up to those of their brothers who are best fitted to deal with them. In order to deal with the French people one must understand French and to deal with the Dutch one must understand Dutch.

But it is not all the educated people who are capable of

leadership and the Africans have only a few educated men amongst themselves. Someone has said in the columns of this paper a few weeks ago that a true leader is born and not just made up and he was quite correct. That is to say, that if a man is not born for leadership education will not turn him into a leader, and yet a born leader will lead his people without education as we will find instances proving this in the case of Chaka as a military leader and Moshesh as a diplomatic leader. Savages though both were yet their leadership was admired by the civilized and educated people.

History has shown us that a true and born leader is not chosen but rises to the occasion and lead the masses to victory. He does not need to pray and persuade the people to follow him he just steps forward and the rest follow him automatically and find themselves fascinated by his influence and readily submitting to his leadership. The essential qualities of a true and born leader are bravery, tact and determination. Other qualities are merely supplementary and though they may be wanting in him yet if he is wise he can make up for the deficiency by employing the services of others better fitted than him.

In most nations and among Africans especially a true and born leader generally proves himself in military exploits He must show what kind of metal he is made of in individual contests and in mass engagements. Having proved himself in this test the masses will readily look up to him as their leader.

Since the last war between the Europeans and the Africans in South Africa the Africans have had no occasion to prove who is the bravest am ng them and who is best fitted to lead them. They have yet to learn to show the real qualities of leadership in a form other than military and impose it on the masses Until then the Africans will yet remain without true leaders, and the psuedo-leaders will still wrangle amongst themselves for the first place without success.

Bantu and the Status Act

Native Africa Opinion 7-7-34

(Impo Zabantundu) Kingwilliamstown South Africa

CAPE NATIVE VOTERS CONVENTION RESOLUTION.

STRONG PROTEST.

The Cape Native Voters' Convention, in special conference assembled at Queenstown on July 7, 1934, issued the following statement after a lengthy meeting:—The convention has given the most careful consideration to the Status of the Union Act, passed by the recent session of the Union Parliament, in so far as the Act is likely to affect the political rights of the Native population of the Union in general, and the Native voters of the Cape Province in particular.

(1) This convention registers its strongest protest against the Status Act, which carries the implication that the King of England has become an impersonal figurehead and that there is no longer any direct connection between him and the Bantu voters or Bantu people in general, except through the local Ministers of State, in whom the Bantu have lost faith, because the latter have now combined their efforts to introduce political segregation at the expense of the African subjects of the King.

(2) We as a convention humbly submit that the black races have always been attached to the person of the King of England as their rallying head, this attachment being in accordance with the tradition of loyalty to their chiefs and kings in all African races.

(3) This convention is aware, to its cost, of how the black people have been economically injured by the Government's Civilised Labour policy, which rules out the black races from all legitimate State employment while they loyally contribute by their taxation, which is disproportionate in its incidence, to maintain the revenues of the same State alongside of the white, coloured and yellow races in the Union.

(4) This Civilised Labour policy is being ruthlessly applied as an integral part of the policy of the present Government, as well as the projected Fusion Party Government against the Natives.

(5) No new privileges have been conferred on the Bantu by the Governm nt since 1909, when Union came into being. Instead, we have lost many privileges and rights that we enjoyed before Union, while segregation with threats of further segregation have been rigorously applied against us.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

(6) Humiliating acts of racial discrimination against the Bantu have been assiduously and relentlessly introduced to repress the non-European population in the spheres of economic life, educational administration and political rights.

(7) Out of the blessing of prosperity amounting to over £10,000,000, the share of the Bantu has been circumscribed to a miserable £50,000 to wipe off an alleged debt and a microscopic £25,000 to restore cuts in the salaries of teachers who have never been allowed even the tiny increments of a scale published in 1928 by the same Government.

(8) The education of the African children is at present hindered and strangled by means of attenuated and inadequate grants in the whole country despite the prosperity to which the blacks contributed substantially by their low-paid but energetic labour.

(9) Some members of Parliament and white leaders outside Parliament declare that they are determined to close their ranks under fusion for the express purpose of emasculating the present Native vote, as has already been done through the vote for white women only and general adult white suffrage and other devices in the case of the present generation of black voters in anticipation of a policy already adumbrated to destroy the vote altogether in the case of the descendants of the present black voters.

(10) Even in drafts of nationality legislation and Bills dealing with citizenship and domicile rights, the existence of the Native voters and Native people is regularly ignored by the Union Government.

FUTURE OF THE BANTU.

(11) Parliamentary speeches hold out no bright hope (except in the proposed medical aid scheme, for which we have to thank the initiative of the Chamber of Mines) for the future of the Bantu, who are now driven to lose all confidence in the powers that be to improve the existing economic and political depression of the Bantu.

(12) Under these circumstances this convention humbly petitions His Majesty the King to exercise his veto against the Status Act, and to recommend to his Ministers of the Union a provision for the continuation of the untrammelled political rights originally conferred by his ancestors Queen Victoria of blessed memory, seconded by King Edward VII in his Letters of Instructions to Governors General, in behalf of his loyal African subjects.

(13) We support our committee's resolution that the question of the incorporation of the Protectorates be fixed, on principle, to depend upon consultation with and acceptance by, the Native inhabitants of these lands.

(14) This convention, in behalf of all the Bantu, expresses its profound gratitude to the Chamber of Mines and the Minister for Higher Education for the new policy established in the direction of new medical services in the Bantu reserves of the Union.

Since this resolution was passed the act has been signed by H. M. the King, but the alternative suggestion contained in the latter part of No. 12 still holds good.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Nyasaland Without Prejudice

East Africa

A Land of Peace and Plenty.

7-26-34

No book could be much more opportune than Mr. L. S. Norman's "Nyasaland Without Prejudice" (published by *East Africa* at 5s. 4d. post free), for it appears when the completion of the Zambezi Bridge and the Northern Extension of the Nyasaland Railways are about to give practically all the territory direct communication with the sea and that will open up a new epoch, making it advisable for us to study now what has gone before and so appreciate the potentialities of the land.

London England

Though small for an African Colony, this Protectorate is as large as England. Its progress has hitherto "been held in subjection by a stretch of shifting sand and water" (the Zambezi river-route), but now "agriculture will enter on a new era; in fact, it may truly be said that Nyasaland, for the first time, will be master of its destiny." Thus it is appropriate that on the eve of this great occasion a book should appear which contains all the essential information about this wonderfully favoured little land—"Africa's garden of Eden, the apple of old Africa's eye."

The author starts off historically; and if Nyasaland's history is, happily, less chequered than that of most parts of the continent, it is none the less redolent of romance. Mr. Norman takes full advantage of this. Briefly—a shade too tersely if anything—but with sure pen and happy touch, he thrills the reader in his opening chapter with the tale of this little land's new birth: rather further back than people realise, for Blantyre is older than Johannesburg.

* * * *

It is a wonderful story, more like pages from the tales of mediæval chivalry than the record of an episode in the material nineteenth century. First the great wandering apostle, with his undeviating mission, David Livingstone, the man who, above all others, brought light into Africa. Then—and how cleverly this is shown—come diverse threads that get interwoven: Laws of Livingstonia, and Hetherwick; the brothers Moir, Sharrer and Henry Brown; Johnston, Sharpe, and the far-reaching arm of Rhodes, working from the Cape, and in the brief crowded years of his life exercising his influence far beyond the Zambezi, that river which he never saw except in that far-seeing vision which took in the whole continent: so that he could see from his *stoep* at Groote Schuur right up to the Sudan; and, luckily, his vision included Nyasaland. (Mr. Norman, curiously enough, omits reference to Nyasaland's inclusion in Rhodes's first great Cape-to-Cairo effort, the African Transcontinental Telegraph, which he pushed up from Tete right through the Protectorate and the northern corner of North-Eastern Rhodesia to Bismarckburg in "German East.")

Yet, despite the influence of Rhodes, the realist, without whom this glorious land might have fallen into other hands, the greatest inspiration of Nyasaland has been and always will be Livingstone, the idealist. It is on Livingstone's work that Nyasaland is founded, and, true to his ideals, she has a wonderful record of mission work, with the further admirable feature that the different denominations co-operate in friendly Christian spirit, and all are popular with the lay workers in the land. There is no anti-mission complex: a real tribute to the inspiration of Livingstone.

Space will not permit a full summary of this pocket cyclopædia and *vade mecum* for tourist or would-be settler, so I will content myself with a few extracts, to give some idea of the scope and of the treatment. From the first chapter I shall give no quotations: it would not be fair to remove them from their setting.

"There is no doubt that with proper milk cows, kept under modern conditions, milk can be produced more cheaply than in almost any other part of the world. . . . It is possible to provide a supply of fresh green pasturage for ten months in the year. . . . Those who have not seen the difficult conditions under which the keeping of milk cows is carried out in droughty South Africa can have no conception of the possibilities of Nyasaland."

"As far as the European is concerned, sound settlement will now be possible for the first time in its history. The conditions are the best anywhere between Tanganyika and the Cape, but they require development. A thorough effort is being made by Government, assisted by a large committee, to lay the proper agricultural foundations of the future."

"Agriculture in any form is a skilled occupation, and a newcomer, if he is not to lose his capital and go under, requires training and experience."

"Loyalty to his own master is one of the African's best characteristics."

"Scattered here and there throughout the country are Natives who have watched a pageant of two thousand years of progress unroll in actuality before their eyes. They can remember . . . when the known world was the immediate vicinity of their village, beyond that a dangerous area full of slave traders. . . . Then human beings of a new type suddenly appeared. . . . Soon the youth of the village enrolled in a wonderful new life. Brick houses appeared, a church, cloth, bicycles, rifles, books, then a railway, motor cars, and now aeroplanes."

"In no other country can greater progress or more reliable results of Christian missions be seen; in no other country are the missionaries held in higher esteem by every section of the community; in no other country has there been less friction. . . . In Nyasaland the influence of Christian missions infected even their most active opponents, the Muhammadan slave raiders, with Christian mercy and pity."

* * * *

In this small book he who seeks can find what he wants, be it about tobacco, tea or citrus, about scenery or climate, about sport or motoring, the cost of living, or of building, or rents and rates; the small fly in the ointment (that of education for white children) being candidly recorded. The Native is adequately dealt with, and the Indian, who has played a large part in building up the trade of the Protectorate, and has remained at peace with his neighbours, eschewing politics, has a chapter to himself, and a good chapter, too. Particularly may we note that Mr. Norman pays a well-deserved tribute to the Native development policy of Southern Rhodesia, which is obviously one reason why he looks to amalgamation with the Rhodesias as Nyasaland's future.

Finally, Mr. Norman has been thirty years in the country, and knows what he is writing about, besides being able to write. The book is illustrated, and well indexed. I have noted only one error worth recording. Mr. Codrington is wrongly called Sir Robert. That fine disciple of Cecil Rhodes never received any "honour."

"VIATOR."

Natal Native Teachers' Union.

Ulanga Zaza Natal

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9-13-34

THE 16TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Ohlange, Phoenix

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There were close on 100 teachers assembled in Conference at the Wesleyan Church, P. M. Burg, from July 2 (evening) to July 6. The Bishop of Natal, Dr. L. M. Fisher opened the Conference on Tuesday morning. He appealed to the teachers to realise the nobility of their calling and to face up to their responsibilities, to educate their people and help in establishing proper relations with the other races in the land. Dr. E. F. Ingle, President of the South African Temperance Union gave a very convincing address on the "Evils of Liquor." Liquor could not be defended on any grounds—medical, religions or economic. Teachers appreciated the address very much and wished it could have been heard by more of their fellow-teachers. Mr. Wytt Sampson told the teachers how Native lands could be made more productive; the future of the Native people lies in their ability to use the land beneficially. On Tuesday evening the P. M. Burg teachers arranged a reception at which they welcomed the delegates. During the same evening Mrs. W. A. D. Russell lectured on "Psychology and Daily Life" after which tea and cakes were served the which had been provided for by Mr. Stevens, Superintendent of the Municipal Native Affairs. Miss Violet Sibusisiwe Makanya addressed the teachers on the Subject of the Emancipation of Bantu Women. She pled for a wider horizon for Bantu Women than merely Marriage, Home and Children. Mr. A. J. Lutuli read a paper on the Vernacular as a medium of Instruction. Scientfically and educationally the vernacular was the best medium of Instruction, the spear, he said. Moreover it is the most natural means of acquiring one's culture; the child who is forced to talk English in school, but speaks the vernacular at home is cribbed, cabined and confined in its development. It cannot live well in the world of

two languages. Dr. C. C. P. Anning lectured to the teachers on the subject of "Health in Native Communities." The lecturer explained the incidence of such diseases as Syphilis, Tuberculosis, Malaria and Typhoid Fever.

On Friday morning six lorries took the teachers to the purification Works and to the Native Village; these two trips were very much enjoyed. Returning from the Native Village at noon, the teachers returned to the Conference Hall for the closing session. Mr, S. R. Dent who had represented the Education Department said the Stop Order System for paying subscriptions might be favourably considered by the Provincial Accountant and, even then, for teachers in Government Schools; if funds permit. Head Teachers of the Combined Schools would get a better pay than at present, but in future only the more highly qualified teachers would be appointed to such headships. The C. I. of N. E. would use his discretion in publishing the reports of Departmental Examinations. In the proposed new regulations concerning Government Schools teachers would get better leave privileges. The Native Affairs Department had asked Mr. Malcolm to submit estimates of cost to place certain Native teachers who were below the scale on the proper salary scale and to give those of more than five years services increments. These remarks were received with an applause by the teachers.

The Election of Office-Bearers was as follows:—

President	A. J. LUTULI
Vice - President	M. D. MKIZE
General Secretary	C. J. MPANZA
Vice - Secretary	A. DHLAMINI
Treasurer	S. D. B. NGCOBO

Committee Members

L.P. KANYILE & E.C. NDLOVU

Additions

E. NDABA & G. MTIMKULU

(To be cotinued.)

Misconception of Justice.

Native Opinion
(Imvo Zabantsundu)
7-10-34

(By a Native African).

Kingwilliamstown, South Africa.

(Continued.)

For to take one instance only remember this is literally and simply what we do, whenever we buy, or try to buy. cheap goods—goods offered at a price which we know cannot be remunerative for the labour involved in them. Whenever we buy such goods remember we are stealing somebody's labour. Don't let us mince the matter. I say, in plain Saxon stealing—taking from him the proper reward of his work, and puting it into our own pocket. You know well enough that the thing would not have been offered you at that price, unless distress of some kind had forced the producer to part with it. You take advantage of this distress, and you force as much out of him as you can render the circumstances. The old barons of the Middle Ages used in general the thumb screw to extort property; we moderns use, in preference, hunger, or domestic affliction: but the fact of extortion remains precisely the same. Whether we force the man's property from him by pinching his stomach, or pinching his fingers, makes some difference anatomically—morally, none whatsoever: we use a form of torture of some sort in order to make him give up his property; we are, indeed, the man's own anxieties, instead of the rack; and his immediate peril of starvation, instead of the pistol at the head; but otherwise we differ from Front de Boeuf or Dick Turpin, merely in being less dexterous, more cowardly, and more cruel. More cruel, I say, because the fierce baron and the redoubted highwayman are reported to have robbed, at least by preference, only the rich; we steal habitually from the poor. We buy our liveries, and gild our prayer-books, with pilfered pence out of children's and sick men's wages, and thus ingeniously dispose a given quantity of Theft, so that it may produce the largest possible measure of delicately distributed suffering.

But this is only one form of common oppression of the poor—only one way of taking our hands off the plough-handle, and binding another's upon it. This first way of doing it is the economical way—the way preferred by prudent and virtuous people. The bolder way is the acquisitive way—the way of speculation. You know we are considering at present the various modes in which a nation corrupts itself, by not acknowledging the eternal connection between its plough and its pleasure—by striving to get pleasure, without working for it. Well, I say the first and commonest way of doing so is to try to get the product of the other people's work, and enjoy it ourselves, by cheapening their labour in times of distress; then the second way is that grand one of watching the chances of the market—the way of speculation. Ofcourse there are some speculations that are fair and honest—speculations made with our money, and which do not involve in their success the loss, by others, of what we gain, but generally modern speculation involves much risk to others, with chance of profit only to ourselves; even in its best conditions it is merely one of the forms of gambling or treasure-hunting: it is either leaving the steady plough and the steady pilgrimage of life, to look for silver mines beside the way; or else it is the full stop besides the dice-table in Vanity Fair—investing all the thoughts and passions of the soul in the fall of the cards, and choosing rather the wild accidents of idle fortune than the calm and accumulative rewards of toil. And this is destruction enough, at least to our peace and virtue.

(To be continued.)

Bantu Women in Towns.

Native Opinion
(Imvo Zabantsundu)
Kingwilliamstown, South Africa
7-10-34

After the falling of copious rains, the countryside reclaims much of its natural vegetation, the trees and grass then present a picturesquely green appearance so pleasing to behold. There is an adage in the Xosa language: "Ilizwe liyi ntombazana ngobuhle," which likens this phenomenon to the beauty of a young woman. The high premium placed by the Bantu on their womenfolk goes further than the handsome facial features. At the conclusion of marital ceremonies at country weddings, an hour or two is spent by the older men in delivering homilies to the contracting parties. The theme for a young bride's injunction is that she goes out to build new ties of friendship, and to be an ornament representative of the virtues of her clan. So high is the traditional standard of Bantu women in the social scale.

With the Europeanisation of these young women, certain dangers have become apparent. Economic stress in the rural areas has had the disturbing effect of driving the Bantu younger generation into the towns. They become detached from parental control, to live as house servants in the yards of their White masters, more or less independently so far as their hours of freedom permit them. The influx of these young bloods into urban localities has of late become so appallingly overwhelming, that it has become impossible to get them absorbed in employment. They eventually form into bands of menacingly impudent boys and girls who scatter into shops and public places during the day, and bivouac on the outskirts of the town at night. The police have no means of apprehending them once they vanish into the dark shades of the commonage. What transpires there for the rest of the night is best imagined than told.

We whole-heartedly endorse the stern warning sounded by Miss Helen Copeland of the University of Capetown in a paper read before the inter-university Bantu Studies Conference at Johannesburg recently. She says:—

"From observations made at Capetown she came to the conclusion that Native women, when plunged for the first time into the complexities of town life, became Europeanised far too rapidly. Within three months they discarded the trappings of the kraal for those of the town.

This rapid transition was most unhealthy and merely undermined healthy tribal traditions observed in the Native areas without establishing any good influences by way of compensation. It appeared to be a depressing reality that moral deterioration was the inevitable consequence of the transition from kraal to town life. In other respects also the position of these Native women was singularly unstable. In the towns they were deprived of the authoritative protection of the tribe and had little or no means of redress in cases of seduction or breach of promise of marriage. She emphasised how the lobola system served to preserve the status of married Native women, even in the towns, and instanced a case where the daughter of a Native Anglican preacher was married recently according to the lobola custom, the ordinary church ceremony following the exchange of cattle.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

S.S. SPEAKS TO THE PEOPLE

Ts-rrr-rrr! "What number please?" Will you please put me through to No. 1,2,3,4,5, 6, Heaven. "Who is that speaking?" Mr. S S. speaking madam. "1,2,3,4,5,6-Heaven?" Yes madam. "Are you sure you are not mad?" I am sure I am not Mad, I am S.S "What is S.S.?" Two Ass s or Donkeys madam. What the donkeys donkeys want on the telephone and what the deuce do they ring up Heaven for? Will you mind your own business and do your duty madam, or the donkeys will kick you. "Well, I am sorry Mr S.S., we have no connexion with Heaven."

Look you here madam or rather listen here. I have an important and urgent message to transmit to Heaven, I have a matter of great weight in hand and I want some important information from there—are you sure I could not send a telegram? "S.S. there is no telephonic, telegraphic, wireless, or telepathic communication with that point; you had better go for the information yourself if you can come back again." I am sorry and am afraid I cannot go. I might take the wrong road and get to the wrong H, madam - thank you.

Ts—rrr — rrr—rrr! "What number please?" I want to speak to the High Commissioner— I don't know his number. "Who is speaking?" Mr S S. madam. "But who are you to speak to the High Commissioner?" Will you please mind your own business and perform your duty with diligence and fidelity madam, and also mind the two donkeys' legs and hoofs again.

"Mr S.S., I wonder if you are aware of the high rank of the notability you wish to speak to, and realise the big expense you must incur in effecting such telephonic negotiation with him - moreover there is a big colour-bar between you and him."

I am quite aware of his rank, but he is here to see to the interests of all classes and conditions of people. Expense is nothing compared with the significance of the matter I wish to draw his attention to. As for the colour-bar, if you will be kind enough to give its dimensions and weight, I can soon procure a gang of strong men or some machinery to move it out of the way if it is at all moveable; or alternatively, I could rush to the paint factory and be painted the requisite colour to overcome the difficulty

"I am very sorry Mr S.S. none of your devices will fructify. No force on this earth can move the bar, and the colour must be bone-deep, you must be born white and not painted white." Well I am blown if I know what to do next - thank you madam.

Ts-rrr-rrr! "What number please?" Give me the Basutoland Government please. "Who is that speaking?" Mr S.S. madam. "Well, the Basutoland Govt. is such a big concern - who do you want to speak to particularly?" I want the head - I think it is the Resident Commissioner," "He is engaged at present I'm sorry." "Engaged!! who to? I thought he was married ages ago! Besides, I don't want to know anything about his private affairs - I want to speak to him on public and official matters.

"Dear Mr S.S. ..." Hi-Hey! don't address me in that familiar and affectionate fashion please for my skin's sake my wife is here and she's got the other receiver. "Oh, I am sorry, but Mr S.S. what I meant is that the R.C.'s telephone line is engaged. I shall give you a ring as soon as it is disengaged."

My Long Ears! what is the matter with you madam? I have just warned you that my wife is with me here and listening in now to our conversation, and after talking about engagements and endearing me you have taken a step farther to promise me a ring- are you engaging me perforce and against my wishes now? mind the two asses legs, hoofs, and teeth this time please.

"I am awfully sorry Mr S S., I didn't mean to harass you. I only meant that I would advise you when the line is clear and connect with the R C." "Oh, I see - thanks very much madam

Now ladies and gentlemen from the foregoing substance you will observe that I have done all I could to get in touch with some responsible party in order to seek information and establish the real position about the following matter of stupendous magnitude.

You know the Basuto have always said that the grave of the ox is the mouth'—not necessarily the ox, all animals that are fit for human consumption. Whenever a cow or ox, horse or donkey, sheep or goat, dies, the Basuto bury it in their mouths by means of fork and knife—quite a pleasant funeral function—and save themselves much labour with pick and shovel.

Since the arrival of the white man's government, this sound animal funeral procedure has been restricted and almost thrown out of vogue.

It is a common but nevertheless a horrible and ridiculous sight to see Basuto walking about the streets with ears cut off from all sorts of dead animals - even from us donkeys and asses, to be presented for expert medical examination.

I do not want to say much about this examination or why it is carried out, but what I want to ask is. "Is the Govt. sure that these ears are re attached to the animals before burial so that - with particular reference to us donkeys - we do not rise from our graves without our ears on the Resurrection Day?"

Humqly yours,

TWO ASSES.

The Comet 8-29-34

Pass Laws Modifications in the Union

When Mr Grobler was appointed Minister of Native Affairs, a few years ago, the Natives regarded the appointment with an air of misgiving, as a vindication of white supremacy over the black in South Africa and a determination by the Union Government to hold back the Natives as a reservoir of cheap labour. The significance of the appointment from the Native point of view spelt the rigorous enforcement of the old republican repressive ideas of the Native policy in South Africa. As though to confirm their forbodings Mr Grobler's first act of public importance as a Minister of Native Affairs was to refuse to grant passports to the three pathfinders who were appointed to represent the Pathfinder movement in the World Scout-boys jamboree in Europe, an act which resulted in an outburst of public feeling from both Europeans and Natives, coached in strong language.

Since after that unfortunate incident the Minister of Native Affairs, as if to give the lie to the Native idea of him, evinced a fatherly regard and considerateness for them. Notwithstanding strong European opposition he gave the Natives of the Transkei more privileges to trade amongst themselves than the European traders and even reduced the licences to suit their pocket, while the European traders paid higher licence fees.

To-day he has embarked upon the far-reaching modifications of the pass laws which has been for a long time a subject of much disaffection amongst the Natives in the Transvaal and in the Free State Provinces. We have every reason to believe that these modifications are the beginning of the end of the system of the carrying of passes by the Natives as there can be no doubt that those Natives who shall enjoy the privilege of the modification will prove that they deserve them. As Mr Cooper, Manager of the Native Administration of the Bloemfontein Municipality has stated, the granting, of exemption "to the Natives of good repute was very important it would act as a great incentive to the Native population to improve their mode of living. It would mean that they would generally lead better lives and strive for exemption.....It would mean that the pass laws would ultimately disappear altogether when the Natives had proved themselves worthy of the privilege."

The significance of the modifications is that they recognise character amongst the Natives. The bad system of regarding with suspicion every Native because of his colour has, at last, come to an end. The bad influences of that system were that the decent Natives had often suffered the humiliation of being treated as though they were criminals, and on many occasions some of the police made them suffer these humiliations just to spite them. A recent instance of this was the case of a Native nurse of Johannesburg who was returning home with another girl from a reception dance held in the Bantu Men's Social Centre, in honour of Dr. Bokwe, and they were "picked up" by the notorious pick-up van and locked up. This case became the subject of a heated discussion in "*The Star*," by some European gentlemen who abhorred this disgraceful treatment of decent and well-behaved Natives simply because of the misfortune of their colour.

In its sub-leader of the 23rd inst. "*The Friend*," discussing the modifications, amongst other things says :—

"The latest modifications introduced by Mr Grobler are conceived in a liberal spirit. Broadly speaking, they widen the field of exemptions for specific classes of Natives, whose social and economic position entitles them to be relieved of the necessity of carrying a pass. Of more far-reaching significance to the future development of Native policy, however, is the principle that any Native of good character, who is certified by responsible authorities as a fit and proper person to receive exemption may in the same way be exempted by the Minister of Native Affairs from the operation of pass laws. Exemptions of this kind will doubtless be sparingly granted at the outset, but it is to be hopee that, the principle having been recognised, the Minister will wield his discretionary power with an increasing degree of freedom as time goes on. Natives themselves will learn to regard the exemption certificate as a hall-mark of good behaviour and civic dignity. That in itself will represent a distinct advance in Native development, and the Government should not hesitate to encourage the sentiment."

We are hoping that this is what the Department of Native Affairs is aiming at, and that in their dealings with the Natives nothing will cause them to change their mind.

PORTUGUESE COLONIAL POLICY.

Training the Native to Collaborate.

(Special to "The African World.")

The chief quality of Portuguese Colonial policy—made evident by the Oporto Colonial Exhibition—resides and has always consisted in the possibility of a free existence for all the populations living under our flag, freedom from the small tyrants and autocrats of the interior, enfranchisement from every kind of slavery, of the spirit as of the body, freedom from the misery of hunger and every scourge that stifles humanity and lowers its dignity.

All the actions lately accomplished in the Colonies by the Mother Country have been inspired by the principle that our overseas settlements have brought us duties as well as rights: duties imposed in favour of the colonised people, so that colonisation is to-day a right of the strongest and a duty to protect the weakest.

It was upon those ideas that we realised all the duties of our colonial policy, and all the progress and well-being that we have brought to those people living under our dominion. From the agricultural viewpoint, we have achieved a great work of intensive culture and irrigation; these works have largely overcome the chronic famines formerly experienced in some of our dominions, and have extended to those dependent on us a better and more comfortable standard of living.

We have built public works, roads, railways, and landing grounds for aeroplanes, and we have made possible, and expedited, mineral prospecting. We brought to these backward peoples not only material health, but also intellectual and moral health, and in view of all we have done, we are no longer their debtors.

Prompted by the subtle science of the late Marshal Lyautey, we have built schools and markets before barracks and prisons. We have never been afraid to train generations able to criticise us; we have encouraged the forming of men able to collaborate with us in the management of the colonial populations, and even to substitute us in those places where direct Portuguese sovereignty is not indispensable.

Medical Assistance.

The health of the social body, general hygiene, and public health were given our closest attention. We found the tribes and even the inhabitants of villages subjected to scourges and diseases, leprosy, plague, sleepy sickness, small-pox, and tetanus; we gave them the medicines discovered by European doctors, and were in some cases the first to do so, as happened in Angola with excellent results in the fight against sleepy sickness.

We have suppressed also in great measure the frightful infantile mortality that hindered the native races' development, increasing in this way useful manual labour. We care for the sick, establishing in all our colonies first aid posts and dispensaries, and help the mothers and all women that the primitive races keep in an inadmissible social inferiority. We made their houses and villages healthy, teaching them the value of cleanliness, fresh air, and light. In a word, all that protection which makes for the lengthening of that fairest gift of the gods—life.

By the natural methods of our institutions the association with the natives will become day by day closer and more important, and through it our colonies will attain gradually and without hurt all forms of collaboration of which we cannot yet foresee the details, considering that such an evolution depends on happenings which will certainly give the aborigines of every race a larger share in personal initiative and a better understanding of their responsibilities.

F. ALVES DE AZEVEDO,
Superior Colonial School, Lisbon.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Cape Native Voters.

Native Opinion
(Imvo Zabantsundu)

The Cape Native Voters' Convention met here on Dingaan's Day and passed these resolutions :- 1-2-34

(1) "That owing to serious discrepancies that have occured in compiling voters' rolls in the biennial registrations, which resulted in large numbers of non-European voters being deleted from the lists, the Government be asked to appoint non-European canvassers to do the work amongst Natives."

(2) "That grave concern is felt amongst Natives at the racial barriers created in the amendments to the Electoral Acl passed by Parliament in 1930-31 excluding non-European women in the Cape from exercising the franchise, and demanding of European males only an age condition to qualify for the vote."

The convention appointed representatives in all constituencies with the Native vote to organise and check the enrolment of Natives, and particularly to counteract the insidious propaganda of Native agents who demand payment for such services.

Native Primary Education.

(Imvo Zabantsundu)
Native Opinion
1-2-34
Kingwilliamstown
(By Papama.)
South Africa.

This year throughout the Cape Province we have had a Standardised Native Standard VI examination. The idea is an excellent one and we are pleased that such a step in the right direction has taken place.

Neverthelass do not let us flatter ourselves for this examination is still a good deal below the standard required in a European Standard VI examination. Indeed if we examine the position carefully we will see that we have a long way to go but the sooner we get there the better—we must aim at having the same standard for both Native and European and why?

The whole question is one of vital importance and in order to make the point clear it must be explained very carefully.

(a). This year a large number of boys and girls passed VI and many a parent is filled with joy when he learns of the success of his child who in his opinion has reached the height of primary perfection. He is deemed worthy of all the sacrifices the parent is capable of making. In reality this is far from being so. Yes Native primary perfection if you like, but a poor substitute for a European Standard VI. He falls generally very far below the Standard required in a European VI. One may ask but what has this to do with us.—? Perhaps you will be a little wiser later.

Suppose your son or daughter proceeds to a Secondary School! You will find that you have £10 to pay as school fees p. a. plus board if he is a boarder. He has to spend the first year or two years doing what the European lad learnt in a European Primary School. Thus in reality we have the following position. A Native child taking three or four years to complete his Junior Certificate examination while on the average a European takes 2 years. Note also that his fees are much less—very much less than yours. What then is the obvious need? It is that in our primary schools we should afford opportunity for those who have passed the Native Standard VI to take a Standard VI examination of practically the same Standard as is given or afforded in European schools. That unless a Native boy or girl is capable of passing this examination his hopes of doing a secondary school course are very remote. In other words it would be a better and clear indication to the parent as to whether or not the great sacrifices that have to be made are worth while—at very little expense to himself this could in such a manner be done.

We hear the idea is mooted of beginning Native Secondary Schools in certain large towns. How much better it would be first of all to provide a primary education of such a type as would fill the present gap between European and Native primary work. It must be remembered that the Junior Certificate and Matriculation examinations show no consideration towards colour.

The same argument might just as easily be applied to the Training Schools. How many pupils are turned down as unfit for the first year? How many fail this exam? And how many of these in the last extreme go to a Secondary School? All this because we are content to see a child pass his Standard VI examination in a Native school and believe that he should now proceed to Secondary or Training School work. How many teachers are to blame for trying to push through candidates instead of taking the other view and assisting their people by urging a higher standard of pass which will be to the benefit of all concerned?

Ministers of Religion versus teachers.

(Moshoshoane.)
The Comet
1-17-34

We have received for publication in this paper a letter from "Amicus Humani Generis" on the above subject but unfortunately the pen ran riot with the writer and we have decided not to publish it. The author of this letter makes a furious attack on the missionaries for their attitude towards the teachers. He appears to have been misinformed in some of his statements for he says that it is the missionaries who are underpaying the teachers. For his information we may say that the teachers in this territory are paid from the Basutoland Government grant according to the scale drawn by the Education Department as contained in the Regulations for schools. The salary reduction also is attributed to the missionaries. He is again wrong because it is the Government who have decided upon the reduction as a result of the present economic conditions.

We should advice those of our readers who desire to express their views on the affairs of the Territory to try and make sure of their facts before making an attempt. While it is our desire to encourage our readers to express their views on public affairs we, however, will not allow letters to be published in this paper that are written on subjects on which the writers do not understand. It appears to us that the writer of the letter under discussion had, in his mind, intended to make a protest against the "Teachers Magazine" and in order to strengthen his case against the Magazine made references to matters on which he was misinformed.

We must advise our readers that in expressing their views publicly it is always wise to exercise caution and moderation.

Basuto and religious Denominations.

(By PRO BONO PUBLICO)
(Moshoshoane.)
The Comet
1-17-34

I must undoubtedly take up all the man's courage to sit down and attempt to venture his opinion on the above matter. Religion is not always a pleasant subject to write on so that at the very outset I wish to be clearly understood that I have no intention whatsoever to create unnecessary controversy. Further I have no wish to be misinterpreted as anti-religion or anything of that sort. All that I wish to do is to lay down facts as I see them.

Basuto and religious denominations.

The church is one of the biggest institutions in this territory. For upwards of eighty (80) years it has been established. All the Basuto people who have since been christianised have faithfully done all in their power to support it. They have left no stone unturned to see that it is financially well supported. According to the constitution governing the church; the failure to pay all one's dues renders one to a total expulsion from the church membership. If after some specified time such an individual cannot be able to render his services by means of financial contribution to the church such an individual automatically falls off the membership roll. Personally I have no objection to people rendering their services financially or otherwise; after all said and done something must be done to pay the servants of God in order to enable them to carry on their work efficiently and faithfully. It is disgusting however to see the white Missionaries are indulging in immense luxury at the expense of the Basuto evangelists, most of whom have not had their salaries for upwards of three or four years. How such evangelists make their living, when the country is passing through such a calamity, the goodness alone knows.

The church and present starvation.

In one of my articles in the columns of this very paper. I endeavoured with all sincerity to prove beyond all measure of doubt that the Basuto people have nobody else, but themselves to thank for the tremendous efforts they have achieved by the accumulation of their own taxes. In this way they have been able to stand the hard times of starvation. I sincerely hope and I pray that they will faithfully continue to pay their taxes. They have learned, though by bitter experience that their salvation lies entirely in their own hands.

Basutoland Government to whom we have regularly paid taxes, has shown us that we have not paid in vain, but that it will always be beneficial to us when the hard times such as we are passing through now, have overcome us. On behalf of my people I wish to extend my hearty gratitude for the support we have had.

An important question will then arise in all the minds of the thinking people. We want to know what the church has done to help to alleviate the Basuto people from the deplorable condition through which they are passing. The people have always supported it in its difficulties. Unless I be very much mistaken I have not heard that the church has done anything towards the relief measures in this Territory; nor has it done anything to meet the needs of the people.

Rumour has it that many genuine cases of starvation when they apply to the Govt. for relief and have been supplied with mealies then they turn round and say they cannot work for food and they refuse to come and work. The question is what's going to happen? Ruin to Government; intensified starvation; no relief workers; no shifting of Seaka pont; no building of proposed bridge at Maghaleen—connecting Zastron with the Hoek. Who betide him who says no!

SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS.

The political situation is very confusing and, candidly, it is difficult to understand. General Hertzog appears to have satisfied Dr. Malan that he is in accord with his desires and aspirations while at the same time General Smuts also appears satisfied that all is well with fusion, and that the famous "Seven Points" are to be adhered to, yet at the same time, we have Dr. Malan in his public utterances stating that "Fusion today was as impossible as it was to expect horses and zebras to be kraaled together," also that "while coalition on the "Seven points might be a practical thing, fusion on those seven points was entirely unacceptable. Certain elements in the South African Party had come to the Nationalist ideals after fusion with the Unionists, but the Unionists stood where they had ever stood." And to show how far opposed General Smuts and Dr Malan are to each other's views, the latter is said to have stated that "the gulf between Dr. Malan and the Leader of the South African Party is too wide to bridge. In fact the only peace between the South African Party and the Leader of the Cape Nationalists could only be as Dr. Malan himself picturesquely put it some months ago, the peace of death. As against this, we are glad to see that Gen. Smuts has stated: "Dr. Malan has either misunderstood the position, or he is misleading the public. I am quiet satisfied with Gen. Hertzog's clear repudiation of Dr. Malan's interpretation as made in his correspondence with me."

What are we to understand from all these conflicting utterances? How is it possible for the Prime Minister to satisfy both Gen. Smuts and Dr. Malan, who are so entirely opposed to each other? Where are we? We leave the answer to wiser heads than ours.

Let us hope that whatever the outcome may be the Native Question will be kept out of Party Politics. That is too big a question and should be settled by the general consent of Parliament in a spirit of wise statesmanship and calm deliberation.

LONDON TO NIGERIA IN SIX DAYS.

New French Air Service to West Africa.

PARIS, September 24.

British Nigeria will only be five or six days from London instead of sixteen, as at present, as soon as the new air service to be run by the Compagnie Generale Trans-Saharienne is started.

The air service will alternate with the present fortnightly car service across the Sahara, and it will take only two days for aeroplanes to cover the distance from Colomb Bechar (on the borders of the Sahara) to Cotonou (Dahomey), the terminus of the service. A halt will be made at Gao for the night.

It is thought that the new air route will be a great boon to British officials travelling to and from their posts in Nigeria, for Cotonou is only seventy miles from Lagos.

The mails will be carried by both the car service (which is to be resumed on October 5 after being suspended for the summer) and by air. An extra car is to leave Colomb Bechar on December 21 to carry the Christmas mails.—Reuter.

New Trans-Saharan Mail Service.

The French Post Office also announces a new Trans-Saharan mail service for the Niger territories and the French Sudan, at present limited to letters and postcards, both ordinary and registered. Beginning on October 5, a fortnightly motor-car service will run between Colomb Bechar and the Niger ports of Gao and Niamey. The service will end on May 31, 1935.—"The Times."

Race Problems - 1934

Africa

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS AMONG the BASOTHO

THE PARAMOUNT CHIEF'S ADDRESS

The address of the Paramount Chief was read by his secretary Cr Thabo Matete and the P.C. however weak in health remained on his feet while the address was being read. In conclusion he handed it over to his Royal Highness. This is the address:—

May it please your Royal Highness. The Comet

I, Griffith, Paramount Chief of Basutoland, and a humble servant of His Majesty your father, beg to convey to Your Royal Highness on behalf of myself, the Chiefs, Headmen and the Basuto nation, our greetings and sincere heartfelt welcome to Your Royal Highness on this the first occasion of your visit to this our country, Basutoland. (Mokhulumane)

Your Royal Highness, we are happy, proud and fortunate to see that when you visit great countries in South Africa, you do not omit to make a call to this, our little country of Basutoland, which is practically a small island. Moseru

Your Royal Highness, on the several occasions when members of the Royal family of His Majesty the King visit South Africa they never fail to call on this our small country of Basutoland, and this, Your Royal Highness, we regard as a clear sign, that although we are so small we are yet under the Gracious Reign of your father His Majesty the King, and we are not forgotten. For this reason, Your Royal Highness, we feel happy and very proud of this your visit today, and we look upon this as a very great honour that we have had this opportunity; and we are, at all times, ready and willing to submit to the orders and to follow the directions of the benign Government of your father His Majesty the King.

Your Royal Highness, no doubt your father His Majesty the King, has heard that our country Basutoland and its inhabitants are still suffering from the depression and famine resulting from the excessive and prolonged drought, and Your Royal Highness, it is due to this distress that I regret I have not been able to welcome you in a fitting way as is usual with the Basuto nation. This distress, Your Royal Highness, has given us much suffering and anxiety, and Your Royal Highness, we hope that when you return home to your father His Majesty the King and tell him about you visit, you will not forget to tell him about this suffering which I and my nation are undergoing.

Son of my King, I hope, that when you have returned home to your father His Majesty and told him about this your visit, you will not omit to state that I beg for peace in your name.

Your Royal Highness, I, Paramount Chief of Basutoland, Chiefs, Headmen, and the Basuto nation, greet you and wish you a nice journey home, and again we wish you prosperity and good rest when you arrive home.

GOD SAVE THE KING

Paramount Chief of Basutoland on Behalf of Chiefs, Headmen and Basuto Nation.

His Royal Highness Address

After this His Royal Highness stood up to read his reply to the Paramount Chief's address. He said:—

Your Excellency, Your Honour, Paramount Chief, Sons of Moshesh, Chiefs and people of the Basuto nation.

I very much appreciate the warmth of my reception from the people of this territory on my arrival at Maseru.

I thank the Paramount Chief for the words of welcome which he has addressed to me on behalf of the Basuto nation.

As a great grandson of Queen Victoria, I am very glad to see so many of you have come to greet me to-day, and when I return to England I shall not fail to convey to my father, King George, the assurance of loyalty contained in the Paramount Chief's address.

I know that this message will be much appreciated by His Majesty The King, who takes a fatherly and personal interest in the welfare and progress of Basutoland, and is well aware that the Basuto can be counted amongst his most loyal subjects.

His Majesty The King has not forgotten the memorable visits of Basuto chiefs to England in 1909, and again in 1919, when your present Paramount Chief, the descendant of Moshesh, who is recognised as one of the greatest African chiefs, went over in person, and he, and other Basuto chiefs who went with him, had the great honour of being received in audience by The King.

Before I came here to-day I was aware of the misfortunes that had befallen you owing to the devastating drought, and as His Excellency Sir Herbert Stanley, your High Commissioner, told me recently in London that it would be the wish of your Paramount Chief--and, indeed, of all Basuto—that a visit so should be held to welcome me when I arrived in your territory, on his advice I at once requested him to dissuade your Paramount Chief from such a course, much as I would have liked to have met so many of your countrymen on the occasion.

To-day, however, I am glad to hear that there are signs of better times ahead, and that the present improvement in climatic conditions gives promise of a return to prosperity in the not far distant future.

You are fortunate in having as Resident Commissioner so good and wise a friend as Mr Sturrock, and when the time comes for you to benefit from the good rains you have so recently enjoyed you must not forget the help and guidance you have been given by those in authority over you to pull you through the hardships of the past few years, and remember it is only by submitting to their orders, and locks, which I hope you will enjoy, and I wish you continued peace and prosperity.

In conclusion the Prince shouted Pula and as usual the Basuto joined the chorus.

There was a brief interval after His Royal Highness's address and Prince George once more entered the Council

The Comet

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

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You have so recently enjoyed you must not forget the help and guidance you will have been given by those in authority over you to pull through the hardships of the past few years, and remember it is only by sub-mitting to their orders, and heeding their advice, that you can be able to progress and prosperity.

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Cham-ber accompanied by Sir Herbert Stanley, Mr Sturrock and members of his party, and walked down to where the Paramount Chief was sitting with the other chiefs. He presented the P.C. with a brown walking stick with a golden knob and the P. thanked him for it. The Prince chatted with the P.C. his sons Bereng and Seeiso and a few other principals chiefs including Motsoene.

From the Council His Royal Highness inspected the School children who sang "Lesotho fats'e la bo Ntata rona" and "God save the King" for him.

In the afternoon His Royal Highness attended and took part in a Gymkhana arranged by the Europeans on his behlf at the Race Course.

The Fort Hare College.

Native Opinion 3-10-34

The last graduation ceremony at Fort Hare constitutes a record in several ways. Seven students were capped with the degree of Bachelor of Arts: Pascoe Bopela of Natal, Reginald Cingo of Pondoland, Somarsundram Coopan of Natal, Joel Makae of Matatiele, Paul Mosaka of Johannesburg, Nozipo Ntshona of King Williamstown, and Jeremiah Mosnesh of Matatiele. Five of these completed the degree only after spending some years away working for self support and carrying their studies at the same time, an example of patience. The previous highest number of graduands was five. Mr. M. G. Apthorp B.A., Vice-Chairman of the Governing Council announced that the Council had appointed two new professors (in Botany and Physics) to complete the faculty of Science, so that students may now have the option to take the degree of Bachelor of Science. The principal, Professor Alexander Kerr reported that the recent government committee of enquiry into subsidies to university colleges had been generous enough to realise the difficulties under which the college has laboured for years by recommending a grant for new buildings for science laboratories costing £12,000 provided the college can find half of the money. The graduation oration was delivered by Professor R. W. Varder M.A., Dean of the Faculty of Science in the University of South Africa and at Rhodes University (Grahamstown.) His oration will be published soon in pamphlet form (obtainable for a shilling from Fort Hare). The address covered wide ground. But it is important here to note that he thought the amount of £12,000 estimated for the new science building too small because the minimum in his judgment, was £20,000 in order to meet only the immediate needs of the college and this should be supplied outright by the government instead of on the £ for £ principle. Justification for that was evident from the fact that this was the only college of its standard put up for the Natives, and the latter fully deserved the help because (a) they supplied the foundation of the major wealth of South Africa by reason of their cheap labour at the gold mines; (b) the Native high schools were in dire need of Native teachers with proper qualifications in science; and (c) as an examiner of the Fort Hare candidates in science during the last ten years he could declare from his experience that the Natives had amply proved their ability in science by being at least equal to the average white student, often better, and frequently producing individuals of rare ability and distinction.

If these hard facts could only receive their due wide publicity, especially among the members of parliament, we feel confident that the powers that be will recognise that the Europeans of this land, as trustees of the Bantu race will respond by granting the appropriations now necessary for the true development of the higher education of our people in order to enable them to help their own people by a dissemination of scientific knowledge to combat the forces of superstition and darkness.

Finance of Native Education.

Native Opinion 7-10-34

(Imvo Zabantsundu King Williamstown, South Africa)

"Native education in this country in so far as it is a public institution is a pretence, a saving of our humanitarian faces," said Dr. Jean van der Poel, of Cape Town, in dealing with the subject of education and the Native at the South African Teachers' Association conference last Thursday.

"The truth is," she continued, "that white South Africa does not want to see an educated black South Africa that a reactionary public opinion nurtured on a traditional colour prejudice continues to fear, and to hate Native advancement, although expensive wage commissions have assured us over and over again that the education of the Native by increasing his wants will in the long run benefit South Africa as a whole."

Native education in South Africa was in a state of chaos, she said. "At a generous estimate, 24 per cent. of Native children between the ages of six and 16 are in school. This means that a half-million children are receiving no education whatever. Of those in school 60 per cent. do not emerge from the sub standards. Less than one-third reach Standard II., and only 5 per cent. attain Standards IV. to VIII. This means that most of the children who are in school are unable even to read or write their own language in any useful way, and are practically illiterate in the official language chosen for study.

A GROWING LIBERALISM.

There was no immediate prospect of an improvement in these deplorable conditions. "There are some who have discerned in recent years a growing Liberalism, but if it indeed exists, one thing is sure that it will not rise to the provision of three millions a year out of general revenue, the amount required to give all Native children of school-going age even the few fragments of education which those in school are now receiving.

"A few months ago Parliament passed a budget upon which the healthier white South Africans enthusiastically congratulated themselves. There was a surplus of six magnificent millions. About four millions went to relieve the white taxpayer in this lightly taxed country, A million or so went to succour the ever needy white farmer, but the six million Natives were not forgotten; £78,000 was set aside for contribution to the development fund. Of this incredibly mean total £51,000 is a write-off of the debt which the fund has owed the Union Treasury since 1924. A sum of £27,000 remains and this will be devoted to the improvements of the salaries of about 7,000 Native teachers. The improvement in the case of the 3,000 or so Native teachers in the Cape will be the restoration of the cut in their salaries.

"I suppose it is an improvement, but it has not occurred to the authorities, now that they have money to spare, to pay the debt which morally, if not legally, they have owed the Native teachers of the Cape since April, 1928. For in that year these teachers were promised annual increments of £3 a year, and these increments have never been paid.

"The average salary of a Native teacher in the Cape, where he is more highly paid than in any other province, is about £60 a year.

"Such is the gesture which a prosperity Government makes to six millions of its poorest citizens. Such is Liberalism in South Africa. A piece of shoddy hypocrisy."

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

MISS CUNARD AND THE NEGRO.

REVIEW IN *THE NEW STATESMAN* (10, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON) MARCH 10, 1934.

BY LORD OLIVIER.

(*Negro Anthology* made by Nancy Cunard, Wishart, London. £2 2s).

Weekly News 6-3-34

Freedom Sierra Leone Colonies

Earl Grey, in 1866, in the House of Lords, declared his conviction that "there is no peculiarity in the black race which will prevent their improvement." Sir Harry Johnston and Sir G. Guggisberg, who, both as administrators and as explorers, had close and varied contact with Africans of every grade of civilisation put on record expressly their judgment that their is no intellectual activity of the white man's brain of which black men are not, in the highest degree, capable. Johnston's book, *The Negro in the New World*, anticipated and within its scope contributed with warm sympathy to the purpose of Miss Cunard's *Negro Anthology*. Five-eighth's of this huge quarto reflect America, 60 pages Europe, 362 Africa. It prints some 220 pieces, containing many hundred of exhibits, from gifted black, brown and white writers, dealing predominantly with aspects of the relations between Europeans and African racials, from the point of view of the latter, and of the editor, who herself interpolates comments and some personal chapters. No review can do justice to such a volume. Many of the American items illustrate the same themes as Alain Locke's *The New Negro*. There is a section on Negro Music which, at any rate, has affected the world as irresistibly as did Wagner's, and in the teeth of very similar protests. There is a delightful exhibit of scuptural and ceremonial art (the Dahomey God of War preternaturaly anticipates Low's Mussolini).

Well, here is authentic original art! And yet in responding to it I find myself asking why, with such sensibility and such glyptic genius, do we have the accomplishment of Benin and Dahomey and not that of Etruria, China, Japan? There is a perhaps rather too pretentious advertisement of that department of virtuosity which first endeared the Negro to London in the capacity of a Christy Minstrel; and the literary exhibit, again, invites speculation as to why the Abantu never produced an Ilaid or Abeokuta an Aeschylus. I do not press these disquietudes—but after all! Sir Harry Johnston propounds explanations.

I naturally pounced on the chapters dealing with ground I knew best. First, Jamaica—"*The* **Negro Island,**" **as Miss Cunard calls it**—which she visited, and whose black people she appreciates with much justice and sympathy. The result, alas! was absolutely dismaying in regard to her capability as a recorder of facts. She quotes, and italiceses, a statement that "In Jamaica . . . the blacks . . . have no voice, politically or economically a thing wildly untrue.

Not only do black electors immensely outnumber brown on white, but they choose conscientious and efficient representatives of their interests and their colour, both in local and Island government, who discharge their duties honourably on their behalf, not, indeed, as Negroes but as free people of equal rights who are as intelligent about their own politics as most English rural voters, and much more independent in status and spirit. Again—"One is apt," she says, "to think of 'slavery' as the name for the most frightful condition that can befall mankind—yet the economic condition of the mass of black Jamaicans is not far removed therefrom."

That is gross nonsense. The property Roll of 1930 showed 213,395 free holders out of a population of 1,022,000—better than one holding to every five souls. Excluding mere house-plots, 184,444 owned agricultural holdings of half an acre to fifty acres, most of which can fully support a family. Money wages are low, and casual labourers are no doubt very poor; but Jamaica is a free and happy country for the vast majority of her agricultural workers. To support her assertion of the economic helplessness of the people, Miss Cunard declares she was offered a "keg" of "wet sugar" ("you could hardly carry" in Mandeville for a penny. Retail prices of sugar are fixed by law in Jamaica, and amply protect producers. The price of a keg of wet sugar in Mandeville market is seven shillings. "Who gets the profit on the bananas? *Never the Jamaican peasant!*" That is just what he does if he is one of the 150,000 who belong to the Banana Co-operative, which markets one-third of the Island's crop, owns its own ships, sells its own fruit in Europe, and distributes the profit on every bunch (about 11d in 1932 on the local price of 2/-).

Miss Cunard's endowments of sympathy and friendly humanity are irr sistibly endearing. She must have bewitched the old lady who gave her the keg of sugar and pretended it was worth only a penny. But after reading this book I should discount by at least 33 per cent any statement she made on her own uncorroborated observation, by 33 per cent more when it reflected on the virtues of black men—and by 33 per cent more when it reflected on the vices of white men. To the services of the latter to Africans she naturally never alludes: they are not her theme.

Her prescription for what she believes to be the miseries of Jamaica is Communism and "Marxist missionaries." Tell that to the 180,000 Jamaica Kulaks.

Why are the children of Ham still to-day—as the early Semite anthropologist said they were always destined to be—the "servants of servants? They have been and are mal-treated by other races with a scoundrelism for which it would be idle to attempt to find epithets. This book is full of the record—the vileness of which defies exaggeration. But all that is but part of the mystery of human brutality, in which, after all, Judge Lynch has not much on Goring or the Ku Klux Klan on Nazi storm-troopers. The really crucial question of interest is—What have Africans been able to do, what are they doing and what can they do for themselves, in virtue of their human character and capacities, whether without or with alien contacts, and whether in spite of white oppressions and injustice or (pace Miss Cunnard) by reason of white assistance? Miss Cunard cries aloud that "the white man is killing Africa." The book is full of out-cries, quite natural and justifiable, against iniquities familiar, at least, to readers of the *New Statesman*. But no clamour of that sort tells us anything about the positive, as distinguished from the recessive, qualities of the Negro. Personally, on a survey of fifty years, I see no indication that the white man is killing Africa: even in Africa. The average vital human calibre appears to me to have increased; and notwithstanding the outrages of capitalist Imperialism, it does not look to me like a dying flicker. Miss Cunard herself takes Mr. Marcus Garvey to task for prejudice and limitation of view in not recognising that capitalist economy, and not colour-prejudice, is the root of oppression—which itself is only partially true—for colour-prejudice is a widely instinctive and powerfully active affliction independent of economic relations. But in her blacking-out of the whole of the other side of the case as between white humanity and the Africa, and allowing virtue only to Communists, she is more narrowly sectarian than the most ignorant of the Christian missionaries whom she pillories, and who, from no other impulse than pure brotherly recognition of the humanity they find in the Negro—"the indescribable affectionate kindness" of the African character, as Philippo, in Jamaica, spoke of it—have incurred persecution and mockery for treating him as "a man and a brother," and who did, in fact, destroy his West Indian slavery. Africans may well be excused for ignoring such factors as this, and many others that have been and are very vital in an exceedingly complex process of inter-racial adaptations towards social humanity. But if Miss Cunard desires to impress non-African judgment as a witness or as an advocate she must verify her own representations and discipline her sometimes rather characteristically negroid methods of controversy.

To return to the topic of which I have spoken as the most important crucial question. I know a good deal of what has been done, for example, in Jamaica and elsewhere towards establishing a tolerable racially mixed human society. Dr. Burghardt Dubois who has devoted his life to that purpose contributes to this book a too brief, but very sane and pertinent chapter on that subject. Miss Cuuard devotes a longer chapter to furious denunciation of Dr. Dubois and the Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. I have read this tirade three times, very carefully, and I cannot recognise that Miss Cunard makes out any case whatever for judicial complaint against Dr. Dubois and his work of influence. Moreover she identifies with his "treacherous spirit" the "treacherous" hearts of the some 400 or 500 responsibile editors" of Negro (non-Communist) newspapers in the United States, chiefly, it would appear, because and they do not recognise that only Communism can do anything for the Negro. Miss Cunard does not convince me that all Negro editors who are not Communists have treacherous hearts, any any more than she does of the worthlessness of Dr. Dubois. If it were true, and if I were the Negro's advocate, I think I would throw up my brief. On behalf of a race that could only produce such editors I should think it hardly worth while even to abuse its competing attorneys. If African humanity has to wait for the triumph of Communism before it can draw level with Europeans under corresponding economic afflictions, it has a long row to hoe. But it is not waiting. White repressionists might feel a good deal of relief if they thought it could be persuaded to do so. General Smuts warned General Hertzog that the "haystacks" might be fired in South Africa long before there is any such prospect.

My chief criticism of Miss Cunard is, in fact, that for many readers who it may be presumed she would wish her book to impress (what else is the book for;) she impairs its credit by the character of her own editorial interventions. The indictment of colour prejudice and its operations in America and South

Africa, the indictment of the white man as a slaver and a capitalist Imperialist is unanswerable, and the book might bring it home to fresh consciences. Plain statements of the facts such as Mr. Johnson Kenyatta gives about Kenya has reinforced what has repeatedly been set forth in this journal and the *Manchester Guardian*. And when Africans speak for themselves their view of the facts affecting them cannot fail to be illuminative. Marcus Garvey, "Emperor of Africa," is grotesque, but he is intelligible: he has been judicially persecuted even in Jamaica—though there the Appeal Court reversed the scandalous illegalities of a Negrophobist Magistrate and awarded upwards of £3,000 for damages. But when Miss Cunard writes the manifest nonsense and displays the one-sidedness which cannot but appal any instructed, sympathisers she prejudices the whole case of her clients.

(Signed) OLIVIER,

DR. SEME'S ADDRESS TO VICE PRESIDENTS AND SENIOR OFFICERS OF THE A.N.C.

Ilanga Lase Natal
6-29-34

I address this memorandum to the Vice Presidents and to the Senior Officers of the African National Congress in South Africa. Olwesthlanu

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Greetings. I wish to direct this personal appeal to you for co-operation in the work of building up the African National Congress as a solid organisation in every Province and in every Territory in South Africa to-day. You can observe through the public press what the white people are doing. They are drawing themselves together into one nation. The Boers and the British are burying down their old axes, their old feuds and they want to face the future as brothers and members of one nation. Why can we Africans not do the same?

The problems which face our people today cannot be solved by any tribe, or Province or Territory acting alone by itself. I mean the problems of employment and non-employment, education, segregation (both urban and rural), the Colour Bar Acts and other class legislations which are now before Parliament. All our people are already convinced that unity is strength. I am more than suprise to see that the people accept the leadership of the African National Congress everywhere but the leaders are most selfish in these matters. Every leader is jealous about his own personal influence and does not want to see any other leader coming near his own flock. Our leaders are full of unnecessary amounts of suspicions one against the other, so much so that they would prefer unknown foreigners to any one of their own people. We must get over these initial difficulties and be prepared to lead our people to the common fold where the best of our leaders may be found. Those who study the best interests of their paople should agree to bring them to this common fold, The African National Congress. We cannot win the fight unless we are united. The unity of which I speak in this Congress is the unity of both educated and the uneducated classes. Our leaders must win the confidence of the masses and the confidence of the Chiefs.

I very sincerely deplore the action of some of the educated Basutos who continually write against their own chief in Basutoland. The Basutoland Progressive Association should not be a party to anything of that sort. I earnestly hope that the leaders of Basutoland and of other great Protectorates will come forward, at the next General Conference in August and speak to the country with one voice through the African National Congress. The day when each tribe could speak alone is passed. Europe today speaks with one voice and Africa should do the same if her sons and daughters will be free.

In conclusion I wish to draw your attention to the fact that today we are fortunate in having a great number of professional men, African men and women who have taken high degrees in universities and colleges. I hereby appeal to all our Provincial Presidents to approach these men and make them interested in the work of the African National Congress. They should be induced to join the Provincial Executive Committees, in the Provinces in which they live so that they may become eligible for office in the National Executive Committee. The Congress cannot develop its highest power and influence without the co-operation of these able sons and daughters of the nation. Let us all try to get our very best men into office.

The problems which face our people today cannot be solved without the knowledge of the international outlook which these highly educated men and women of our race have undoubtedly brought to us today, at the moment of our greatest difficulties. I cannot say what I mean better than to quote the words of Dr. Mott the President of the World Christian Students Movement who said:

"The present was a time of unprecedented opportunity in the history of the world. At no previous time had the doors been so universally open to new influences. It was definitely one of the great moments of history."

"Everywhere there is recognition that the old methods of force and selfishness have miserably failed and that the only way out of the dfficulties into a new and wonderful era lay by way of understanding, sympathy and appreciation of all nations as members of the great human family.".

Nkosi Sikelela--Morena Hlohonolofatsa Afrika.

P. KA I SEME.

President General A.N. Congress

ACHIMOTA'S NEXT PRINCIPAL.

Canon Grace to Take Over Next Year.

The annual report of Achimota College, Gold Coast, for 1933 states that, in view of the approaching retirement of the present Principal, Rev. Canon Fraser, O.B.E., the College Council has recommended to H.E. the Governor the appointment of the Rev. Canon H. M. Grace, Principal of King's College, Budo, Uganda, as his successor. Canon Grace has accepted the invitation, and is expected to take over the Principalship in April, 1935. Africa World 7-21-34 London, England

"Canon Grace, with his 6 ft. 2 in. of cheery optimism, will be greatly missed in Uganda, where he has spent many years in mission work and during the past few years has been in charge of Budo in its most difficult time of development" (says the "East African Standard"). "By his work Canon Grace is known as one of the most prominent educationists in Africa, and this has undoubtedly been recognised in the appointment to the important post at Achimota. Not less shall we miss Mrs. Grace, whose charming personality and deep knowledge of the African have always been of such assistance to her husband during his career in Uganda."

The Achimota report quotes an extract from Professor Julian Huxley's "Africa View," referring to Canon Grace's work at Budo and that of Principal Fraser at Achimota:—"An interesting feature in his work there is that without communication between Achimota and Budo, and each being ignorant of what the other was doing, both have laid an agricultural foundation for their education; both have laid the basis of their class teaching in the vernaculars; both have encouraged hobbies; both have developed social service; both have started co-education, and both have emphasised freedom and responsibility."

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Medical Inspection of Food.

Native Opinion

The most punctillious attention is given by the Chamber of Mines in Johannesburg to the quality of food supplied daily to the mine Natives, for obvious health reasons. If this is the case with the illiterate Bantu element employed on the Rand, the need for a vigilant medical scrutiny of food supplied to Native students in our various training and secondary institutions cannot be over-emphasised. The inmates of the Bantu training schools leave their homes at an early age, and are thus divorced from the ordinarily rich nourishment of staple foods like meat, milk (amasi) vegetables, fresh and dry mealies served by their mothers in so many varieties of dishes. It is not commonly known among Europeans that maize—the commonest food in use among the Bantu—can be served in eight or ten variations. Hence the fallacy among Europeans often met with that a pot of boiled mealies, three times a day is the best diet for any Native, it being his staple food.

There are quite a number of reasons that prompted Councillor Ndaba, at the last General Council session at Umtata to bring forward a motion which sought to provide for the medical inspection of all food supplied to students at the training institutions. In his own words, Cr. Ndaba moved:

"That the managers of Native training institutions be requested to provide for the medical inspection of all food supplied to students at such institutions." This motion was carried, as it most decidedly ought to be.

It is common knowledge that at one time or another each individual Native training institution has experienced the unpleasant contretemps of a "students' strike" for the alleged supply of unwholesome food by the authorities. Although the institutions concerned have invariably managed to tide over the disaffection by expelling or causing the imprisonment of so-called ring-leaders, the fact remained that there must have been some grounds for complaint. We know from our experience that institutions have erred in the past by dishing up mouldy bread or mealies left over a day or two before, when something unusual had interfered with the fresh daily supply. When a section of the students protested, the authorities, fearing humiliation, found it inexpedient to make a clean breast of their temporary failure, and preferred the arbitrary course of dismissing the students.

If the managers of Native training institutions agreed to provide for the medical inspection of food as moved by the Transkei General Council, much of the unpleasantness and suspicion which occurs at such times would be obviated. The students would have the satisfaction of knowing that all their food had been examined by an independent authority like the medical practitioner, who in turn, is not likely to endanger his reputation by passing unsuitable food merely because it is for Native consumption. The institution authorities would not necessarily resort to the harsh and un-Christian measures of expelling and imprisoning students for insubordination or malicious injury to property as a cloak to cover their shortcomings. The doctor's announcement would settle the dispute, and not the magistrate. If the principals of institutions only knew the unspeakable hardships to which parents are subjected when their children are expelled as it were by court-martial, without any previous reference to them, the proposal for the medical inspection of food would be readily acceded to. We strongly recommend its acceptance.

NOTICE OF EXTRAORDINARY CONFERENCE, OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Ilanga Lase Natal 6-1-34

All Africans are hereby requested to take notice that the African National Congress will hold a Special General Conference in the Inchcape Hall, Eloff Street Extension, Johannesburg, from 11 a. m. on the 3rd of August 1934 to the 7th. All Chiefs, Native Organized Bodies and Branches of the African National Congress are hereby requested to send Delegates.

The Subject for consideration shall be the following:-

1. The effect of the Status Bill upon the Africans in the Union and in the Protectorates.
2. The Natives' Land Act of 1913 and other Anti-Native Legislation in the Union.
3. The Depressing Economic conditions and Native Labour.
4. The Native Policy under the Union Government (We propose to ask a Representative of the Government to come and address the Conference upon this subject.)
5. Other urgencies.

NKOSI SIKELELA.
P. ka I. SEME
President General.
ELAJAH MDOLOMBA
General Secretary.
MOSES MPAHLELA
Secretary for Chiefs.

THE UMLAAS NATIVE VILLAGE.

Ilanga Lase Natal

(To the Editor ILanga Lase Natal.)

Sir, 6-1-34

With reference to an Article which appeared in the Natal Mercury of the 19th April, 1934 headed "Secretary o Native Village refutes Statements made in Complaint by one Mr. John Mtembu whereby intimating that the Umlaas Native Village was unpopular, in that such complaint was discussed at a Mass Meeting of the Umlaas Native Village resident tenants held on Monday the 16th April, 1934."

First of all, can any of the tenants tell me "Where a mass meeting was held on the 16th April? Does a mass meeting mean an attendance of 10 out of 40 tenants?

Well, I am not disposed to interfere with the criticism made in regard to the letter of Mr. John Mtembu referred to by the so-called Chairman and Secretary of the Umlaas Native Village. I think it can hardly be stated that Mr. Mtembu's letter was not on the right road in every respect.

I am fully aware of the attendance at meetings held at Umlaas Native Village Hall thoughout the month of April. This has been gradually decreasing from 15 to 7 or 10 out of 40 resident tenants the subject being "Tennis Courts and Reformation."

The point at issue is this:—

Every one of the Umlaas Native resident tenants is looking forward to the Durban Town Council with a view to reduce the rent in respect of the cottages as everyone of the tenants cannot afford to continue to pay the existing amount of rent plus a Season Ticket, out of the wages we Natives get.

Further, the tenants of the Umlaas Native Village are waiting upon the Government to carry out he Regulations affecting the Umlaas Native Village as they are anxious to see especially, one of the important conditions i. e. that every Native will be allowed to choose a site together with a building thereon, the same to be purchased on the "hire purchase system."

There are now 42 tenants seven or ten of whom attend meetings held at Umlaas Native Village Hall every week, who appear to have taken on their shoulders to represent the whole of the tenants in the Village of Umlaas at their wish. I am not aware of any recognised Committee being in existence.

I am afraid that if everyone has to take upon himself the right of representing others without necessary authority this will lead to a considerable confusion in the near future.

I am,
P. Z. LUTULI.
Umlaas Native Village,
P. O. Merebank,
Natal.
19th May, 1934.

Z. K. MATTHEWS M. A., L.L.B., PH. D. (PRELIMINARY)

Ilanga Lase Natal 6-29-34

News has been received by cable that Mr. Z. K. Matthews has obtained the degree of Master of Arts of Yale University -- the Oxford of America. This

success is in keeping with the highest intellectual traditions of this celebrated Mchuana scholar. Mr. Z. Matthews was the first Native to graduate at Fort Hare when he qualified for the Bachelor of Arts degree of the University of South Africa. Soon after qualifying he came out to Adams where he proved not only a successful teacher, but withal a painstaking, tactful and competent head master of the High School It is no exaggeration to say that Mr. Matthews (ably assisted by Mr. J. Ngobese) built the Adams High School, and now it is preparing students for the Matriculation Examination. It was while Mr. Matthews was teaching at Adams that he achieved another personal triumph by obtaining the degree of Bachelor of Laws of the aforementioned University. Actually Mr. Matthews is an advocate of the Transvaal Supreme Court to which he was admitted two years ago. This son of Africa in the words of Olive Cromwell has "the root of the matter in him". Thus it was in recognition of his ability for post-graduate work, his patience, thoroughness and ability to grasp the essentials of a subject that Mr. A. Kerr offered Mr. Matthews a Carnegie scholarship tenable at Yale University, New Havens, Connecticut. For sooth Mr. Matthews, was not supposed to study for a degree, but he decided to capitalise his stay at Yale by taking an M A. degree in the faculty of Education. I gather that his thesis was on the subject of the influence of European civilization on Bantu Law, at any rate something along those lines.

"To him that hath more shall be given....."

Mr. Z. Matthews is now at London University where he is to study Social Anthropology, a subject in which there is still much ground to be broken. He is to study under a scholarship which has been given him by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.

Mrs. Matthews is also leaving for London very soon, and she will study in London University together with her husband. She will study under a scholarship which has been granted to her under the "May Esther Bedford Fund" of which Dr. Mumford is trustee and secretary. Mrs. Mathews will study Sociology and Antropology and she will concentrate particularly on Primitive Music. She also hopes to be able to interest herself in the training of vocal singers and in the teaching of pianoforte music. When the Matthews' return to Africa they will bring with them an experience whose value is above rubies and by which, let us hope, their fellowmen will gain. We extend a bon-voyage to Mrs. Matthews.

S. D. B. NGCOBO.

NATIVE CONFERENCES.

Ilanga Lase Natal
6-29-34
Newspaper

IN view of the important changes, political and otherwise, that have taken place recently, it is felt in many quarters that the present is an opportune time for convening a Native Conference in terms of Act No. 23 ef 1920.

Under section 16 of this Act, the Governor General may, upon the recommendation of the Native Affairs Commission, convene Conferences of Chiefs, members of Native Councils or local councils and prominent Natives, and of Native delegates invited from any association or union purporting to represent Native political or economic interest, with a view to ascertaining the sentiments of the Native population of the Union or any part thereof, in regard to any measure in so far as it may affect such population. It is provided further that such Conferences shall be assisted in their deliberations by persons to be designated by the Minister of Native Affairs, who is empowered to authorise any expenditure he may consider desirable in this connection from moneys appropriated by Parliament for the purpose.

Referring to the matter in their annual report, the Native Affairs Commission points out that it would appear that the convening of such a Conference is not compulsory, and that such a Conference can only be convened when it is desired to ascertain the feelings of the Native population on any proposed measures that concerns it particularly. The Commission emphasises that the idea that such Conferences should be held annually is based on an erroneous conception, while realising that the holding of annual Conferences may be advantageous for the purpose of exchanging ideas, the Commission remind that such representative Conferences are expensive. During the last few years of depression and drought, and with the Native development account in its present state, it is added, only matters of immediate importance to the general welfare of the Native should be tackled, and in view of these circumstances the Commissioners do not consider it necessary to convene such a conference and no recommondation in that regard was put forward.

We have already called attention to the many changes that have taken place since the Commission completed its report. Some of these changes have been of far-reaching importance, and the recent session of Parliament clearly indicated that in many respects the position of our people in respect of various social and economic problems demands investigation. All the circumstances surrounding the existing position are probably well-known to the Commision, and there is plenty of evidence to justify their earnestly considering the desirability of putting the provisions of the Act of 1920 into effect. There has been no Native Conference for four years, and in our view the time has arrived for calling together the various elements directly interested, with a view to useful and valuable discussion, which should go a long way in the direction of removing doubt and misunderstanding.

We commend this suggestion to the serious attention of the Commission, in the confident hope and belief that it will prove all to the good of South Africa.

Race Problem – 1934

Africa

African National Congress.

The President General of the African National Congress, Dr. Pka Isaka Seme of Firm Sterkfontein 221 Joubert Street, Volksrust, Transvaal sends us the following letter of instruction to members of the above organisation, through Rev. E. Mdolomba who is the General Secretary; and we commend the exhaustive epistle to the serious consideration of the members of the African National Congress throughout the Union. Dr. Seme writes :—

To Members and Organisers of,
The African National Congress,
Ladies and Gentlemen.

Greetings. Some members of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress have asked me to make another public statement of my policy as leader of the Congress including a brief outline of how I suggest that The African National Congress should be reorganised under the new Constitution.

The copies of the Draft Amendment of the Constitution are still available and have been printed in a small pamphlet. The price is 1/- per copy. Every member of the Congress should send a postal order to Mr. Jack Barnard, News Agent and Bookseller, 178a Commissioner Street, Johannesburg. The old Constitution of the Congress is not repealed by the New Amendment except where the old rules may come into conflict with the new rules. Any Provincial Conference may send to the General Conference written suggestions of new rules or amendments to the present Constitution, for consideration and if these amendments are passed by the General Conference they must be respected by every Province as our Constitution.

The African National Congress is a National Assembly for all Africans in South Africa. The membership is open to Coloured people as well as to Africans of full blood, men women and children. Some detribalised Natives have suggested to me that the chiefs should be left out and not be included within the survey of membership in the African National Congress. They even suggest that the leadership of the Congress belongs to the educated classes only.

The Race Leadership.

The African race has always been led by its hereditary chiefs from time immemorial. The same thing is true of all other races of mankind in the world. The educated classes all over the world, like the chiefs and everybody else have to get their mandate from the people-vox populi vox dei. We Africans too must follow the course which other people have trod,—our educated classes must try and win the confidence of the masses. You have been taught to despise your uneducated people and that is wrong. The bulk of the people are the nation and that is where your greater strength lies, and the chiefs are there with the Nation. I feel that it is the duty of every educated African to his chief, his tribe and his people. The towns and the schools, it is true, are breaking down this spirit of tribalism. We all should certainly be glad that this is so because, they all pave the way for the birth of the new African Nation, which is still conceived in the African National Congress to-day.

[To be continued]

Bantu Languages.

(By B R.S. Khaketla, Bloemfontein.)

A nation is a nation, and a respected one if it has a pure language. But a nation without a pure language is not respected by other nations. This question of language purity, is one which has to be dealt with very much in Basutoland.

I feel proud, and at the same time pl ased to say that a certain lecturer told us that amongst all the Bantu Languages, Sesotho is the which is a standing and fixed language. Of course, I don't, by so saying, mean that the other languages are not pure, but I only speak about Sesotho because it is my mother tongue. Now, we know for certain that our language is a standing one, we should try by all means to keep it up to the standard.

The teachers are the people who should try to make this language a living one. They should encourage children to study their language. They should make children to understand the necessity of keeping one's language pure. But I regret to say that very few do it. Of course, there are exceptions, but the majority of the teachers does not care so very much for the language. They believe that they can only teach children the love of one's language in school during lessons. Yes, that is true, but there is one method which many teachers, if not all, neglect, yet it is a very good one, in the proper sense of the word. This method is the teaching of Sesotho songs. If children are taught Sesotho songs, they see that their language is of great value, but if the teachers are going to teach Xosa and English songs only, they diminish the love of one's language in the children, and they begin to see that their language is of no value, and they despise it.

It does not mean to say these teachers have not or cannot get Sesotho songs, but it is only that they do not want to teach them. We have already got many composers, who compose Sesotho songs, amongst whom I may mention J. Mohapeloa; (although I don't know him) what, then, do they require? I shall not say more than this. Again I leave it to you to decide whether you are going to keep up your language, and make it aliving one. Basotho, be proud of your language and your colour.

The Comet.'

Maseru, Basutoland.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25, 1934

UNION BUDGET AND NATIVE TAXATION

Mr. Havenga, the Union Minister of Finance has reason to smile and congratulate himself on the marvelous success of his last year's budget, the enormous amount of surpluses he has reaped, from which he is able to wipe off the accumulated deficits of the previous lean years and yet still have a surplus to be set aside as a reserve for future contingencies.

With full confidence and a face beaming with smiles he was able, in his present estimates, to alleviate the peoples burdens, by making reductions in taxation and cancelling duties which had been hitherto imposed on certain imported goods, and also to set aside certain monies for the development of certain country industries. He will be able after all to help those entrusted with solving the problem of unemployment to face this question with courage and confidence. The cloud of economic depression which until recently hung like a pall over South Africa has set aside certain monies for the development of certain country industries. He will be able after all to help those entrusted with solving the problem of unemployment to face this question with courage and confidence. The cloud of economic depression which until recently hung like a pall over South Africa has

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Race Problem - 1934

Africa

African National Congress.

The President General of the African National Congress, Dr. Pixley ka Isaka Seme of Farm Sterkfontein 221 Joubert Street, Volksrust, Transvaal sends us the following letter of instruction to members of the above organisation, through Rev. E. Mdolomba who is the General Secretary; and we commend the exhaustive epistle to the serious consideration of the members of the African National Congress throughout the Union. Dr. Seme writes :—

To Members and Organisers of,
The African National Congress,
Ladies and Gentlemen.

Greetings. Some members of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress have asked me to make another public statement of my policy as leader of the Congress including a brief outline of how I suggest that The African National Congress should be reorganised under the new Constitution.

The copies of the Draft Amendment of the Constitution are still available and have been printed in a small pamphlet. The price is 1/- per copy. Every member of the Congress should send a postal order to Mr. Jack Barnard, News Agent and Bookseller, 178a Commissioner Street, Johannesburg. The old Constitution of the Congress is not repealed by the New Amendment except where the old rules may come into conflict with the new rules. Any Provincial Conference may send to the General Conference written suggestions of new rules or amendments to the present Constitution, for consideration and if these amendments are passed by the General Conference they must be respected by every Province as our Constitution.

The African National Congress is a National Assembly for all Africans in South Africa. The membership is open to Coloured people as well as to Africans of full blood, men women and children. Some detribalised Natives have suggested to me that the chiefs should be left out and not be included within the survey of membership in the African National Congress. They even suggest that the leadership of the Congress belongs to the educated classes only.

The Race Leadership.

The African race has always been led by its hereditary chiefs from time immemorial. The same thing is true of all other races of mankind in the world. The educated classes all over the world, like the chiefs and everybody else have to get their mandate from the people-vox populi vox dei. We Africans too must follow the course which other people have trod,—our educated classes must try and win the confidence of the masses. You have been taught to despise your uneducated people and that is wrong. The bulk of the people are the nation and that is where your greater strength lies, and the chiefs are there with the Nation. I feel that it is the duty of every educated African to his chief, his tribe and his people. The towns and the schools, it is true, are breaking down this spirit of tribalism. We all should certainly be glad that this is so because, they all pave the way for the birth of the new African Nation, which is still conceived in the African National Congress to-day.

[To be continued]

Bantu Languages.

(By B R.S. Khaketla, Bloemfontein.)

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With full confidence and a face beaming with smiles he was able, in his present estimates, to alleviate the peoples burdens, by making reductions in taxation and cancelling duties which had been hitherto imposed on certain imported goods, and also to set asi le certain monies for the development of certain local industries. He will be able after all to help the se entrusted with solving the problem of unemployment to face this question with courage and confidence. The cloud of economic depression which until recently hung like a pall over South Africa has at last disappeared and the government, In its sub-leader of the 16th instant "The Friend," has taken such a stand in championing the Native cause that Mr. Tiel-the Natives of the Union would be ungrateful if they would not have occasion to thank this paper for taking the cudjels on their behalf in

this important matter. Their case has been ably taken up and so far it appears to have attracted the attention of some of the fair-minded Europeans who feel they cannot keep silent when an injustice is done to a great section of the population of South Africa which is voiceless. "*The Friend.*" says:

"It must be a matter for genuine regret among many European South Africans that Mr. Havenga's Budget, while remitting much European taxation, direct and indirect, overlooked the claims of the five millions of the Native population, who so patiently, and one might write so cheerfully, carry taxation burdens which, proportionately, are heavier than those borne by the majority of the European people. European farmers have had much of the country's money given to them. It is, no doubt, a long-visioned policy that has laid it down that the country as a whole must carry a farming community unable to support itself. But when the average man sees the quitrent being abolished—and this tax is the only direct Union land tax—he finds it difficult to square his consience) with the fact that that the Government has done nothing to relieve the Native population of what is to them a heavy poll-tax.

CAUGHT BOTH WAYS.

Thousands of Natives go to prison every year for the non payment of this tax, which in their economic distress, they cannot pay. If the Natives had parliamentary votes, this thing, of course, would never have happened. They would have been given some relief from their direct taxation just in the same way as the farmer has been given it in the matter of his quitrent. Unfortunately for him, the Native has not a vote, and so very few people bother about him. But there are some of us who are thinking a little farther ahead. There is unreasonableness and inequity in this remission of the European quitrent and the maintenance of the Native poll-tax. The depression hit the Native people even harder than it did the European. In addition, the Native suffered from the White labour policy. He was caught in the most vicious of vicious circles. He was pushed out of his job in order that a European could get it, and other work was closed to him. The Government whose policy this was nevertheless insisted that the unfortunate Native should continue to pay his taxation. As he was either rendered workless or had his wages much reduced, he was, of course, unable to do it. The machinery of the law came into operation, and as a consequence the Native had to go to jail.

The poll-tax remains as it was although farm Natives now get wages about half what they previously earned. Is it a reasonable proposition to expect the Native whose wages are from 7/6 to 12/6 per month, if that, to pay £1 a year in a direct tax? Magistrates, it is understood, have been asked to deal leniently with Native poll-tax cases. But this is not enough. Morally, it is an admission that the tax bears heavily, but legally the impost remains as so many Natives know to their cost. Relief is overdue. It is extraordinary that the occasion of the "Prosperity Budget" was not taken to put this wrong right."

A correspondent, of the same paper in its issue of the 18th signing himself "L. M." in expressing his appreciation of the stand the paper has made has some trenchant remarks to make. He says:

"We seem intent on breaking sound political maxims. We tax people without their consent or representation; we tax the poorest section of the community heavily and relieve taxation on the more wealthy. In this particular intance our bad economics are accompanied by equally bad manners. It is through our cheap labour on the mines and in other industries, as well as in agriculture, that Mr Havenga is able to smile over the large surplus, and the least we could have done in common decency was to have used half a million of that surplus to reduce the poll-tax.

The matter of Native taxation should, however, be much more thoroughly overhauled than by a simple reduction, and it is great pity, if not a sign of poor statesmanship that the Government did not seize the favourable opportunity for doing so."

How much more would the country be prosperous in future if the Native population a recognized asset, as it is in the progress of South Africa, could be fairly treated.

NATIVE MENTAL AND PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT.

Famous Physician Urges Scientific Enquiry.

African World 9-8-34

Writing to "The Times" on the subject of the Kenya native population, Lord Dawson of Penn urges that the time is opportune to institute a scientific enquiry into the physical and mental development of African natives.

"Accurate knowledge of the capacity of the native," writes Lord Dawson, "is surely necessary to the sound shaping of public policy. Such an enquiry would bring forth knowledge of value to an Empire containing vast native populations.

"The present occasion is opportune. The question has aroused widespread and responsible support; men to undertake the work are available and need only to be gathered carefully so as to form a good team. The cost would be moderate. Search for knowledge is alike a fruitful and economical investment of public money."

Cairns of Stones in Africa.

Their Meaning in Somaliland.

To the Editor of "East Africa."

East Africa 9-20-34

SIR,—I have read with much interest the correspondence in *East Africa* regarding cairns of stones, and the various explanations regarding their origin.

Such cairns are common in Somaliland—that is, piles of loose stones, as distinct from the regular mounds which mark the graves of the Gallas, forerunners of the present Somalis. I observed that Somalis used to add a stone whenever they passed one of these piles, at the same time muttering a curse. They were reluctant to give any information on the subject—as the Somali always is with regard to his language and customs.

But as I spoke Somali I managed to find out that these piles were in memory of a notorious queen Aruwhela, who was said to have mutilated or massacred most of the menfolk of her realm; and in this manner a sort of hostile tribute is paid to her memory.

Renhold,
Bedford.

Yours faithfully,
G. OLLIVER.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

SOUTH AFRICAN LEGISLATION

The Status Bill and the Cape Native Franchise

(From our South African Correspondent.)

An interesting situation has arisen in the Union through the introduction of three bills designed to give effect within the Union to the resolutions of the last Imperial Conference embodied, so far as Great Britain is concerned, in the Statute of Westminster. The general effect of the Status Bill, the most discussed of the three, is to put into binding legislative form the conventions created as a result of the Imperial Conference resolutions, and, indeed, as a result of a long process of constitutional development preceding any formal recognition of resolution. The second bill re-enacts the South Africa Act, thus making the Union Constitution in form a document emanating from South Africa itself rather than an Act of the British Parliament. The third piece of legislation aims at regularising the new position of the Executive Government in South Africa and provides for the custody and use of the Great Seal and Lesser Seal of the Union.

Interesting and important as the two last bills may be, the real issue in the eyes of public opinion in the Union is the Status Bill. This bill has behind it the backing of all the members of the Cabinet, including, therefore, the South African party leaders, and is supported by a large number of the South African party members of Parliament. It has the qualified blessing of Dr. Malan. Far too pertinacious and logical a politician to meet gesture with gesture, Dr. Malan is frankly accepting the bill as an instalment only of the fuller programme of which he is the sponsor. This attitude naturally weakens the position of the Government, for it is not clear that the constitutional problem would be finally solved by the passing of the bill.

So far as can be ascertained no section of Dutch South African opinion, Nationalist, or South African party is opposed to the bill as far as it goes. British South African opinion is more divided. It is probable that the majority of British South Africans are prepared to accept the bill without enthusiasm, and this attitude is mirrored in the press, only two of the larger English newspapers having come out in unequivocal opposition to the bill, but at various points—Capetown, Johannesburg, Grahamstown, and above all Durban,—opposition has crystallised and is being led in some instances by insurgent members of the South African party.

This opposition is designed in the first place on the somewhat academic point of the divisibility of the Crown. Frankly, public opinion is not much interested in this except in so far as the Crown remains a focal point of British sentiment. A more serious argument is that the bill has sought to take away from South Africans the status of British subjects and to create a separate South African nationality, the holder of which would be excluded from the benefits of British citizenship.

This, of course, is simply untrue. Nothing in the bill as originally printed would possibly bear out this statement, and to make assurance doubly sure Mr. Pirow, in his brilliant second reading exposition of the bill, agreed to introduce words which would remove all ambiguity, but here again the Government is embarrassed by the attitude of Dr. Malan.

Dr. Malan does definitely wish to create an exclusive South African nationality, and accepts this bill as a stage on the way. The strength of the opposition to the bill lies in the feeling that no concessions short of the ultimate concession of absolute separation will ever satisfy Dr. Malan.

The strength of the Government case as ably propounded by Mr. Pirow is that the Status Bill satisfies every moderate Nationalist in the country, that it goes no farther than the Statute of Westminster itself, and that the present moment, when a Government is in office representing both races and both parties, is the most opportune one for introducing legislation which would otherwise take on a partisan character.

Two points are of special interest. The first is the position of the Provincial Councils. A great concession has been made to Natal sentiment by the acceptance of an amendment which would make it constitutionally impossible to abolish a Provincial Council without its own consent. It is quite true that this concession itself can be withdrawn by the sovereign Union Parliament, but it is, at any rate, a far better protection than has ever been offered before.

In the second place, there is the question of the Cape native franchise. Much disquiet exists amongst the supporters of the franchise as to the effect of the Status Bill on the Entrenching Clause (section 35) of the South Africa Act, which lays down that only a majority of two-thirds of the total number of members of both Houses of Parliament may take away the Cape native franchise. This Entrenching Clause in its present form is repeated in the re-enacted Constitution. Any safeguard which existed as a result of the South Africa Act being in form an Act of the British Parliament has fallen away by reason of the fact that the Statute of Westminster withdrew the application of the Colonial Laws Validity Act from the Dominions.

It has often been pointed out, and is undoubtedly true, that a Government which did not desire to honour the moral obligation of the Entrenching Clause would not be obliged to challenge its provisions directly. By amending the provisions of the Constitution relative to the composition of the Senate, by increasing the number of nominated senators, by nominating senators favourable to the repeal of the Cape native franchise, and by convoking a joint sitting in terms of the Constitution the native franchise can be abolished in full conformity with the provisions of section 35 of the South Africa Act. It must be noted that this was possible from the commencement of the Union and long before the passing of the Statute of Westminster. The situation, therefore, resolves itself into this, that the Cape native franchise can only be protected through a sense of honourable obligation on the part of the Government and the Parliament of the Union.

Section 35 of the Constitution lays a strong moral obligation on those in authority to obtain by normal means the two-thirds majority there mentioned. That moral obligation still exists, but no legal method can be found, compatible with the Statute of Westminster, to turn that moral obligation into a binding one Regrettable though the situation may be, the facts must be faced, and the facing of them will be of value if it teaches all the non-Europeans in South Africa the elementary truth that the only practical way in which they can safeguard the interests of the weaker races is by the conversion of European public opinion on the spot. That process of conversion may be hastened by judiciously expressed criticisms and suggestions from Great Britain, but it is neither desirable nor practicable at this stage to look to any legal intervention from outside the borders of South Africa as an important factor in the solution of its greatest internal problem.

African National Congress.

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The President General of the African National Congress Dr. P. ka Isaka Seme of Farm Sterkfontein 221 Joubert Street, Vnlksrust, Transvaal sends us the following letter of instruction to members of the above organisation, through Rev. E. Mdolomba who is the Genera Secretary; and we commend the exhaustive epistle to the Serious consideration of the members of the African National Congress throughout the Union. Dr. Seme writes:—

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Ladies and Gentlemen. I say that let us be guided by the experience of other Nations and of all other races of mankind and carry our chiefs up along with us, in our conceptions of leadership. They hold the key to all our final success as a nation. They are our princes and kings, and as such they are worshipped by their people as the leaders appointed for them by God. Let the Europeans first destroy their own Kings and their own Princes before we can hear them advise us to do away with our own blue blood.

My policy and my advice as President of the African National Congress is that the Executive Committees of the Congress in every district and in every Province should try and be the best of friends with the chiefs in their districts. They should attend all their own tribal councils wherever such exist and make themselves personally known to their own chiefs and other members of their tribal councils as being officers of this Congress. We can as a Congress show them how to make the better use of their land, their cattle and their Native courts. The officers of the Congress should be able to show them how to be come more effecient in their duties as cheifs and more useful to their people and to the local authority which is placed over them in that district.

No Native Commissioner in charge of a district or Location Superintendent will want to see my leaders of the Congress go about stirring up strife and other trouble for the authorities among the Natives. The African National Congress must condemn the spirit of sedition in every form. The leaders who preach sedition and insubordination are a disgrace to people and to the local authority to lift up the Africans by helping which is placed over them in that them to build up economic foundations for their support in every district in South Africa and Europe to win public sympathy in favour of all our economic their people in good employment. This we hope to be able to do by the establishment of National Supply Stores in every Province to meet the special requirements of Native markets. The running of the business ourselves.

African National Congress by working in conjunction with the chiefs can be able to help our men and women to earn a living among their own people by selling and otherwise distributing the goods and food which they want. All European towns and cities are serving that same purpose and keep their people in good employment. There is certainly no reason why we Natives should not be able to do the same. We can start with white supervision and gradually take over

Race Problem - 1934

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A Question of Colour

We give thanks to our contemporary the "Basuto land News" for seeking and publishing the true facts about the recent case in the Lerbe court in which a European was charged with assaulting a Native because the latter had referred to him as "lekhooa." We are glad to learn that the European was found guilty and and cautioned. This will serve to correct the wrong impression that had been created by the report which appeared in our paper.

In the same issue of the 1st May, a correspondent, whom the paper has the courtesy to describe as an educated Mosuto, makes a laborious attempt to explain that the world "lekhooa" is an insult to be used against a decent European as the word had lost its former meaning and is nowadays used as a term of contempt. It might be said at the very outset that this educated Mosuto has a very poor knowledge of his language, unless he had intended to bring to light the misbehaviour of some of the Europeans under the guise of explaining the meaning of this common expression.

That "a language is constantly in a state of flux and that some words improve their status whereas others lose it" cannot be denied But this word "lekhooa' in the Sesuto language has not changed its original meaning and is *not* a term of contempt We challenge any body who says that this term has changed its meaning. It has always been, and still is used as a courteous term to denote a decent European. The low class Europeans are referred to by the Basuto as "makhoahla" and "maqaqa" "Makhoahla" refers to European labourers while "maqaqa" means poor whites. "Lekhooa" is never used to mean a bastard, bastards are called bastards.

In the Native villages away from the European surroundings the bastards by virtue of their descent and whitish colour are often referred to as "makhooanyana" as distinct from "makhoa.' We are quite aware that "lekhooa" a polite word as it is like any other polite words in any language could be used sarcastically and thus become insulting, or the mood in which the person is who uses the word may be insolent. But in that case it is the behaviour of the person that is provocative.

No, sir, your educated Mosuto has given a wrong and a misleading meaning of the term "lekhooa."

The term has often been referred to the traders by the Basuto just because the trader's name is unknown to his Basuto customers or even if known it is such a hard name that they cannot pronounce and they must give him a Sesuto name in its place, or continue to be referred to as "lekhooa."

WHITE SETTLEMENTS IN BECHUANALAND.

Petition to General Hertzog.

CAPE TOWN, May 22.

A petition of the European inhabitants of the Lobatsi, Gaberones, and Tuli settlements in the Bechuanaland Protectorate in favour of the transfer of those settlements to the Union was presented to General Hertzog, the Prime Minister, yesterday.

Mr. John Stuart told the Prime Minister that the petition had been signed by 98 per cent. of the white residents of the three settlements mentioned. Another settlement, Tati, was closely allied to Southern Rhodesia.

General Hertzog replied that the petition came at an opportune moment. He thought the time was arriving when action would have to be taken, and was confident that the difficulties on both sides would be overcome.—Reuter.

The petition involves only the small white settlements which have been made in the neighbourhood of the railway line and are fairly close to the Transvaal border.

Doctors or Witch-Doctors?

That in the whole of French Equatorial Africa, peopled by 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 Natives and 5,000 Europeans, there are only 70 medical men is stated by M. Raymond Susset, Secretary of the French Parliamentary Committee for the Colonies, who has just returned from a visit to Central Africa. He adds that one of those medical men is responsible for the health of 400,000 Africans and 150 Europeans. In some parts there are villages where the proportion of people afflicted with sleeping sickness amounts to 40%, 60% and even 90%. He urges that France either must investigate this problem adequately or let the Africans once more rely on their witch-doctors.

Magic of Invisibility.

One of the commonest attributes to magic in the African's belief is the power of invisibility. It is alleged that this is frequently used for the purpose of getting enemies removed and out of the way, for subsequently selling them into slavery. Also, of course, for gaining access to the hut of one whom it is desired to harm. An example given in the *Kenya Police Review* deserves wider publicity.

A Native of Kisumu, with previous convictions, gave a young lad a piece of a root and told him that if he put the *dawa* in his mouth, entered a shop, and spat on the floor, he would immediately become invisible and could then help himself to anything he wanted. The trusting youth obeyed, entered a shop, acted as directed, and in the presence of the shopkeeper opened a case, and took from it a watch. He then handed his acquisition over to the purveyor of the *dawa*, who was caught when endeavouring to sell the loot. The shopkeeper identified his property, but could not explain how it could have been taken from the show case in his presence. The small boy was very annoyed with the *dawa* merchant for getting him into trouble, but insisted that the *dawa* had done all that was claimed for it. The Police have kept the "medicine"—which should be useful to the C.I.D.

Basutos and Others.

A lady unconnected with any philanthropic society, who has spent the greater part of her life in South Africa, implored me the other day to help to save the Basutos and other protectorates from the fate of being handed over to the Union of South Africa. "If we hand over the Protectorates," she said, "there would be safeguards on paper to protect the population from exploitation and to preserve for them the lands on which they dwell. There might be the honest intent to abide by the promises given. But sooner or later the imponderabilia of the situation would render such pledges null and void. The European in South Africa is dependent on an adequate supply of cheap labour. He is land-hungry, and it takes an extensive tract on the veld to sustain a single Boer family. In view of those factors even altruistic Cabinet Ministers at the Cape would not be able wholeheartedly to champion interests in the Protectorates in question. Again, if it is desired to protect the interests of the tribesmen, why insist on any change in the present arrangements by means of which their territory is administered?" Readers of WEST AFRICA may be interested in that opinion. Let there be no mistake about it, the good name of Britain is at stake. The days when subjects could be transferred without their consent should be ended. No such consent will be given in this case.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Justice in East Africa

Guardian Weekly 1-12-34

The commission which was appointed to inquire into the administration of justice in Kenya, Uganda, and the Tanganyika Territory, has now issued its report. The commission finds that the machinery for the administration of justice does not and cannot work as it is at present constituted. The report sets out a number of causes—the excessive powers of magistrates in the subordinate courts, the investment of magistrates with the jurisdiction of a High Court, the understaffing of the High Courts, and, in Tanganyika, the centralisation of the High Court at Dar es Salaam. The commission makes the recommendations which the nature of the defects demands. The magistrates should try all non-capital charges which can be dealt with within limited powers of punishment; the strength of the High Courts should be increased; wider arrangements should be made for appeals; fines should be within the means of the offender to pay. Under the surface of the administrative problem is revealed a still more difficult problem created by fundamental differences between native law and standards of conduct and the penal code which the magistracy has to enforce. The commission, while recognising this incompatibility, sees no remedy except the enforcement of British concepts of wrongdoing.

An attempt to adapt the British administration of justice to local conditions has been the problem facing the Commission of Inquiry into the Administration of Justice in Kenya, Uganda, and the Tanganyika Territory in criminal matters, whose report has just been issued as a Blue Book.

Guardian Weekly 5-10-34

"The machinery for the administration of justice as apparently set up by law in these territories," it is stated, "does not work, and, as at present constituted, cannot work. This is a grave statement, but is fully supported by the evidence which we have heard."

The system had failed because of—

The conferring of excessive jurisdiction on magistrates of the subordinate courts; the excessive use of the power of investing magistrates with the jurisdiction of the High Court; the fact that the High Courts of the territories are understaffed, with result that circuits are held at too infrequent intervals and at only a few of the larger centres of population; and in the case of Tanganyika the centralisation of the High Court at Dar es Salaam.

The chief evil was the delay in trial by the High Court, and the consequences were far reaching. A system which allowed a man to remain in custody for months awaiting trial for murder could not escape condemnation.

Stock thefts in some cases had assumed the proportions of a major political issue, and some of the sentences passed by the administrative officers were so severe as to be, in the opinion of the Commission, unjustifiable.

Among those set out is one for the theft of maize worth 1s., a sentence of a year's imprisonment with a fine of 50s. being passed, this being later confirmed with a month's imprisonment and a fine of 10s.

Mr. Forsyth Thompson, District Commissioner, Entebbe, in his evidence before the Commission, discussing heavy fines for theft, said: "The theft of a fowl worth about 50 cents was punished with a fine of 40s. and three months. On the face of it the fine seems preposterous. But the natives explained that the stealing of fowls is a very serious matter because it is one of the things used in witchcraft. If you steal a man's fowl it is rather like stealing a man's nail parings or hair. You have some influence over him and are perhaps able to work evil on him."

Commenting on this and similar evidence, the Commission state:

"On close examination it appears to us that the material difference between native substantive law and the penal code is in respect of punishment. To the native mind what the British system regards as a crime against the public peace was essentially a private wrong.

"Homicide, we have been told, was frequently punishable with death if the killer was caught by the relatives of the deceased man. If, however, he got to a chief and reported the homicide, the matter was adjusted between the families by the payment of blood money. Rape among some tribes is regarded as a comparatively venial matter which can be settled by the payment of compensation.

"Stock theft, when it consisted of raiding the stock of a neighbouring community, was like war, an international matter, and the successful stock thief, so far from being regarded as a criminal, was acclaimed a hero and a benefactor to his tribe, whose wealth he had materially increased.

"Clearly a system of substantive law which proceeded on such principles as these could not be tolerated in any part of the British Empire. It is the duty of the Government to civilise and to maintain peace and good order, and this can only be done by the introduction of British concepts of wrongdoing."

Though evidence was given in favour of flogging adults, the Commission are opposed to it.

The Commission recommend that the powers of punishment of magistrates in Kenya and Uganda should be reduced to the Tanganyika scale.

Magistrates should be empowered to try all non-capital charges which can be adequately dealt with within the limits of their powers.

The strength of both the Supreme Court in Kenya and of the High Court of Uganda should be increased by one judge, and that of the High Court of Tanganyika by two judges.

More use might be made of resident magistrates for the trial of serious cases.

Wider arrangements are proposed for appeals. Fines should be within the means of the offender to pay.

In order that the fact that the death sentence is carried out should be known, representatives of the community to which the condemned man belongs should be allowed to see him before and after execution.

Mr. Justice Law, one of the Commission, in a reservation, states that he is unable to agree with his colleagues' view that the existing rule in Kenya and Tanganyika should "be relaxed in order to admit confessions made to European police officers, and I am of opinion that the rule should be maintained in full force in those territories, and that Uganda should fall into line with them."

Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, in a letter to the Governors of Kenya, Uganda, and the Tanganyika Territory, states that he had decided that "effect should be given to those recommendations of the Commission in which all three Governments concur, but that those recommendations with which one or more of the Governments is unable to agree should be referred to the Governors' Conference, at its forthcoming meeting, in the hope that, after further discussion at the conference, the Governors may be able to arrive at agreed conclusions thereon."

What of Africa?

The Comet (Moshoshoemo)

(By AFRICAN.)

7-11-34

Manchester England

It was Dr. Aggrey who first proposed the question by putting a big interrogation mark on every map of the African continent with which he came in contact. In his mind, the large shape of the mass of land called Africa, graphically represented the recondite mental endowments of the native inhabitants thereof "What of Africa?" Says Dr. Aggrey, What is it that will make her an honourable member among her sister continents? What will be her contribution among them when she comes of age? Ay, what is the end of Providence with the millions of her population?"

That there was a definite part that the African was destined to play in the general welfare of the world of the future was, with the revered seer, no surmise of a bigoted fanatic; no fanciful speculations of a vain optimist;- no, it was a fact, a reality as sure as the existence of the sun; as certain as you andI live, think and love. But how this was to come to pass, what would be the ruling spirit attending the advent thereof, and when it would be; these and similar other questions seem to have been the furniture of Dr. Aggrey's mind when he brought the query before the mind of the thinking world.

Every African will have to answer Dr. Aggrey's question in his own little or great way. No European or American will answer it for him. You shall be required to answer it in your great way as a chief, a teacher or a minister; I will have to answer it in my humble way as a chimney-sweep, a boot-cleaner or a groom. Yet would to God that we may perceive and understand how, in order to achieve anything at all, our ruling spirit, if you please, by which they can be distinguished, each from all. This ruling spirit that has be discovered and developed of the nation is to be brought to light at all. Civilization is not a mere mimicry of the

M.A.s and the D.D.s of an earlier race. An indigenous ancestry.

What is the ruling spirit of the African? Be it noted in

Romans have left us law and love of order, and the modern European, who, but for the ancestral-preceding civilizations could not have become what he is, is no less indigenous with his scientific theories, which have, however, unfortunately told him to think of a monkey

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Justice in East Africa

Guardian Weekly 8-10-34

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(By AFRICAN.)

7-11-34

Masvingo, Rhodesia

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this respect that there is only one thing left which has never had full ultimation in human history, and the palm must fall either to Asia or to Africa. But listen to Professor Willoughby: "Bantu life is essentially religious. The relation of individual to family, the clan, and the tribe,-politics ethics, law, war, status, social amenities, festivals,—all that is good and much is bad in Bantu life is grounded in Bantu religion. Religion so pervades the life of the people that it regulates their doings and governs their leisure to an extent that it is hard for Europeans to imagine. Materialistic influences from Europe are playing upon Africa at a thousand points and may break up Bantu life; but the Bantu are hardly likely to be secularised, for they will never be content without a religion that is able to touch every phase of life and to interpret the divine in terms of humanity."

GOOD PROGRESS.

Natal 7-13-34

When the Bantu Social Centre was inaugurated in Durban some months ago, we expressed the hope that it would result in creating an atmosphere of friendliness and comradeship among those who were privileged to enjoy its facilities. Its programme of effort included a number of worthy objects, one of which was the bringing together of the many who are sincerely striving for the uplift and enlightenment of our people, and the promotion of their social and economic interests through the medium of education.

It is gratifying to know that in this regard the Centre is making material progress. Last month there was a gathering of some three hundred Zulus, Xosas, and Basutos at the headquarters. It was a spontaneous assembly, and its main object was to discuss the best means of achieving racial unity and cooperation among Africans throughout South Africa, the main theme being the killing of racialism among students and the bringing about of such fellowship as are essential to the uplift of Africans in general. The fact that the proceedings began at 10 a.m. and lasted until midnight may be accepted as an indication of the interest manifested, the meeting being fully representative of most of the leading local educational centres. We offer our sincere congratulations not only to the oragnisers of this important and interesting event, but likewise to those who participated, for the proceedings were marked by a spirit of brotherliness and camaraderie which augurs well for the future of the Centre.

Being the first of its kind, the Conference was of more than ordinary interest. The arrangements were in the hands of our own people, who alone took part in the long discussions concerning the factors which separate the various tribes. Tribal superstition, barriers of distance and misunderstanding, the failure to realise that the interests of the Bantu people are absolutely identical, and racial pride were debated in a common-sense way. Of course there were differences of opinion, but there could be no mistaking the consensus of view that education is one of the most potent factors in bringing our people to a realisation of the fact that their difficulties are common to all.

It is both important and interesting to note the conclusions arrived at. Briefly, they aim at creating goodwill and brotherhood among students of the various Bantu Institutions in Natal; emphasing the ideals and motives of education; providing of students with subjects of study during vacation time, and the establishing of closer contact and understanding with other students in order to bring about a greater measure of cooperation. In regard to culture the Conference rightly stressed the importance of cultivating a love of and interest in good music, and race relationship as are qualities that are inherent in our people. Social welfare also had a large part in the discussion, it being felt that on this subject there was need for united effort. It will thus be seen that the Conference agenda covered a wide and discursive field, and it is highly satisfactory to learn that the discussions were conducted on right lines and that much good is expected to result.

It is hoped that this was the forerunner of many such assemblies, for there is not the least doubt that gatherings of this kind are of the greatest value in spreading among our people an interest in cultural development thereby enabling them more fully to understand and appreciate what is expected of them.

ECHOES FROM THE PROTECTORATE.

Weekly News 8-25-34

By Macaia.

The Times Seem Ominous. . . . . There is no time in the history of the Sierra Leone Protectorate so momentous so pregnant with political forebodings verging on social an economic upheaval as is the present time. Allowing the necessary change to be made *mutatis mutandis* change in the changing the old giving place to the new, the country faces a new era.

Governor Hodson the popular political figure soon will bid good-bye to these shores. I am not very certain what good he meted out to peoples of the Protectorate. . . . I know he trekked through the Protectorate and that the people admired his courage when he put a shot through a pigmy elephant. . . . I know the talk of Zachariah Fee. . . . there goes his name. Wilkinson opened to us our narrow old alleys into roads and made us several hundred miles of first class roads so that you can leave Freetown this morning and be at Pujehun or at Sulima before the night over-takes you. . . . Slater, Governor Slater whose name remain tied up with the Sierra Leone Strike and more or less responsible for the taking away of the Sierra Leone Municipality. . . . Byrne's. . . . Well! . . . Hodson the man of the hour has connected or caused to be connected Sierra Leone with Western Civilization. . . . the Radio is come to stay. . . . Sierra Leone must include the Protectorate and if that is so Sir Arnold, why not give the Protectorate a radio-hook-up? Important centres of the Protectorate warrant this consideration. Mabang College, the Hatfield Archer Dispensary Rotifunk, the Harford Secondary School for Girls at Moyamba as also the sub-district headquarters of the Southern Province and Povincial headquarters at Kenema; Important educational centres as Bo, Koyeima, and Bunubu and the great Michener Hospital in the heart of Kono-land not to mention the famous Agriculture centre Njala, the gold mines of the Port Loko area . . . . think of it Sir Arnold and give us the Loud Speaker. Give a Radio hook-up and we have a memento to your good name.

The Protectorate hardly realizes what is coming on! With a new administration, comes Moore-Blood. Macaia would suggest the Protectorate be filled with Moore-new-Blood in its political make-up. Seeing that the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone is responsible for the creation and enactment of all laws governing Colony and Protectorate, notwithstanding tribal traditional prerogatives, it is highly essential that the Protectorate has a voice in the choice of candidates representing her welfare. "Rambler" reminds us that this system holds true in the Nigeria Protectorate. It holds true in South America where the university of learning functions as the electorate; such a system therefore is not exclusive to chiefs alone. Macaia suggests that Government permits men (educated men for one can find two score or three well educated Natives) of independent means if the Protectorate is to be elected to the Legislative Council. Men who would not cringe to speak the truth at the right time and not be wheeled into "I concur" thoughtlessly. The Protectorate wants men to represent her; but men who would first consult and deliberate with their several constituents before and after Council. In most instances the appointment of chiefs to the Legislature is a badge for "Look but see not. Listen, hear, but speak not." Or to put it bluntly in the Sierra Leone parlance, honourable councillor chiefs who play the *Dakah-dakay*.

We face new crisis. Rumour is afloat that reservations be created in the Protectorate; that more Mining Syndicates are coming. We might be dispossessed and our feeble rights expropriated; for it is now argued in some quarters, that we own the surface of our land and not the depth of it. Before this materializes let us join with our Sierra Leone Colony-born brothers and strike terror into grafters. We can do it if the right kind of Protectorate Councillors represent us in the Legislative Council. Educated men. Men of independent means! "Men who will march our mountains" and face Moore-Blood unafraid. There is but one way to achieve this; Compulsory Education can do this if rightly directed . . . . Who will bell the Cat!

Race Problem - 1934

Africa.

Witchcraft Discussed

By East African Anthropologists.

East Africa

One of the most keenly debated topics at the recent International Anthropological Congress in London was that of witchcraft. 8-16-34

The Rev. Edwin Smith, who presided, read a paper written by Professor Evans-Pritchard, who was absent through indisposition, and who said that the belief in witchcraft was ubiquitous in his own particular area of the Sudan, that of the Zande. He stressed the fact that in British Government eyes witchcraft was an imaginary offence because it was impossible, and because a "witch" had no existence. Yet among the Zande the main purpose in life was to counteract witchcraft, to which practically every death was attributed; indeed, the great problem after a death was to find the witch. A man killed by a buffalo, a falling granary, or by meningitis, was held to be the victim of witchcraft.

Witchcraft was not an offence until employed against someone, and even notorious witches were not ostracised. To avoid suspicion of having employed witchcraft feloniously one needed to avoid showing ill-will. Thus witchcraft helped to keep the peace. Mr. Evans-Pritchard felt that the question was not so much whether witchcraft should be regarded by us as a crime, but whether witchcraft were a fact. He felt that very little progress would be made towards persuading the African that it was imaginary until the many things with which it is bound up have been broken down.

Mr. F. H. Melland, in a paper on "The Ethical and Political Aspects of African Witchcraft," said: "Hitherto we have studied this problem from the wrong side, troubled by what shocks our ideas. We say, in effect, to the African: 'You must not accuse people of bewitching you: it is absurd. You must not have resource to ordeals: they are no test. You must not consult diviners or witch-doctors: they are evil charlatans. If you do any of these things we will punish you severely, because you are foolish people, and we know best.' It has proved singularly ineffective. This attitude also begs the whole question, which is: 'Why are these people tortured by the fear of witchcraft?'

The British Colonial Attitude Criticised.

"The one material aspect is not that the people are foolish to have foundless ideas, or that ordeals are an out-of-date form of trial, discarded by us some centuries ago with our bows and arrows (which are still used in Africa), or that witch-doctors may do dishonest things and earn illicit fees, but simply that practically the whole population believes that everyone can be, and at any moment may be, bewitched.

"To help these millions of people we have done less than nothing, for, denying them help, we have made the only help they know a crime. In their eyes we are on the side of the witches, from whose machinations as white men we may be immune, such witches being intensely real to them, and a great personal and anti-social danger. The masses believe that they can be bewitched; an appreciable number of persons believe that they are witches and do practise witchcraft; and a bigger class—it may include anyone—believes that they may be unwittingly possessed.

"At a Native witch trial by ordeal—a most ceremonious affair, formally conducted—the belief in witchcraft and the faith in the ordeal are so complete that not only the accusers believe in the righteousness and efficacy of the trial, but the convicted witch (even of the unconscious or involuntary type) believes in it just as implicitly, and so do the witch's nearest and dearest relatives. Here is no injustice in Native eyes, no crime except under our alien code.

"I would not condone the witch-killing which we call murder, and which to the Natives is execution, but there is a wide gap between such killings of witches and the executions which we carry out on those who in Native eyes are innocent and praiseworthy folk. This gulf can be bridged, and in the great majority of tribes Natives would co-operate with wonderful enthusiasm in finding a way out; but such solution is impossible so long as we hold on our present course.

"We pride ourselves on our British justice. In this matter Africans do not think us just. In June this year a judge in an African Protectorate who had been taking a murder trial with three Native chiefs as assessors complained that they had taken little interest in the proceedings, but it apparently did not occur to him that this was probably due to contempt on the part of three hereditary dispensers of justice for our methods. I do not suggest they were right; I urge that judicial methods and laws that seem wrong to all those concerned are unjustifiable. So long as we persist with our insular prejudice we are raising a barrier where we need a bridge.

"If I were to make a wax model of one of you and stick pins into it, it would do you no harm, but when a Native, A, carves a little wooden statuette of his enemy, places a horn on the top of it, and in this puts in some medicine believed to be efficacious, it is most probable that the enemy B will get ill, even die. It is still more probable if B has really injured A. It is a matter of faith.

"A, aggrieved, carves a model of B, obtains medicine, puts it in the horn, and wills B's death. B, living in dread of A's revenge, hears of it, sickens and dies. His relatives call in a diviner to ascertain the cause of death. Doubtless a *post mortem* would show natural causes, and an analysis of the medicine would be further proof that it was all bunkum; but such a verdict would be false. The witch-doctor prescribes an ordeal, and by it finds A's guilt. (No matter if the ordeal be faked and the result prearranged from inside knowledge and deduction, or because A gave himself away at the trial owing to his guilty conscience.) This verdict is in reality better than our *post mortem*. A's hut is searched, the effigy discovered; he admits he made it, and with a view to hurting B. A is then killed, not for having killed B, not as a criminal, but as a danger to the community.

"Probably we, the rulers, never hear of this. In one historic case these things were going on under the shadow of a mission, within rifle shot of the residence of the oldest white inhabitant, and a District Officer (of more than average ability) was touring the district in the very steps of the doctor who was conducting the trials. The deaths were reported to him, and he crossed them off his census—died from pneumonia, killed by a lion, and so on. A man was once beaten to death with knobkerries within a few yards of my tent. I was told of it many years afterwards by the executioner.

"In time education and Christianity can conquer the belief in witchcraft, but only if we change our attitude of blunt (and, to the Native, idiotic) denial and scorn into one of sympathy and patient explanation.

"Our courts have only cognisance of pretending to bewitch, of accusations of witchcraft, and of divination and ordeals. In some parts the newly constituted Native courts are forbidden to have cognisance of such a non-existent thing. The result is to force the believing Natives to have resource to illegal procedure, and to enhance the reputation of the witch-doctor, increase the scale of his fees, and encourage chicanery. Our attitude is purely vindictive and not remedial.

How the Problem might be Solved.

"In this system of Indirect Rule which we have somewhat impetuously imposed on the African, we tell headmen to try cases, but not when they refer to a non-existent thing like witchcraft. We tell the people to listen to their headman, and to abhor the witch-doctor—though the two may be one and the same.

"How would I deal with this problem? I would say: 'Sorry, we find we have been acting foolishly. Now we want to help you.' Unpleasant, but a necessary step. It is really no more a *volte face* than our change from direct to indirect rule. Then I would authorise all our courts, and properly constituted Native courts, to try persons accused of witchcraft and thoroughly sift the charge; then, as a sequel, I would be ruthless on irregular trials. At the trials evidence would be taken, and, if necessary, certain scheduled forms of ordeal—for a start anyhow; these things must be gradual. Then, if a person be found guilty, and not a few would plead guilty, he should be punished (humanely, of course, not beaten or speared to death, but probably relegated to a witch-detention camp), whether we believe him capable of committing a non-existent crime or not. If found innocent, the accusers, provided that their action was deemed *bonâ fide*, should be warned against repeating the accusation, as they often do in cases of acquittal by ordeal; but if the accusation be proved frivolous or malicious, they, in turn, should be proceeded against. All this would be intelligent to the Natives.

"Then, above all, I would register and license all *bonâ fide* witch-doctors (by which I mean the diviners who are called in professionally in such cases), and would with their assistance (which would be readily accorded, for they are of a jealous trade) stamp out the unqualified practitioner, who really only flourishes because of us. I would also, in consultation with them, devise a code as to what they can do and cannot do, the latitude to be fairly wide at first and tightened up later. These men are a power in the land, the ablest men in the tribe, and they would be invaluable as allies. They are a grave menace to us now, because (largely owing to the unfortunate label 'witch-doctor') and an entire misunderstanding of their status, we have proscribed them and driven them into opposition.

"Christianity by itself made little progress in Europe against witchcraft; even the Inquisition failed to kill it. The spread of education, especially the growing knowledge of science, and improved transport, lighting, and recreation, tended to change the fertile soil in which the belief flourished. These brought enlightenment and banished fear, after which Christianity was able to join in routing the belief.

"The Romans and the Normans paid much respect to our savage customs. We have followed in Roman footsteps in governance, agricultural education, and road making, but not in legal and judicial matters. Is it that we have more insular pride, or less logic, or less basic justice—or is it perhaps that the Roman rulers did not submit all such matters first to their legal advisers?

"Many disagree with my views, but I have yet to meet anyone with real knowledge and reasonable freedom from prejudice who does not admit that our attitude up to now has been a complete failure. If my ideas are impracticable, it is for them to produce better ones, and not merely to continue to follow a path that has proved to lead away from our goal.

"Everyone who has intimate knowledge in such matters knows that the word of a witch-doctor carries infinitely more weight with the majority of Africans than that of official or missionary. Is it not common sense that we should make an alliance with him?"

Lack of General Policy.

Major Orde-Browne gave a succinct summary of the laws of England on witchcraft, and a synopsis of the laws of different African Colonies, pointing out their similarities, but also their remarkable divergencies in what was penalised, and in the penalties themselves. The crime of practising as a witch-doctor incurred a penalty ranging in different States from six months to ten years, while elsewhere it did not figure. Contrary to usual procedure, the onus of proof in certain cases was put on the accused, and the scale of fines was completely out of proportion to the possible capacity of the accused to pay. The lack of definition of terms was also, he thought, unique in British law. One main feature in all these Ordinances was the obvious lack everywhere of any Native co-operation in the drafting of them. In such matters he considered "the super-imposition of the white man's laws and opinions without any consultation with the Natives to be incomprehensible." No wonder the Natives failed to understand the laws, which in their eyes were "a positive protection to evil-doers."

Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, speaking of his experience of the Kikuyu and other tribes, said they considered us illogical, unreasonable and absurd. He had heard them say that we declared there was no such thing as witchcraft, yet we not only legislated against it but used it more than they did—for they regarded as witchcraft the clinical thermometer, our knowledge of coming eclipses, blood and urine tests, gramophones, radio and the camera, and —a very important item in our administration—identification by finger prints.

To the Native it seemed illogical to execute the executioner of a witch, and he emphasised the difference between anti-social black magic and beneficial white magic. "There is no doubt," said Dr. Leakey, "that the African can be killed by supernatural powers. Also such death can be prevented by calling in someone with superior supernatural powers."

Referring to the implicit African belief that ordeals could not hurt the innocent, he said that our administrative attempts to put down this belief had been a complete failure. The solution lay in Native co-operation and the drafting of suitable measures after frank discussion. We should be much more careful in the administration of the laws, remembering that the African stood where our forefathers stood 1,500 years ago, or earlier.

In conclusion Dr. Leakey said: "Speaking as a scientist, I believe witchcraft does exist, and that laws based on the denial of its existence must necessarily be wrong."

Lawyer Denounces Our Laws.

Mr. Clifton Roberts considered we had given a fillip to black magic by our legislation, which too often put the onus of proof upon the accused, imposed fines out of all proportion to Native ability to pay, and upset the social organisation of the tribe. "On the whole, the witch-doctor was on the side of law and order, and he advocated co-operation with him as an outward sign of the social and religious life of the people.

"Do we hold Africa for the Africans?" he asked. "If so, the legal system we have imposed is entirely unsuitable. European conceptions of law and justice must be discarded as inapplicable. Our aim should be to bring to Africa justice in the true sense of the term." The enemies of witchcraft were civilisation and social progress; "but scratch the civilised man and you find the savage." The witch-doctor must be accepted, and then educated to better ways.

Mr. Roberts stressed the importance of educating the women, who would influence the next generation, and that our legal men who drafted future legislation on such subjects should be students of anthropology and of Native mentality.

In the subsequent discussion, Colonel O. F. Watkins, formerly of Kenya, said that all around us was a huge "unknown country," but with the African this belief in the supernormal was still more pronounced. The word "witchcraft" needed definition. He gave an example from his own experience of clear murder by hypnotism which, however, could not be treated as an indictable offence.

"You have," he said, "to analyse out most carefully, and I think we should encourage those who help against black magic. Witch-doctors can be a menace, but never more so than when they are not known or identified, and when they are working underground. Europeans and Africans need to get together and evolve something adequate to deal with this problem."

Mr. A. T. Culwick, of Tanganyika, said that every member of a tribe would support Government in putting down the evil sides of *uchawi* if coupled with supporting the good sides of it.

The Chairman, the Rev. E. W. Smith, asked if the human brain could not really be a transmitting and a receiving agency. If this could be granted, and he believed it should, there was a summary of the whole idea behind witchcraft. "The African firmly believes that this can be done, and I am not prepared to say there is nothing in it." (Applause.)

WHAT IS THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

(DR. SEME'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.)

There is nothing difficult about defining Congress. It is a national movement existing in the heart of every nation. The Dutch people in this country, the English, the Indians and the Coloured people each have a Congress of their own. Every Congress is a sort of National Assembly in which the leaders of each group come together to discuss matters of vital interest to their progress and their general welfare.

Men have agreed all over the world that two heads are better than one. Congress therefore represents the collective thought, expressive of the ever-growing desire and the will for self-determination which resides within every nation in the world. In other words and in other respects the Congress movement helps every nation or people to declare to the world and to themselves how they desire to develop themselves economically, politically, socially, educationally and in every other direction as a distinct body and members of that nation.

It is the duty of the leaders of the African people in this country to meet as you have done in this General Conference today, in order to study together the best interests of your own people and after the most careful discussion and consideration, to publicly make known to them which way we advise them to go. I need not tell you that your people in South Africa and Rhodesia today find themselves in a hopeless and helpless position, economically, politically, educationally and in every other position. What is out of place in the economic and political life of this country?

I sincerely wish to congratulate the leaders who have come to this Conference and have expressed the desire to settle all petty quarrels which have been a source of great disruption in the Congress movement of federation in this country. I must gratefully note therefore that this Conference has already given birth to a new spirit of patriotism. It will please all Africans to know that their leaders have resolved before this General Conference to lead their people as honestly and honourably as we can toward the one common goal, namely to make our people economically self-supporting, realising always that united we stand but divided we fall. "Yibani yimbumba yamanyama." - Ntsikane.

Our people now indeed have begun to realise that they cannot any longer find employments which they expected from the white people. The latter have to provide work for their own folk who are as poor perhaps as we are. This fact together with the "white policy" of the Government have already taken away the best jobs from us. The question therefore is whether or not the African National Congress should now assume the responsibility of developing our people along the lines which will make them more and more economically self supporting and if so what step this General Conference should take in order to raise the General National Funds or to generally organise the offices of the African National Congress for that purpose.

We must establish our own hotels, butcheries and our own stores along the Reef, Pretoria and all other cities. All these "Naturelle winkels" should really belong to us. The transportation of Africans between locations and towns should be undertaken by the Africans themselves. For this and other purposes we should have a General African Garage with branches in every city in South Africa. Now you may rightly ask me how all these things can be done since the African National Congress has no capital. It has no money today. (To be continued.)

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Fixed Salaries for Native Teachers.

In the Cape Provincial Council on the 21st June Mr. Ries, M.P.C. Cathcart asked the Honourable the Administrator:

(1) Whether any further representations have been made to the Union Government with regard to the fixed scales of salaries and increments for Native teachers in mission schools and, if so, when and how; and (2) if not, whether he will now consider the question of making such representations?

The Honourable the Administrator replied:

(1) Strong representations have been made from time to time to the Union Government with a view to securing the funds necessary to enable the Administration to apply in full the scales of Native teachers' salaries of 1928. For several years past, the Administration, when framing Estimates of Expenditure on Native education, has been made aware that no funds beyond the amount provided in the previous financial year could be made available by the Union Government. In these circumstances, and in view of the condition of the Native Development Account, it has been felt to be useless to press any further the Administration's views on the question of Native teachers' salaries.

(2) As the whole question of the financing of Native education is likely to be dealt with in the report of the Provincial Finances Commission, when this is available, it is proposed, when the Estimates of Expenditure on Native education for the next financial year are submitted to the Government for approval, to make further representations on the question of applying the Native teachers' salary scales.

6. Mr. Ries asked the Honourable the Administrator whether he is aware that the vast majority of Native teachers are totally unaware of the actual terms and conditions of their appointment and their rights and privileges to pension and good service allowance; and whether he will give instructions that the necessary information anent the above shall be supplied to them?

Mr Cunningham replied: Every Native teacher, whose appointment to a particular post is made on special conditions, is furnished with a copy of the official docket authorizing his appointment. The general conditions of service of Native teachers, and the provisions of the law and Departmental regulations in regard to good service allowance and pensions are contained in Provincial Ordinances and Departmental pamphlets, copies of which are supplied to teachers on request.

7. Mr. Meaker asked the Honourable the Administrator whether—

(1) he is aware that in certain districts in the Transkei Native teachers have arable allotments given to them free of tax and quitrent with a view to supplementing their salary:

(2) he is aware that in many districts of the Transkei and Glen Grey this privilege does not exist and that it is causing great dissatisfaction in the minds of the Natives teachers who are denied this privilege and who consequently consider themselves unjustly treated;

(3) he will take measures and get into touch with the Union Government with a view to remedying this state of affairs?

Mr. Muller replied:

(1) and (2) Prior to July 1920, the practice of the Native Affairs Department in assigning special arable allotments to Native principal teachers in some parts of the Province was recognized by the Administration, and the provision of such land was regarded as part of the local contribution towards the teacher's salary. Since July 1920, under the provisions of Ordinance No. 26 of 1920, Native teachers' salaries, as approved by the Superintendent-General of Education in accordance with scales from time to time in force, have been paid in full by the Administration, and no local contribution towards the salary of any Native mission school teacher, whether in cash or land or both, has been required.

(3) As no legal right to an arable allotment is granted to any Native teacher under the provisions of any Provincial Ordinances, it is not considered necessary or advisable to make representations to the Union Government in regard to the grant to Native teachers of special arable allotments.

UNITED INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL WORKERS UNION OF AFRICA

Stand 302, Church Street,
East Bank Location,
East London,
June 22, 1934.

Branch Secretary and
Executive Committee,
United I. C. U.,
Durban.

Dear Comrades,

This is to inform you that the Annual Conference of the United Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa which should have taken place this Mid-Winter, has been postponed until towards the end of the present year. This step had reluctantly and unavoidably to be taken owing to the very serious illness of the Acting General Secretary, Comrade Clements Kadalie who has been laid up with rheumatic fever for close on a month now. At one time Comrade Kadalie's position was very grave, but at the time of writing, we are glad to say there seems to be an appreciable improvement, although his position is by no means safe yet. The very fact that he was physically unable to append his signature to this circular must convey to our comrades the seriousness of his illness.

We have also to inform you that the text of the draft Constitution, which document will be in our possession, from our legal advisers within a few days' time, will now be at your disposal on payment of the sum 1s.6d. per copy. This small fee is charged only to cover legal and printing expenses. Each Branch is earnestly requested to order as many copies (cash with order) as they can, so as to give their Committees and members full sight into the provisions and requirements of the new constitution, and also facilities to bring in amendments or endorsements of the text at the next annual conference.

Recently the East London Branch Officials, as well as the head Office officials, were charged under proclamation No. 272, of 1934, for alleged inefficient keeping of the Union's books. We are glad to announce, however, that our legal representatives (Mr. Advocate C. J. Gardner, K.C., of Grahamstown), was instrumental to the sudden collapse of the case on the grounds of the summons being bad and embarrassing in law, and all the accused officials were discharged. This case caused the expenditure by the East London Branch of a considerable sum of money, and we are asked by your comrades here to appeal to you for financial aid, no matter how small, to defray their liabilities.

We are sure you will help us financially, considering the fact that the local Branch, in collaboration with the Head Office, is also now engaged in challenging the validity of the location regulations. Remember: Our cause in your cause also.

Finally, kindly accept and treat this circular an tantamount to the ordinary five months' notice of the assembling of the Annual Conference, so as to comply with the provisions of the Constitution under which the Conference will be convened this year.

Yours fraternally,
H. D. TYAMZASHE,
For Acting General Secretary.

Terms of Fusion.

Additional clauses to the original terms of fusion have been made by the two party political leaders. One of them purports to "unite all sections and classes into a solid people's union with a view to ensuring to every section a fitting livelihood and protecting economically the weaker sections against any exploitation." Another binds the new fusion party in declaring

itself "against any policy which has for its object a tendency to advance class warfare or to sacrifice any interests of the people in favour of organised capitalism.

From the face of these two clauses it is clear that the leaders have in mind the political resurrection of the moribund Labour party. Recent happenings in political circles have shown that the various splits from Nationalist ranks, the Malanites, the Roos wing, the Madeley labour group, the new-fangled trade union group and yet another influential group likely to hatch from anti-fusionists in the South African Party ranks in the Eastern Cape Province and Natal can easily be a source of anxiety to the centre party. In order therefore to cut the ground away from under the platform of the Labour sections, the two new clauses must be inserted to win the doubtful votes at the forthcoming provincial congresses. The very phrase "organised capitalism" savours of socialism, a scion whose engrafting into a fusion party composed of first class capitalists is difficult to envisage. However, Generals Smuts and Hertzog are at home where ambiguity rules, so long as the period of uncertainty tides them over the appeal to the electorate now being made. It does not take very much to convince the voters that their interests are safeguarded, more so when the leaders have the weapon of the M.P.'s to use as a rubber stamp of their goodwill and sincerity to the electors. The usual order of things in the body politic of South Africa has undergone a metamorphosis since Coalition. The electors to-day must be advised by their representatives in Parliament as to what is good or bad for them, and for temerity we can think of nothing to excel the conduct of the M.P.'s of the Eastern Province constituencies who sat in secret conference at King William's Town and passed a resolution to adopt fusion. It may be argued that this does not bind the electors. But what right, may we ask, have the members of Parliament for Uitenhage, Griqualand, East London, Port Elizabeth, Queenstown etc. to forestall their constituents by joining issue on a first class political question before ascertaining the views of their electors as individual constituencies? The procedure is as defiant of the voters as it is without precedent. Unless a halt can be called by the voters themselves by immediately expressing strong disapproval, we may soon find the country ruled by an oligarchy.

NOTICE OF EXTRA-ORDINARY CONFERENCE, OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

All Africans are hereby requested to take notice that the African National Congress will hold a Special General Conference in the Ibhoxe Hall, Eloff Street Extension, Johannesburg, from 11 a.m. on the 3rd of August 1934 to the 7th. All Chiefs, Native Organized Bodies and Branches of the African National Congress are hereby requested to send Delegates.

The Subject for consideration shall be the following:-

1. The effect of the Status Bill upon the Africans in the Union and in the Protectorates.
2. The Natives' Land Act of 1913 and other Anti-Native Legislation in the Union.
3. The Depressing Economic conditions and Native Labour.
4. The Native Policy under the Union Government (We propose to ask a Representative of the Government to come and address the Conference upon this subject)
5. Other urgencies.

NKOSI SIKELELA
P. ka I. SEME
President General.
ELAJAH MDOLOMBA
General Secretary.
MOSES MPAHLELA
Secretary for Chiefs

THE SIERRA LEONE
WEEKLY NEWS
Saturday, August 25. 1934.

OUR COMING ELECTIONS.

II.

THERE seems to be a grievous lack of sense of proportion with regard to the interest and enthusiasm manifested hitherto by the People with reference to the approaching election of their representatives to both the Municipal and Legislative Councils in November next. Whilst there has been great self-denial and burning zeal put forth in relation to the election of Representatives to the Legislative Council, and no less than four are contesting the two seats in the Urban District and two, the one seat in the Rural, there has not been even a single name put forth as an intending candidate for the Municipal Council. Even the National Congress, the political exponent of the people has gone the length of nominating its candidates for the former Council, but has not so much as taken into consideration the claims of the latter We sincerely trust we are mistaking—for it would have been one of the greatest blunders, a veritable handicap to progress at this important period of the Country's history, for such short-sighted attitude to be taken towards what should even receive first consideration from the people.

We quite admit that the present arrangement of the City Council, judging from what it had been even from the remote past, that is to say, long before the administration of Sir RANSFORD SLATER, is retrograde, and has not appealed to many. That may be so—but we fail to see how an attitude of indifference involving the breaking of our pledged word would afford any respect for us if that is the way we would manifest our dissatisfaction. Further, in view of the fact that we have put forth certain representations before Government resulting in certain concessions having been made, we would stand absolutely unworthy and undeserving of any further consideration for whatever claims we may yet put forth. It is for some of our young men of ability and sound judgment to enter the City Council and show some greater stability of judgment and a broader point of view than has been the case.

By such a statement we do not intend it to be understood that the present Councillors have not been doing their best—there can be no question about that. But in view of certain incidents which have transpired during the last two years, it is becoming evident that what is being claimed for the other Council, might be also good for this; that is to say, a doctor, a lawyer and a representative of the Mercantile department, would be a welcome and profitable selection.

The City Council, it has often been alleged, is intended as a training ground for the people to learn how to manage their own affairs. It ought to be as well a training ground for aspirants to a seat in the Legislative Council. It is from the achievements in the City Council of any one who may elect to go up higher that any intelligent opinion should be formed aas to his suitability for the higher seat. Our people have responded to the call of each of the candidates for the Legislative Council to hear what thay have to say. Whilst we are not suggesting that decision should be solely made from the effect of the oratory and logical efficiency of a given speaker, yet it must be recognised that in that Council men are required who possess the gift of the garb. Men who can think long thoughts; men of vision and fore-sight; men of courage, of grit and gumption. Men who will command a hearing from those who may be opposed to their views, but in spite of this are compelled to give attention because of their forceful presentation. Where ever such men could be found, it does not matter to what profession they may belong, they should be given the opportunity.

We do not think any thing would be gained by any aspirant justifying his claim by any process of traduction or vilifying. The terms indicating what qualification a given candidate should possess are clearly set forth and there should be no need for any one desiring to vent his private spleen, to try to get beyond what has been expressly laid down. There is certainly some advantage in the arrangement of a secret ballot whereby every one could indulge in the exercise of his unfettered will. We think that in view of that provision, none of the candidates should hollow until he has been "out of the woods."

We are sincerely sorry that it will not be practicable for His Excellency Sir ARNOLD HODSON to see the election through, preside over the New Council and give his last addre s before he goes to the Gold Coast. Sierra Leone would be willing to part with the Governor but there is no reason why he should be rushed so unceremoniously away, as though Sierra Leone had quarrelled with him.

Race Problem – 1934

Africa

THE ZULUS AND THEIR LANGUAGE

Ilanga Lase Natal

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"The cultivation of lingual science amongst the German-speaking people is more than equal to that of all other nations combined. The Germans not only speak every tongue of the world, but can also teach nearly every nation its own language. A German values your education, by the number of languages you speak.

Amazwi amakhulu lawo ukuba umuntu wezizwe eselufunde walugogoda ulimi lwesinye isizwe abuye kube nguyena osefundisa leso sizwe ulimi lwaso! Kuliqiniso lokho; intlala yenza leyo. Nangu umlungu uRev. A. T. Bryant owazalelwa phesheya wafika kulelizwe wafunda ulimi lwamaZulu, kepha uyena nambhlanje osefundisa abaninilo ulimi lwabo, amaZulu elona, eluhlanakezela engalubhalanga ngendlela olukhulunywa ngazo abantu.

Ngabhala lapha eLangeni ngixwayisa izifundiswa ukuba zi cophelele ekulobeni amaDiphthong kepha phinde ukunaka, uzifumanisa zibhala kanje, uNgongqayi uNongqai, uhhavi uhhai, uhhawu uhhau, ukuhawukela ukuhaukela, imbewu, imbeu, wayengekho, wa engekho, uyithume, uithume. Yinyona leyo eniyenzayo zifundiswa na? Ake nidedele umlungu anifundise ulimi lwenu, lolu enidaza inkani enkulu nithi luyoniwa, kaati lugudlwa isicoco salo ukuba sicwebezele, sikhazimule.

"Father Bryant not only speaks the Zulu language, but can also teach the Zulus their own language." Nanka amazwi akhe ngamaDiphthong: "There is no such in Zulu, notwithstanding that they are frequently seen in Zulu writing It is altogether antagonistic to the genius of the zulu language to place two vowels alongside each other in the same word. The rule in Zulu is for every syllable to commence with a consonant and end with a vowel, and where no introductory consonant exists, a semi consonant or semi-vowel is inserted to answer the requirements of the language. The connecting consonants or semi-vowels used for this purpose are mostly either w or y. These letters, again, Europeans must remember, do not represent the broad full mouthed sounds of the same letters in English; such broad sounds are unknown in Zulu. In that language the w and y are nothing more or less than simply u and i, and are heard so faintly by European ears as to go often quite undetected Nevertheless, they are always there, and a Zulu hears them distinctly. Therefore, whenever in words, simple or compound, two vowels (apparently) come together in one word, one of the euphonic semi-vowels should always be inserted in writing, in accordance with the rule. Thus we should never write, as is frequently done, waeseti (then he said)- a Zulu never speaks so—but rather wayes'eti; or, again, not umhau (feeling), but umhawu.

Laba abasikhathaza ngezincwadi bethi nokusho ulimi lwamaZulu luyoniwa benziwa ukungazi ngakho sivaba thethelela. sivabaxolela kwasho amaXhosa. Ake nifunde isilile esikhalwa ngesiNgisi ngokulotshwa kwaso okungasile.

"Examples enough have been given to demonstrate the utterly unscientific character of English spelling. "Abase Meleka sebelinga ukuloba ngendlela esile; uPlough bathi, plow, labour, labor, programme, program; cheque, check. Lokhu kuloba okusha ukululolonga ulimi lwesiZulu, lumiswa kahle izingcweti zalo.

"One of the most conspicuous defects hitherto, in regard to the zulu language, has been the very imperfect system of writing it, and one of the most conspicuous features of this Dictionary is an attempt to remove that defect by supplying a new and original method of orthography based on phonetic principles.

"Amazwi ka Rev. A. T. Bryant lawa engiwaveze ngentla. Ulimi wamaZulu uluphakamisela ezulwini loMfundisi. "The zulu language is eminently well—stocked and vividly expressive, is resourceful and plastic to all demands. It luxuriates in sweet, mellow vowel-sounds, and the quaint musical cadence of its flow rivals the most silvery-toned Italian."

Here are some zulu characteristics. "The zulus appear to be naturally gifted with an ear for the mysteries of melody, and proficiency is readily attained both in the instrumental and vocal branches of music.

"Zulu women are magnificant creatures, physically, muscularly strong, erect in carriage, graceful in movement, and statuesque in pose."

Physically the men are superb, with intelligent faces and a Native dignity that marks them as true aristocrats in their proper state and own environment. Proud and haughty as becomes the descendants of a race of warriors whose military genius secured the ascendancy in South Africa until its conquest by white civilisation, the zulus are people from whom Europeans might learn a good deal."

"In debate, of which they are very fond, they often show remarkable skill. In arguing a case they will split hairs to a Philadelphia lawyer."

JOSIAH MAPHUMULO

The Union and the Protectorates.

By SAMUEL M. MOKHETHI

The Comet

Will you kindly grant me a space in the columns of your famous and widely read journal, to say a word about the above subject, of which many writers have already aired their views.

Mochudi 7-25-34

I hold that the time is not yet ripe for the taking over of the Protectorates to the Union's Administration. It is not until the African in the Union has been given the full rights of citizenship, the opportunity to work out his destiny without let or hindrance, the opportunity to live his life to the full, the opportunity to demonstrate to the world that he should not be regarded as a mere labour asset, but part and parcel of South Africa economically, educationally, industrially, politically and socially, that the Protectorates can be taken over to the Union's Administration.

Concerning the treatment meted out to the Africans, the Union is almost a vast bazar-house of many wares, where laughter is not mirth, nor thought the mind, nor words a language, nor even men mankind. Where cries reply to curses shrieks to blows, for everyone is tortured in his separate hell, for the Africans are crowded in their solitudes many, but each divided by the wall which echoes madness in her babbling moods, while all can hear none heeds his neighbour's call.

The Union Government has debased the Africans in the minds of men, and at the same time debarring them the usage of their own, blighting their lives the best of their careers, branding their thoughts as things to be shunned and feared, thereby rendering the Black-Man to lose every vestige of citizenship with all the privileges duties and responsibilities attached thereto, and by completely excluding him from the general political economy of the land, reducing him to a position of mere however of wood and drawer of water for the white man.

Besides too, the taking over of the Protectorates is not meant for the betterment, improvement and uplift of African's conditions but for the solution of the so called poor whiteism, agriculturally, economically, industrially and politically. The white community of the Union holds that the whites' prestige and superiority (over a black man of course), can be maintained by disclaiming all allegiance to Britain, thereby upholding the first principles of freedom of movement and liberty to the black-man and by aggravating his condition. Hence the Status Bills, the Master and Servants act, and indiscriminate arrest of the notorious pick-up-van, the police brutalities to the Africans, the rampant shooting of Africans by European farmers who always say they mistake the Africans for moving objects like baboons when brought to court the partial judgments of juries, the pass laws, the civilized and white labour policies, and the Riotous Assemblies Act which debars the Africans from the freedom of speech, the right of peaceable assemblies, the right of conscience without coercion, the privilege of exchanging views amongst themselves as a nation, and from airing their grievances against the murderous policies meted out to them.

THE VERNACULAR AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION.

Ilanga Lase Natal

A PAPER READ BY A. J. LUTHULI AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE N.N.T.U.)

8-3-34

Phoenix

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT:

It is unnecessary in a group like this to stress the remarks on the importance of a subject such as the above. I take it that a group like ours takes a live interest in anything that concerns the welfare and the development of the Bantu.

The fact that the Education Department has adopted, rightly or wrongly, this policy of "the Vernacular as a medium of Instruction" interests us teachers since we are the active agents by which the Department carries into effect its policies. In order to carry out effectively these policies we must understand them and this means that we must study them and where necessary offer constructive criticisms. I am sure that this is one of the cases where the Education Department would be glad to get the viewpoint of the teachers, hence the need for others contributing to the subject after my remarks.

DIFFICULTIES IN ADOPTING A VERNACULAR POLICY.

There are many difficulties that have to be met or question to be answered by those who favour the adoption of a Vernacular Policy of Instruction. I shall mention one or two of these difficulties and endeavour to touch them directly or in directly in the course of my remarks. The difficulties I wish to mention are (1) a lack of Zul expressions or terms to express ideas foreign to Zulu; (2) the absence of text books in the vernacular; (3) a desire on the part of us, Africans, to master English which is not only the language of the ruling race but also a universal language.

ZULU LACKING ADEQUATE TERMS TO EXPRESS FOREIGN IDEAS.

Ilanga Lase Natal

Fortunately, this difficulty is not insurmountable. Zulu has shown itself to be flexible enough to take in new expressions or terms by Zuluising or inventing terms or adding new connotations to existing Zulu words. I am not at present discussing whether in seeking new expressions we shall zuluise foreign terms, as "amaJemusi" for "germs", or we shall endeavour, as far as possible, to add new connotations to existing Zulu words, e.g. "amagciwane" for "germs": the latter method seems to be the one favoured by the Education Department. I would only say in passing, whether we zuluise or whether we add new connotations to existing Zulu words, we must always make sure that the meaning is made very clear to the child. After all a word or expression is only a label to a meaning. Whether in Zulu Grammar we call the "name of a thing" "inawuni" or call it "ibizo" or for "germ" say "ijemusi" or "igciwane" is not a point I wish to stress much except to say that wherever possible I prefer the latter method in all cases where giving new connotations to old Zulu words will not cause a confusion. What I do wish to stress and to stress emphatically is that before you use the term "ijemusi" or "igciwane," etc. you must have first made quite clear the idea to which these words are mere labels. The meaning must be made clear in the language the child will understand best; and there is no doubt that in the Primary School, at least, the vernacular or mother-tongue is the language best fitted to do this.

To be continued.

Bantu Rural Life.

Native Opinion (Johannesburg)

There are phases of African social life that an outsider can never get at unless and until he becomes indistinguishably identified with the aborigines themselves. All sources of information about such phases are therefore always welcome. Those who understand the Xhosa language will find a treat awaiting them when they get hold of the new book "KUPILWA PI?" by Benjamin A. Bangeni (Lovedale Press 2/6, postage extra). This book lifts the veil over the life of the black folk in our reserves in a way that can be done only by one of them.

Of its 163 pages, the first 55 give a perfect picture of how the Natives seriously quaff their beer according to studied codes of conventional etiquette; how they inevitably quarrel and fight with calamitous results over it; argue out the resultant litigation at the local headman's court with typical adroitness; dispense a faultless and dignified verdict in closing the incident; and finally secure peace and order. Here we find primitive life in its characteristic essentials, to wit: strict observance of custom; steady self-control; glorious oratory where every speaker, right from the host and hostess to the butler and the guests in their groups of age-grades, is delightfully eloquent. The next 30 pages delineate the social life of the average mission station Natives with their problems of wedding customs and the unhappy domination of their families by the rule of women and insubordinate boys. Then follow 20 pages that expose the sad evil of witchcraft; its noticeable recrudescence in Christian circles; its ruination of Native mentality; and the pitiable efforts at self-emancipation therefrom. Sidelights of urban location life occupy the final 30 pages, in somewhat disjointed chapters that lack coherency of plot; and these are preceded by an invaluable debate led by representatives of the Sixabayi and Israelite separatist churches pitted against a clever opponent who, with cool wisdom, demolishes their erratic interpretations of the Bible upon which such indigenous organisations are often based. The author evinces true talent in his portrayal of Bantu oratory, humour and bent for dialectics. He has used his gift here in producing an informative book written with balance and commonsense. The book provides attractive reading.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa.

Suppression of Hostility.

Native Opinion

A minor sensation was created in King William's Town last week by the arrest of a Bantu named Theodore Hamilton Lloyd Kaka Mvalo under a somewhat serious charge. An infringement of Section 29 (1) of Act 38 of 1927 was alleged by the Crown to have taken place. In that Mvalo said words at a location meeting calculated to create bad feeling between Europeans and Natives. The Chief Magistrate (Mr. T. St. John Grant) occupied the bench.

In the main, the allegations are to the effect that Mvalo said the "White men have no justice or law," "White men from a religious point of view pretend to be friendly with the Natives, but in reality they are their greatest enemies. The only reason why they pretend to be friendly with Natives is because they obtain so much money from them." "Everybody in the Government is a thief and a liar," and so on.

It is not our intention to discuss the justification or otherwise of Mvalo's alleged vapourings. What concerns us most is the outstanding fact that by some strange manner, charges under this section of Act 38 of 1927 are always preferred against Black men and never against White men. In putting this Act on the statute book the Legislature had in view the insidious propaganda of Communists which was very active at the time. It was rightly and most fairly set down that any European or Native who made public statements calculated to create ill-feeling between the two races, should be brought to book. Not so long ago Kadalie and eight others only obtained their freedom before the Supreme Court at Grahamstown after a conviction by the magistrate of East London. Several other Natives in the Free State were charged and convicted under this section. Can it be seriously argued that no White man, since the passing of this Act was guilty of saying things that injure the susceptibilities of the Natives as a race? We need to look back only a few weeks when the Prime Minister of the Union threatened to get legislation passed debarring all Black motor drivers from their legitimate calling. The reasons General Hertzog gave for his action are nothing more than wilfully maligning the Native drivers, who by the way, passed a scrutinous examination in driving cars before a Government appointed official.

Act 38 of 1927 in its 29th section seems to be used against Black delinquents only. The Immorality Act, in similar manner weighs heavily in its incidence on Black miscreants. A charge under the latter Act invariably ends in a White male coming off much lighter than his Black female accomplice.

It cannot be refuted that the carrying out of laws by those in charge of them is apt to create a sharp sense of grievance which finds an escape valve in meetings such as that Mvalo addressed.

The African National Congress.

Native Opinion

(Contributed.)

9-18-34

The Special Conference of the African National Congress which has just completed its session will be remembered among the Africans for having brought about reunion and peace between the leaders of the Congress. Many of us have always regretted to see our leaders wasting valuable time quarrelling with one another instead of looking after the affairs and interests of the starving nation which they are supposed to lead. But now since the leaders have decided to pull together we hope to see the congress banner carried very high in every Province and throughout South Africa. The President General of the Congress, Dr. P. ka I. Seme has been given promises of fullest support by all the leaders and we hope that he will be able to carry his great programme through

THE GENERAL NATIONAL FUND

The Conference decided to have the collections started as soon as possible. The National Executive Committee has to give a full report to every Province and to every Protectorate about the momentous decision of the Conference to raise this general levy throughout South Africa. After this the National Executive and the Head Organising Committees whose sole business shall be to supervise the collection and the proper banking of the monies in their respective areas. The conference decided that all the books would be audited according to law so that the Chiefs and all the people may be assured that no monies will be lost under the administration of the African National Congress. Every Branch of the African National Congress is being warned and requested to keep good and proper books showing fully all money transactions of the Congress which passed through that Branch.

The President General, Dr. Seme gave the Conference notice that there was nothing in the Constitution of the Congress to compel the Provincial Secretaries to give their annual or quarterly reports to the General Secretary of the National Congress. He pointed out that such reports were necessary in order to enable the General Secretary to prepare his annual report for the Annual General Conference. Some of the delegates suggested that those Provinces which failed or neglected to send in their quarterly or annual reports should be made to pay a fine. The Conference however decided to leave the matter for the time being to the General Secretary, the Rev. Elijah Mdolomba. He was asked to write all the Provincial Secretaries and remind them about their duties and that they must co-operate with one another in order to make the Congress one well organised body.

Dr. A. Phelps Stokes.

Native Opinion

Among last year's educational travellers under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation was the Rev. Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes. 9-18-34 A happier choice could not have been made by the Board of Visitors' Grants than that of this eminent scholar, for he took his trip seriously, and brought into the report under review, his "Report on Education, Native Welfare, and Race Relations," a depth of knowledge and sympathy possessed by only few in either Europe or America. Although the book consists of but sixty pages of matter its value is beyond estimation, because it comprises summaries of every interest in the new and changing life of the African of today, all highly condensed by a master hand. In his review of the white colleges of this land he puts in bold relief what is being done for whites and not done for the blacks, correcting the unwisdom of the powers that

be in their policy. His criticisms are acute but gentle, as by a cultured mind. His appreciation of the essential qualities of the Bantu, their honesty, cleanliness, friendliness, religion, music, art, sociability and intellectuality are examined with a sympathetic but dispassionate heart. He shews how the racial situation can be improved under the lead of Dr Aggrey's policy of cooperation among all races and the already hopeful signs evident in the otherwise unsatisfactory policy of the government with its anti-Native tendency. The great value of the book lies in its constructive suggestions which constitute a firm guide to the activities that should be embarked upon by governments, educationists and philanthropists everywhere. All readers will find this report worth attention. The restraint of its expression, moderation in criticism and scholarly character of its condensation compel admiration. The Bantu are deeply indebted to the author and to his Board for this production. It is obtainable through the Institute of Race Relations.

Mr Verney And The Basuto.

The Comet (Mochudi)

"If there is any help that the Basuto wanted more than any other it was to be helped in their Agricultural persuits" said Mr Verney Principal Veterinary Surgeon, in his valedictory address to the members of the Basutoland Progressive Association on the occasion of the presentation of their farewell address to him on the 10th inst. Mr Verney has worked in Basutoland for the last twenty six years and during that period he had occasion, more than any other Government official in the Territory to travel all over Basutoland, in the lowlands and in the mountain area, on his official duties and thus had the rare opportunity of knowing most of the important chiefs and headmen in this territory and had a better advantage of knowing all the conditions of Native life in its varying degrees, and under different circumstances.

As he had stated he had nothing to do with the Native Administration but the nature of his duties were such that they brought him into personal contact with the chiefs and Basuto people in their villages

He went on from district to district to attend the Agricultural Shows. Afterwards he travelled from place to place to select the sites for dipping tanks and to supervise their construction and these are all over the territory in the mountains and in the lowlands. He talked with the chiefs in their villages explaining the dipping regulations and the responsibilities of the chiefs and headmen in helping to enforce these regulations. He met the people in the inspection of their flocks. He knew who were the good chiefs and who were the bad chiefs. He knew what grievances the people had against their chiefs and he knew where the chiefs failed to help their people.

He knows that Basutoland is suited for agriculture and that there is no part of South Africa better suited for sheep rearing than Basutoland. If a man's word has to be backed by personal knowledge and experience nobody could dare question Mr Verney's right to advise on these matters.

Erosion is playing havoc with the territory and the Basuto could have their eyes opened to this danger by being educated and enlightened. Nothing would be more helpful than agricultural schools that will not only impress this on the mind of the young and old alike but will make practical demonstration of what is required, and how each individual Mosuto in his own way could help to reduce this danger and save the territory for the future generations.

In helping the Basuto to improve their agricultural methods it must not be lost sight of the fact that in order to achieve success and real progress the present communal system of land tenure must give place to a better system that will be an incentive to every land holder not only to preserve it but to improve it. Communal system has received more condemnation from men better fitted to express their opinion on the matter than it is necessary for us to add anything. We can however suggest that some form of land policy should be introduced that will aim at improving upon the present and gradually lead to the more modern and progressive system of individual freeholds. The first step should be the introduction of a land tax.

This is more necessary because public is steadily growing against tax defaulting being regarded as criminals offence amongst the Natives. This law has, sooner or later to be scrapped out and a more progressive one of taxing the people in proportion to their wealth substituted. With such a law everybody would be at liberty to take a hand in agriculture so long as he is prepared to pay his land tax But those who have not the means to pay the required tax must give way to those who are able. In this way it would be easy to place agriculture in the hands of those people who are prepared to make the use of the lands.

A tax on the same lines should be imposed on livestock in order to check overstocking in Basutoland and to encourage the people to better and more useful and valuable breeds as against the present scrub

This system, it will be observed, aims at improving agriculture and preserving the soil of the territory and yet it is bound to bring with it new openings for employmenr for other Natives who may at present be regarded as indigent. Those who are making progress and reaping the fruits of the land will, no doubt, require their assistance in this industry and thus earn a living.

Another advantage of this system is that as time goes on the exodus of the educated and more useful people will be checked and also the periodical excursions of the youth of the territory to the labour centres, a thing which as has already been noticed, is doing the territory grave harm as these youngmen eventually lose all interest in the land of their birth and its development.

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Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Pass Law Changes.

Native opinion

The entire Bantu population of the Union is grateful to the Minister for Native Affairs (Mr. Grobler) for his partial fulfilment of a long overdue promise in the matter of modifying pass laws. Although the changes as gazetted chiefly affect the three northern provinces, leaving the Cape province in STATUS QUO, the fact of the Minister's serious attention to the subject fills the Bantu with hope that in the not distant future, further substantial revisions may be envisaged by his Department. In the Cape the disability of decent and law-abiding Natives having to carry passes under the curfew regulations still existed. That irritating pass law which prohibits Natives from outside the Transkeian Territories to cross the Kei River may be allowed to remain dormant for long stretches of time; but when the police feel like humiliating respectable ultra-Transkei Natives, they make matters distinctly unpleasant, to say nothing of the maximum inconvenience created. It may be argued that the Bunga itself supports this pass law; but wiser counsels ought to demonstrate to the Councillors that for one undesirable Native kept out of the Transkei by virtue of this proclamation or Transkeian pass law, scores of intellectual and desirable ultra-Transkei Natives are insulted and treated to studied discourtesy at the Kei Bridge. A representative of this office was delayed at Sihota bridge a few years ago, for over an hour, under the cross-examination of two police constables whose zeal to carry out a discriminating law took no account of the set-back it meant to one travelling by car. All European travellers by car passed by unmolested, much to the chagrin of the delayed Native traveller. The absurdity of this proclamation lay in the fact that no Natives entering the Transkei by train are asked to produce the same pass. Why?

Another reason why the Minister for Native Affairs should have gone further in making his concessions is that Natives who are exempt while holding official positions, lose the privilege after relinquishing their posts by pension or expiry of time. It should be the conduct and and social position of one which entitles him to exemption rather than his office.

LABOUR CONDITIONS.

Ilanga Lase Natal

SOME two years ago the Native Affairs Commission conducted extensive inquiries into the labour conditions in Natal and Zululand in general, and particularly on the sugar plantations. The results of their investigations are outlined in their last annual report, which was tabled during the recent session of Parliament. 8-31-34

It would appear that the Commission went into the various phases of the question fairly thoroughly, their inquiries including the limitation of labour recruiting in malarial areas for non-malarial areas and vice versa; the extent and availability of labour that would be immune to malaria; the scarcity of Native labour, as would appear by the use of imported labour and the reason thereof; the alleged unwillingness of Natal Natives to work and the cause of it; and whether housing and other conditions or wages in general were satisfactory.

On all these points the Commission were requested to make suggestions for the solution of the unsatisfactory labour conditions in Natal and Zululand, either by way of legislation or otherwise. To this end they visited the most important labour centres, listened to the detailed evidence of both Europeans and Natives competent to give evidence, made inspections in loco at different places, and interviewed representatives of employers and employees.

Perhaps the most interesting and important of the matters dealt with by the Commission was that of the scarcity of Native labour and the alleged unwillingness of the Natal Natives to work. In this regard the Commissioners came to the conclusion that there was more than enough labour on the farms, but that on account of the evils of the squatter system farm labour was not being used to advantage. The evidence adduced showed that various causes affected the supply of labour for the sugar area, among them being (a) well-to-do position of the Zulu because of his being in a fertile region; (b) the Zulu looks upon himself as an aristocrat and consequently prefers to choose his work, such as domestic service, police, clerk, storeboy or other employment in cities and towns rather than become an agricultural labourer; (c) he is attracted to the towns as a result of the offer of higher wages: (d) he fears malaria in the sugar area; (e) maintains that food and quarters are bad on the sugar plantations: (f) because taxes are demanded irregularly he does not feel the necessity of looking for work, his needs being adequately supplied by his own products and (g) sufficient attention is not being paid to the manner in which recruiting is done.

This list of reasons constitutes a pretty formidable indictment, and in the opinion of the Commission it contains a great deal of truth. It is pointed out, however, that the allegation that food and quarters are bad on the sugar plantations is imaginary. As to the assrtion regarding the irregular demand for taxes, the Commision rightly warns that it is against the fundamental laws of the State economy to connect taxation with labour. Taxes are paid to central revenue for general services of the State, and the suggestion that pressure be exercised in order to secure labour for certain industries cannot, says the Commission, be vindicated. In the opinion of the Commissioners, housing, food and general treatment on the large sugar estates are extraordinarily good, and they were struck by the excellent work that was being done in the direction of hospital conveniences and the combating of malaria.

In regard to the question of wages, the reduction of 25 per cent in wages was, in the circumstances prevailing at the date of their report, reasonable. Dr.

Roberts, however, expressed the view that as a commencement a reduction of 10 per cent. would have been better. In the interests of both employer and employee the Commission is of opinion than a change in the present system of paying wages in kind is desirable. With this, we think, there will be general

Seditious Propaganda in the Gold Coast.

The following letter from Dr. J. B. Danquah, which is dealt with on another page, appeared in *The Times* a few days ago :—

West African

SIR,—With reference to Lord Charnwood's and Sir Francis Lindley's letters in *The Times* of September 11 and 13 on Soviet propaganda, may I be permitted to give a pertinent example of how very dangerous it is for the Empire for Russia to be admitted to the League of Nations without guarantees that the practice of Soviet Government agents fomenting sedition in the Colonies shall cease ?

9-29-34

Quite a sensation was created recently in the Gold Coast when the Government forced a Sedition Bill through the Colony's Legislature in spite of the opposition of Gold Coast and Ashanti Paramount Chiefs who held the view that sedition was unknown in the Gold Coast, for no prosecution for sedition had ever been attempted since the Criminal Code of 1892. The Paramount Chiefs carried their protest to the Colonial Office and petitioned the King-in-Council to disallow the new Sedition Ordinance.

London

To the great surprise of the delegates, at a meeting between them and the Colonial Secretary on July 24, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister produced samples of certain Communist literature which he said had been imported into the Colony in increasing quantities during the last three years. Needless to say, the Paramount Chiefs had no knowledge that another European Power was making efforts to create sedition among their peoples, and the recent friction between the Gold Coast Government and the Paramount Chiefs must be traced directly to Soviet Russia, the primary cause of the new Sedition Ordinance.

At the interview Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, who said he was very sure of the loyalty of the Gold Coast people, read the following, among others, from a pamphlet which it was pointed out the Gold Coast Government had stopped from entering the Colony :—

> Our task is not only to defend the Soviet Union, which is the only friend and champion of all the oppressed people in the world, but we must be prepared to take advantage of the next war when it breaks out to join up with the armed forces and use the guns which the Imperialists will be forced to put into our hands, as they did in 1914-1918, to strike a final and decisive blow for the freedom of the Negro peoples in Africa, the West Indies, and America, and for the emancipation of toiling humanity from the fetters of the capitalist slave system.

Many of the ideas and phrases in this paragraph are utterly foreign to the political conceptions of Gold Coast Paramount Chiefs. Most certainly the people have their own particular problems of government and industry, but it has never occurred to them to use British guns against Britain, nor is "oppression," "toiling humanity," or "capitalist slave system" so glibly used in Gold Coast newspapers or on its political platforms.

Nevertheless, owing to this type of Soviet propaganda, it is now the misfortune of Gold Coast people to have on their Statute Book an Ordinance that enables the Governor to prohibit any kind of advanced political literature from entering the country if, "in his opinion," such literature is seditious. Unfortunate recipients of this type of detestable publications sent to them from abroad stand the risk of being arrested "forthwith" and prosecuted under the new Ordinance. Entirely undesired by them and unknown to them, Soviet interference with the political peace of the Gold Coast people has compelled them to accept an Ordinance which, unless applied with particular care, will most likely lead to increasing friction, hitherto unknown, between the Government and the governed.

May I therefore point out with Lord Charnwood and Sir Francis Lindley that "friendly co-operation" with representatives of a Government known to be "actively engaged in trying to ruin" parts of the British Empire is only to be welcomed on the understanding that such practice shall cease. It will not be easy for the Paramount Chiefs of the Gold Coast to appreciate the desire of his Majesty's Government to sit in friendly co-operation in the League Council with a European Power whose activities have not only led them to unnecessary trouble with their own Government, but have put them to the expense of sending a futile delegation to the Colonial Office.—

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. B. DANQUAH, Secretary, Gold Coast and Ashanti Delegation to the Colonial Office.

21, Knightsbridge, S.W.1.

Two Sides of a Question.

West Africa

THE "Morning Post" publishes an article in which, after stating that the total of Japanese textiles to be admitted into Nigeria in 1935 is 2,300,000 square yards, and that the quota from May 17, 1934 (when it was first applied), to December 31, 1934, is proportionately about the same quantity as that for the year 1935, it is remarked :—

10-13-34

> During 1934 the Nigerian Government has exercised its right under Section 6 of the Importation of Textiles (Quotas) Ordinance, 1934, in allowing large consignments, shut out by the 1934 quota and in excess of it, to be imported on payment of an additional 25 per cent. import duty ; while the question of permission to import further large consignments is still under consideration.

London Times

> In view of the 12 months' notice which was given by his Majesty's Government in 1933 to terminate, as from May, 1934, the Most Favoured Nation Clause in the Treaty with Japan, so far as it applied to Nigeria, it is a little hard to see that injustice would have been done to importers of Japanese textiles if importations, in excess of the 1934 quota, had been definitely shut out of the country.

Exception is also taken in the article to the admission of textiles from Russia, comparable in price with those from Japan.

It is curious to note the assumption, in the paragraph above quoted, that the only parties the Nigerian Government has to consider are the importers of textiles, be they of Russia, Japan, or Great Britain. A newspaper such as the "Morning Post," with its long experience of Colonial questions and its undoubted desire to strengthen the ties holding the countries of the Empire to each other, might surely have reflected that the first and the overriding consideration of the Nigerian Government must be the necessities and the interests of the people of Nigeria, some 20,000,000 or so. A terribly large proportion of that huge total has to live, in these depressed times, on the equivalent of one of our pennies per day. Do the "Morning Post" and those who think with it ever ask themselves how the people of West Africa are to be in a position to buy more imported goods higher priced than those from Japan, unless this country can bring about a considerable improvement in the prices paid to the African producers for *their* goods in turn ?

It is to be borne in mind that the quota policy is barely at work, yet ; in any case only on its trial. Sir Abe Bailey, whom we had supposed to be among the warmest supporters of its principle, in a letter in the "Times" offers in regard to its possibilities a comment which is worth consideration, even on the part of those who are far from believing that Japan's power will reach the point suggested by him :—

> The British Empire is now creaking in all its joints, and nothing illustrates the contradictions of our economic policy more than the attempts to check the competition of Japan, whose absorption of China is only the beginning of an ambition which may ultimately make her top dog of the world. By forcing the Colonies to curtail their purchases from Japan we are running the risk of repeating the blunders which lost us the American Colonies, and at one time caused serious friction between us and Canada. The day of the trusteeship of the Colonies has passed, and though the refusal of the Imperial Government to hand over the Protectorates in South Africa to the Union Government may be justified on the ground of consideration for the Natives, we are at the same time depriving the coloured people throughout the Empire of the one thing which they really desire—plenty of cheap goods from Japan or elsewhere. Our economic policy is too indefinite ; it is a policy of hand to mouth.

The African producer might add that whatever the hand is doing, it is not filling his mouth.

Race Problem – 1934
Africa.

"CHRISTIANITY SHOULD HAVE NO COLOUR BAR."

KUNWAR SIR MAHARAJ SINGH THE AGENT-GENERAL FOR INDIA SPEAKING AT FORT HARE ADMITTED SIGNS OF ACTIVE CO-OPERATION BETWEEN INDIANS AND THE BANTU. THE FORMER'S PAST CONTRIBUTED TO BANTU DEVELOPMENT.

Native Opinion
9-25-34

The Agent General for India, the Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, has been visiting Fort Hare and Lovedale.

In addressing the students of the Native College, he dwelt on the duty of co-operation. It was easy to excite racial feelings, he said, but in spite of difficulties the narrow parochialism of racialism was a dying creed. They had seen the devotion of many Europeans. There had alas, been reasons for bitterness, but mere bitterness could never have any constructive effect.

In Islam, he said, there was no colour bar. There should be none in Christianity. If the practice of the colour bar had been universal there would have been no Lovedale and no Fort Hare.

Co-operation was producing incrediblle changes in India. During the past 25 years the Indian had received entry into the Government of India and into its provincial governments. The position of women was rapidly changing. They had women as stateswomen, women as magistrates, as members of Parliament, justices of the peace, writers and poetesses. The same movement was to be seen in Africa.

He reminded them that South Africa was not the whole of Africa. There had been an African bishop in West Africa, an African king in Uganda, an African attorney-general in Guiana and similar high offices in Mauritius and Tanganyika. In South Africa the advance during the past five years would have seemed impossible a generation ago, so he refused to be a pessimist.

As between the Indian and the Bantu there also had been effective co-operation. The Indian had something from his past to contribute to the Bantu. The latter had their courage, their joyous spirit, their love of music, ready hospitality and kindheartedness. They could benefit each from the other and at the same time preserve their race identity just as the rose and the lily grew side by side and each contributed to the total beauty of the garden.

The African National Congress.

(Contributed.)

(Continued.)

NEW TRADING ASSOCIATIONS.

Native Opinion

The African National Congress did not wish to discourage any other independent African interprise which our people may desire to start along the Reef but the Conference must warn these people against using the good name of the Congress in any way whatever. The African National Congress will give ample publicity before starting any business undertaking. The people must therefore take care not to be misled by irresponsible collectors and organisers whose names have not been previously published in the Native Press as authorised officers of the African National Congress. The President General explained that it was true that the Congress would soon open up National Co-operative Society shops along the Reef and in other places. There was no reason why these National Co-operatives, under patronage of the African National Congress should not prove a success and help to make the wages of the Africans to circulate among ourselves. That is why the Indians and the

Chinese are economically independent. The Africans bring in thousands of pounds into locations every Saturday and if most of this money was kept to circulate among the Africans themselves we would soon be able to employ one another just as the Indians and Chinese are able to do. It is true that we Africans have to learn a great deal yet from these people from Asia but we can learn and it is high time for us to begin our own business enterprises and to start the National Fund which will help us Africans to look after our own widows and orphans. Anyway that seemed to be spirit which was displayed by this whole conference. The Africans seem to be tired of fighting with one another like children. Even the Congress has reached the age of maturity and the leaders have decided to prove before all men that they can work together.

THE HOUSE TO HOUSE ORGANISING COMMITTEES.

The President General proposed that they should form a House to House Organising Committee and that the principal work of such committees shall be to keep the fires of the Congress burning in every location and Native Township along the Reef The committees should be composed of all leading ladies o such townships together witl wives of Congress officers. These ladies can do much work for the congress and the local branches during their visits from house to house asking for the pennies and tickies to keep the congress fires going. The Rev. Elijah Mdolomba, the General Secretary of the African National Congress was appointed and authorised to establish such committees along the Reef and to work in conjunction with the following ladv members of the head committee: Mrs. D. Letanka, Mrs. H. N. Pilane, Mrs. G. Lesabe, Sister S. Mkauli, Mrs. Mankazana, Mrs Desia Bokaba and Mrs. Ruth Festile. The Head Committe was given power to add.

The members of the Select Committe are remaining after the conference in order to complete the work of the conference and to help the National Executive Committeee to carry into effect the resolutions passed by the General Conference.

Nationalisation of Mendi Memorial.

We have several times advocated in these columns an authoritative and business-like organisation of memorials that affect the Bantu as a nation. Regrettable depredations have been made in the past, by self-appointed philatelists much to the detriment of worthy and deserving national causes. The Mendi annual commemoration has provided unscrupulous devotees with a most convenient weapon of fleecing the black and white sympathetic public. Funds are collected by unknown individuals who only come into the picture when the anniversary is near at hand, and after the celebrations the so-called cheap organisers vanish into their usual obscure haunts.

A recent glaring example of the activities of this class of parasite is that of the Prophet Ntsikana memorial which did not materialise this year. During the latter part of last year much publicity was given to a forthcoming mammoth centenary celebration of Ntsikana Day, this being advertised to take place in King William's Town during Easter of this year. In this town and district we know of names of traders who subscribed liberally to an imaginary fund circulated, on promises made that the advent of this centenary would bring considerable business to traders by virtue of thousands of Natives who would forgather in this capital of Kaffraria. No Ntsikana national centenary came off, due, it was stated in another newspaper, to lack of funds.

Our object in bringing these facts to light is to stimulate the conscience of the whole Xosa, and for that matter, Black race, into new activity. It is a national duty to perpetuate the memory of aboriginal saints, prophets and heroes in war, and not a matter to be left in the hands of enthusiasts whose aim is to do justice to their pockets at the expense of the nation. Thus, it came as welcome relief to read in a recent circular of the creation of an influential committee in Johannesburg, drawn from all religious and secular organisations to consolidate the foundations of the Mendi Memorial.

This committee will, for the first time, float its programme on a national scale. We trust its endeavours will be crowned with the success it rightly merits. The circular announces the election to office of Canon A. M. Rakale as Chairman of Committee, Revd. J. S. Mahlangu, Assistant Chairman: Mr. H. Selby Msimang, Hon. Secretary and Organiser: Revd. B. M. Sechaba, Assistant Secretary: Messrs Howard Pim and Hardy, Treasurers and further reports the decisions of the Committee as follows:—

"After some discussion on the question of relationship between the Committee and the Interdenominational African Ministers Association, representatives of the latter body assured the meeting that their Association felt that the movement had essentially become a national one, and one which should be in the hands of a national body composed of representatives of various interested organisations and groups, and that in their opinion it was time the institution had a constitution of its own. Whereupon it was resolved to invite all organisations, associations and other groups interested in the movement to apply for representation in the Committee, furnishing the name and address of their respective representatives to the Hon. Secretary, 10, Adams Arcade, 37, Commissioner Street, Johannesburg. Further that an appeal be issued through the African press to all interested to organise local committees and forward the names and addresses thereof to the Hon. Secretary as soon as possible."

"Anent the Constitution: Canon Rakale urged that a Constitution be now prepared as many interested persons desired to know just what this institution was and what its objects were. A draft constitution was submitted and the consideration of which was referred to the next meeting to be held during September, 1934.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

FORMHTION OF BANTU TRAINED NURSES ASSOCIATION.

DURBAN BRANCH.

(By Ethel L. Setaba.)

Great enthusiasm has been created in Durban and the adjoining Mission Stations by the formation of a Trained Nurses Association. On the afternoon of the 22nd the Mission Nursing Home opened her doors wide to receive nurses from far afield as Mbumbulu, Inanda, Umlazi Mission and other centers. The response made by over 15 Nurses all bent on working together and advising one another in matters of difficulty gives one confidence that the formation of this all-important Association is no passing fancy.

Miss Cooper, Matron of the Hospital received the visitors and Mrs. E. L. Setaba was voted to the chair. After a brief outline of what the nurses were required to do, the meeting felt unanimously in favour of the formation of such a body. The following office-bearers were elected:

Miss Cooper Matron of the Hospital.

Mrs. E. L. Setaba, President.

,, M. Ngcobo, Vice President.

Miss Langeni. Hon. Secretary.

Miss G.L. Gumede, Treasurer.

Members of the Committee are as follows: Mrs. C.H. Makhanya Mrs. E. Hlongwana, and Miss E. Maxegana.

Miss Lazarus, Secretary of the European Association who was also present together with Miss Moodie, Sister at the Addington Hospital spoke in very encouraging terms and congratulated the Bantu Nurses for having taken the initiative to move on, and wished Association every success.

The business was concluded with a very pleasant and enjoyable social hour tea and light refreshments being served.

PASS REGULATIONT.

.....

The new pass regulations are supposed to be a great step forward. A list of classes of persons entitled to be exempted from the operation of the pass laws has been published by the Department of Native Affairs. Persons entitled to be exempted include the following: Policemen, chiefs, headmen, members of the Advisory Boards, priests in Government recognised churches, teachers in state-aided schools, all-clerks, and interpreters, in public services,, officials of the Native Affairs Department, and finally any Native of good character and repute who is certified by the Native Commissioner or Magistrate to be a fit and proper person to be exempted and is so exempted by the Minister. The Minister has the right to refuse to allow an exemption certificate to be issued to anyone who would otherwise qualify for exemption under the above conditions. It is therefore plain that no African, no matter what his position or qualifications, can claim exemption simply by his own right. In every case the Minister has the last word and may refuse an exemption to an African who who has every educational and occupational qualification. However half a loaf is better than no bread.

JOSIAH MAPHUMULO.

WHY ETHIOPIA BUYS ARMS

To the Editor of The New York Times:

The following is a translation of an answer sent to me by Gheta Hal Minister of Propaganda in the Abyssinian Government, in reply to a question about recent events in Abyssinia (Ethiopia), especially concerning the relations between that country and the two countries Italy and Japan.

Lately articles have appeared in various European newspapers the contents of which are apt to mar the good relations between Ethiopia and her neighbors. They speak of large importations of arms and ammunition into Ethiopia, the military training of entire tribes, fabulous concessions to the Japanese and the preferential treatment of the latter in commerce and industry! They say that Ethiopia is preparing an aggressive war and is aiming at an armed conflict with Italy.

But what is the truth, easily to be proved?

Having signed an agreement with her three neighbors, England, France and Italy, Ethiopia is discarding by degrees her worn-out arms and is replacing them with modern ones, just enough to be able to maintain order in the country and the security of her government. In proportion to her size and population, there is no country in the world which has fewer arms than Ethiopia and which spends less for her army and her means of defense. Military instruction is restricted to a few thousand men.

In regard to Japan, the relations between the two countries are quite normal. Like the subjects of all nations that have signed a treaty of friendship and commerce with Ethiopia, the Japanese can acquire concessions and trade in the country. It is, however, a fact that until now no concession whatsoever has been given to them, that their trade is insignificant and that there are scarcely a dozen Japanese in the country.

Ethiopia has always shown that she wishes to live in peace with her neighbors, that she conscientiously fulfills her engagements and that nothing is further from her mind than an aggressive policy. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER.

Toronto, Ont., Oct. 15, 1934.

HER MARRIAGE AND TRANSFERENCE OF THE IMBUMBULU CHURCH.

When eligible she married a local rich heathen Manjangaza Nxumalo, who was afterwards known as George Gaqa. As the Imbumbulu Church was then virtually herself she had to carry it with her to her new Kraal.

HER HUSBAND GOES TO SCHOOL.

She converted her husband and sent him down to Adams Seminary where for four years he took the Bible Course and also received training in house-building, wagon-making and tree-planting.

HER HUSBAND SUPPERTS HER WORK.

When George Gaqa returned from school he carried on Evangelistic Work. He helped the early converts by building them civilized houses. His own brick building and many early houses at Imbumbulu stand as a tribute to the work of his hands.

He also planted fruit and timber trees. This has beneficially influenced the community. About 1900 this fine work was recognized by the Native Affairs Department, which gave him a bag of wattle seed with which to encourage the people to plant more trees.

THE CHRISTIAN CLUSTER.

He also provided allotments from his father's land holdings for the residence of converts who left their heathen kraals to cluster around him and the church for a congenial Christian atmosphere. Up to this date this cluster of Christian homes around the church is named "Emakolweni" meaning, George's Christian Cluster."

BUILDING THE PERMANENT IMBUMBULU CHURCH HOUSE.

When it was felt that the converts were mature enough to appreciate and bear the responsibility of a church, these Gaqas took the church out of their kraal and established it where it now stands on the border of Gaqa's and Tobi Makanya's holdings. Without remuneration George Gaqa laboured for the Christian Church at Imbumbulu until his death in 1906.

THE PRESENT IMBUMBULU CHRISTIAN SOCIETY.

In setting up this society both these Christians made their contributions and have left Imbumbulu with the traditions of:-

(a) Fine Homes.

(b) Developement of Residential Allotments.

(c) Hospitality and love of sharing with others what one has himself received.

(d) Passionate love for clean-

liness.

These good people lived al of these things during a'l their pioneering lives and have thus handed them down to us as community traditions.

Even after their death their fine brick house, their gardens of fruit trees, timber, etc., their neatly planted hedges and the general outlay of their homesteads continue to speak and to influence those remaining behind to go on building up a better and better community.

And all had its source in the Gospel of Christ.

H. M. S. MAKANYA.
Supervisor of Native Schools.
Imbumbulu.

MRS. GEORGE GAQA.

PIONEER MEMBER OF THE IMBUMBULU CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

Ilanga Lase Natal

9-7-34

There passed away on Saturday, July 21st, 1934 at the Mission Nursing Home, Durban, Mrs Laura Zihlazile Gaqa, a pioneer member of the Imbumbulu Christian Community.

HER EARLY AGE.

She was the daughter of Tob Makanya who was headman of the Imbumbulu district. Mrs Zihlazile Gaqa at the age of ten went with her sick mother and two younger brothers to her mother's people, Chief Sojuba Mvuyana, at Umzumbi M.S. Her mother died there after an illness of one year The three children grew up then with their mother's people.

HER SCHOOL & LIFE.

Mrs. Gaqa was very fortunate in being taken over by the good old Missionaries, the Rev. Robbins. These must have trained her very carefully for the building of the Kingdom of God as some of these praises of her mouth explain it.

(a) CLEANLINESS. Mrs. Robbins had it that a Christian must always go to Christ to be cleansed; and in like manner a Christian must always be clean, trim, and keep in order his physical and material possessions.

(b) HOSPITALITY. She said that Christ came in all sorts of strangers and hence she never turned away any stranger seeking nourishment and shelter.

(c) TEACHING OTHERS. She always taught those around her or those who had fled from the wrath of heathenism.

(d) COOKING. Apart from cooking European food well she also had us make very appetizing dishes from Native foods.

Thus Mrs. Gaqa virtually became a Mission - house child, housemaid and general helper. In this way she learned and acquired all the valuable lessons and habits of sanitation, cleanliness, good cooking, hospitality, etc., which habits she lived all her life and extablished as Imbumbulu traditions.

HER COLLEGE EDUCATION.

Her kind Missionaries sent her to Inanda Seminary where she took and completed the then academic and industrial courses. Back she went to her missionaries to teach and work to provide for her younger brothers while taking their courses at Adams Seminary.

BUILDING A HOME AND CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

The children having finished their schooling they went back to their father and their people at Imbumbulu. Their people were at that time all heathen. Her brothers went to work in Durban while she remained at home winning her heathen brethren for Christ, teaching them the Gospel, also to read, write and count. The Church and school were then established at her father's kraal right on top of the Imbumbulu Hill.

Basutoland Council.

The Comet

The twenty-ninth session of the Basutoland Council was opened by His Honour Sir John Sturrock on the 22nd inst. 9-26-34

The heads of Departments and other government officials were present as also some local European ladies and gentlemen.

The Paramount Chief in spite of ill health had attended. Owing to knee trouble he is supporting himself with crutches in walking. Most of the principal chiefs were present. Notable among the absentees were chiefs Sempe, Boshoane, Setsomi and Majara.

Quite a good number of Native visitors attended the opening of the Council.

Sir John, in driving to the Council Chambers was escorted by the Basutoland Mounted Police and was received at the gate by J. H. Sims, Esq. acting Government Secretary

After Rev. Mr. Motsamai was asked to read the prayers, His Honour read the High Commissioner's message to the Council. This was followed by the Presidential opening address.

His Excellency in his message took occasion to give his last word of advice to the Chiefs and among other things said: "I should not be a good friend if, in leaving you, I said only things that are pleasant, and if I did not tell you quite frankly those things which in your own interests it is necessary that you should hear." It is quite clear from the preceding words that His Excellency had made up his mind to be plain with the Chiefs and to awaken them from their slumber. His words of warning and encouragement, as will be seen from his message which appears elsewhere in this issue are strong words and we hope that the chiefs will take heed of them. The apathy of the chiefs in the performance of their duties towards the people in their charge has greatly undermined the respect to which they were held as descendents of the Great Moshesh Instead of continuing the noble work that the father of the Basuto had started they are, we regret to say, destroying it. Advice has always been given them by the Government officials and by their educated people but though they listened to it with seeming interest yet they have never made any attempt to do something for the territory and their people. Matters have gradually gone from bad to worse with the result that to-day the Basuto are gradually getting estranged from the house of Moshesh and his grandsons whom they regard as a drawback to the progress of the territory.

Let us hope, however, that these words from Sir Herbert Stanley will impress them and that they will bestir themselves and be alive to their duties as leaders of the Basuto nation.

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Race Problem – 1934

Africa

New Deals in Africa Too?

West Africa

ALMOST all of us, outside the United States, have different opinions as to the exact intention and likely effect of this or that feature in President Roosevelt's policy, which has come to be known as the "New Deal." Probably all of us, however, have hailed it with respect and goodwill as a manful attempt, in a sorely perplexed world, to make as much of a fresh start as is possible, as we have hailed the equally manful attempt by Australia. It is becoming increasingly clear that "new deals" will also be necessary in the British Crown Colonies, if ancient loyalties to the British Crown are properly regarded, and one-time ability to buy British goods is to be restored, to a point at all events less unsatisfactory than now obtains. A few weeks ago British-West African trade organisations put forward far-reaching enquiries and suggestions, and the "Morning Post" of Tuesday gives us news which shows that the urge towards a new policy is felt in French Colonies no less than British. M. Carde, an able and experienced French Colonial statesman, speaking at the Congress of French Overseas Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture, insisted that the time has come when the interests of producers overseas must have the same consideration as those of the home producer; that the fiscal system must be changed; that Colonial Governments in whose territories profits are made must have a greater share of those profits; and that such reforms are no special favour to Colonies, but the just due of Colonies.

The progress achieved by M. Carde and his supporters in their movement will be noted with great sympathy and interest in this country, whose West African trade representatives, it will be recalled, some years ago took part in what promised to be useful exchanges of view between French and British West African business men. If France adopted a policy in line with M. Carde's advice, that fact would be a very powerful argument indeed in favour of a change with us also.

A matter which will have to be closely considered as part of any "fresh start" is the question of the high interest still paid on many Colonial loans. The action just taken by Nigeria is welcomed as an instalment, but as this newspaper has urged for months past, the whole position requires examination, in face of the economies effected by conversions here and in the Dominions, especially when we reflect that these loans have an implied British Government guarantee, in the fact of British administration. Having been for months a lone voice in our press in asking for remedial action in the matter, we note with interest and satisfaction that the City editor of the "Daily Express" has taken up the question with vigour, as is evident from these remarks by him in an article on Wednesday:—

> While British Government stocks are rising and the Home country and the Dominions have been able to obtain great relief by converting their debts to lower interest levels, the Colonial Empire is still being compelled to carry heavy debt burdens.
>
> Altogether there is £125,000,000 of debt issued on behalf of the Colonial territories. The average interest rate is over 5 per cent. Several of the interest rates are 6 per cent.
>
> The weakness of the position is that, in many instances, the debts are not redeemable for several years.
>
> For instance, Kenya is paying 6 per cent. interest on a £5,000,000 loan which is not redeemable until 1946. The Gold Coast is paying 6 per cent. on £4,000,000 of stock which is not redeemable until 1945.
>
> All these high interest stocks stand at high prices in the market. The Kenya stock is quoted at £122¾, and the Gold Coast stock at £124.
>
> When these stocks were issued the rates of interest were doubtless justified, and not difficult to meet because of the high prices of the commodities which are produced from the territories concerned. To-day, however, the picture is different. Prices of commodities in these territories are in many instances one-third of what they were in 1930, and the people who have to bear the debt are sorely oppressed.
>
> There is here a strong case for an analysis of the position by the Colonial Office, and possibly a consolidation of the whole Colonial Empire debt on a basis which will reduce the burden.

"We have to get back as quickly as possible on to a 3 or 3½ per cent. basis," is the kind of remark one hears among business men; and if the naturally rich West African territories, and their industrious people, are to be replaced in anything like their former position, we must ease their heavy interest burdens, and thus improve their outlook as buyers of our goods.

Nor is it in economics only that we need a new grasp. Dr. Danquah's letter in "The Times" this week, reproduced in another column, states, with the force that ever goes with moderation, the need for a new handling of political problems also. The position disclosed by the Gold Coast Sedition Ordinance would be laughable, if the stake were not what it is. We are faced with something entirely new in our Colonial history. A nation, or rather, a small group of adventurers in charge of national machinery, wishes to break up our Empire. It need not act directly; all it has to do is to get some hundreds of names and addresses at, say, the Gold Coast, and post to them seditious literature, utterly out of accord with their known character and record, whereupon, not the senders, as one might suppose, are proceeded against, but the victims! It seems, especially considered in conjunction with existing economic hardships, an odd way of going about the great and inspiring work of strengthening the old ties between West Africa and Great Britain.

The Nigerian Courts System.

A Reply to Criticism.

SIR,—We live in an age of trade unions. Indignation is aroused in certain circles if a carpenter swings a blacksmith's hammer, or a gas-fitter repairs an electric bell. Nigerian doctors are alarmed that Africans not fully qualified are to be licensed to aid the sick and to cope with epidemics, and in your last number (September 15, p. 1,020) Mr. Reney-Smith, M.A., expresses his wrath that non-members of the Bar still exercise judicial functions in Nigeria under the very vigilant eye of highly qualified lawyers and judges. Before the reader unacquainted with Tropical Africa an alarming vision is conjured up of harsh bureaucrats, ignorant of the law dealing with intricate legal problems, and inflicting savage sentences in an arbitrary manner on the innocent.

West Africa

After lengthy experience of the judicial system of Nigeria, I am in a position to assure readers of WEST AFRICA that in few countries, certainly in few newly developed lands, do litigants get so full a hearing as in Nigeria, and I know of none in which criminals are so often given the benefit of the doubt or are discharged on more legal quibbles when their guilt has been proven to the hilt. That remark applies both to the Supreme Court and to the now defunct Provincial Court.

9-29-34

Mr. Reney-Smith's complaint is that a number of administrative officers, some with and some without legal qualification, will continue to sit on the Bench of the High Court. In most cases their jurisdiction will be limited, and only in remote localities will it be at all high. In any case counsel is admitted freely under the new law, and the right of appeal is given easily. Be it interpolated here that under the old dispensation, i.e., the much reviled Provincial Court, a party desiring to appeal could do so in practice, although technical difficulties might have to be overcome. The conception is erroneous that the judgment or sentence of an administrative officer exercising jurisdiction was in true fact the last word in a case, in spite of the letter of the Code. It was true that if counsel wished to appear he had to obtain a transfer of the case to the Supreme Court, but that could always be obtained if the cause or action in question involved a deep knowledge of law.

Lunda

The new order of things is undoubtedly more satisfactory to lawyers than was the old. I am less certain whether it will prove to be an unmixed blessing to the population of the Protectorate. If one party is represented by counsel, the other party in a suit is obliged to employ it, and the fees are often ruinous. The forms of the law may be observed more rigidly, but will there be more justice, more kindly understanding of the mentality and motives of the people? I doubt it! The words of an African in a prominent position deserve to be given in this connection: "I cannot understand why you British

bring into Court men whose function is to veil the true facts of the case from the judge trying to elicit them."

Mr. Reney-Smith suggests that administrative officers are ignorant of the law. Actually they have to prove that they have a reasonable knowledge of it, and that they are conversant with procedure. Cases involving deep learning as regards technicalities and precedents are dealt with by duly qualified men. The procedure customary in our Courts to determine the history of a piece of farm land in Africa or to decide the guilt of a person charged with burglary can be directed by men of suitable character and training, even though they are not members of a lawyers' trade union. True, everybody interested in the question can quote examples of miscarriage of justice and occasional ludicrous errors in law made by unqualified justices. But for the worst I ever heard of qualified men were responsible.

Again, is the unqualified magistrate confined to Nigeria? Numerous unqualified men and women adorn the Bench in this country, and nobody objects. A great deal of jurisdiction in Nigeria is in the hands of African dignitaries, who administer much British-made law, although they do not quote its paragraphs. Mr. Reney-Smith is silent about them.

In the article referred to it is suggested that the Native population cannot criticise competently the Courts which dispense justice. Nothing transpiring in the Courts escapes the notice of the people, and the most trifling grievance is given publicity in the Press and in the Legislative Council. Graver even is the mis-statement that the Administration distrusts legal knowledge. On the contrary, it takes no action whatever without consulting its qualified legal servants. This frequently exasperates business men, who are put to unnecessary trouble and lose valuable time because nothing can be done without the approval of the legal department; and the mill of the law grinds but slowly. As for the alleged redundancy of senior, and therefore experienced, officials, Mr. Reney-Smith should study statistics dealing with the number of civil and criminal cases, including appeals and reviews connected with Native Courts, which were dealt with by administrative officers in the Southern Provinces during the past few years, not forgetting that these officers have many other duties to perform. A surprise awaits him. A net additional sum of about £14,000 is being expended this year to implement the new High Court scheme. In spite of financial stringency, that expenditure is justified, because it will to some extent relieve a body of men who in some parts of Nigeria have in the past been overworked to an almost unbelievable extent.

"EQUATORIAL."

London, September 22.

RACE INTEGRATION.

IT is always interesting to read what visitors from far off lands have to say concerning our people and their future, provided always that they do not attempt, as many have done, to express opinions based upon a superficial knowledge of the subject. We have already referred to the remarks of Professor Malinowski, of London University, with whom we found ourselves largely in agreement.

Another equally important pronouncement on the Native question was made about the same time by Professor C. W. Coulter, who is a Professor of Sociology at the State University of Ohio, who has evidently gone to considerable trouble to arrive at a reasonable and commonsense conclusion regarding the various means whereby the integration of the racial groups in Africa might be achieved. Unlike some of those carpet-baggers who have attempted to tell South Africa how its Native problem can be solved, Professor Coulter is neither dogmatic nor dictatorial. On the contrary, he displays a sense of perspective which adds materially to the value and interest of his views. He is on the right track in saying that it is not a question whether Africa is to be a white or a black man's country, and that the white man is here to stay.

History teaches that in other parts of the world where white civilisation has made contact with primitive peoples, the latter have been gradually eliminated or have entirely disappeared. The Bantu, however, have stubbornly refused to do this, indeed it can be claimed that to-day he is more prolific than ever. He is of Africa, and in Afrrica he will remain. For the good of both races it is essential that there should be a cooperative basis of relationship which will minister to the self-interest of both. It is undoubtedly true that the white man is constantly fearing that the Native will supplant him in industry. This fear rests upon a fallacy as fundamental as it is pernicious. Far from being a menace, the Native is Africa's greatest asset if properly understood, and his advancement should be encouraged in every posible way In America there is an ever - increasing respect for the Negro, whose industry, thrift and intelligence has greatly advanced his position. Professor Coulter does not advocate racial fusion, nor does he presume to suggest the procedure for reducing the various racial disabilities. In this he emphasises his sound judgment, and sets an example to those who, upon a casual survey of conditions, have the effrontery to tell us how our problems can best be solved.

"Colour Problems"

We have received a remarkably well written book called "THE COLOUR PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICA." by Dr. Edgar H. Brookes, M.A., D.Litt (Lovedale Press 4/6, postage 6d.)

It is excellently got up in cloth and a high class production.

It deals with Anti-Native Legislation since the Union began (1910-1934); Nationalism: Segregation; Liberalism; Economic Conditions; Anthropology; Christianity and Colour; Future Policy, giving a very valuable list of all anti-Native Laws in the Statute Books; all Native Separatist Churches, 326 in number, and the whole of the Native Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, amended 1929.

It is easily worth four times its price and we heartily recommend it to our readers, hoping to review it fully in due course.

x x x

We hope also to notice a very informative book entitled:—"A Transkei Enquiry 1933" by Howard Pim C.B.E., M.A. who died not long after investigating the Transkei and compiling this book (Lovedale Press 1/3 post free), thus leaving the Bantu a notable legacy

Race Problem - 1934

Africa.

BANKRUPT EDUCATION FUND.

Ilanga Lase Natal

ONE of the most importan statements contained in the repor of the Native Affairs Com mission, which has just been pre sented to Parliament, is that re- ferring to Native education, con- cerni g which the Commissioners emphasise that the existing ar- rangements are not sufficient to meet ever - increasing demands, and that some other arrange- ment is necessary. 3-16-34

It is well known that Native education is financed from the Native General tax imposed in 1925. Careful calculatiou indi- cated that the revenue to be de- rived from this tax would be in the neighbourhood of £1,125, 090, of which some four-fifths would go into general revenue, and the remaining fifth, £225, 000, would go to the Native Development Fund, to be ad- ministered by the Minister of Native Affairs. It was estimated that the annual increase of the general tax would be at the rate of 2 per cent per annum. This, remarks the Commissioners, was a very liberal estimate, the in- crease in the Native population being little more than half that figure.

"The charge has been brought against the Native Commission," says the report, "that early in their considerations and allocation of the Development Fund they were too optimistic. The optimitism of the Commission was niggard- ly compared with the voracious- ness of some of the Provinces. The Development Fund was to them a bottomless bag out of which they could draw, without reserve, for educational develop- ment. Each financial year the Commission had to prune the estimates ruthlessly." It would appear that despite this deter- mined effort to keep down ex- penses, the expenditure on Na- tive education has risen, during the past ten years, from £340, 000 to over 600,000. Added to this, the estimated increase of 2 per cent on the general tax has not materialised during the past four or five years. This may in part be due to lack of means or to dislike of the tax itself.

In regard to the income accru- ing to the Development Fund to meet the reasonable and ac- cepted charges for Native Edu- cation, the Commissioners de- clare that the fund is bankrupt, and in the circumstances the concern both of the Departmentand the Commission can be well appreciated. The view is expressed that un- der the existing provincial con- trol of Native education there are many difficulties attached to grants being paid out of the ac- count for different Provinces, and the present situation indicates clear- ly that the time has arrived not only for the whole of the Native educational system to be revised but also that a basis of Union control be adopted. In this con- nection the Commissioners fully endorse the opinion of the Native Economic Commission.

While the Commissione rs have no desire to dogmatise in regard to Native Education, they feel that the kind of education given to the Native today is too aim- less. "The particular nature of Native education is being lost sight of," they add, "the aim being merely to educate without taking the ultimate object into consideration. By means of the centralisation of Native education we shall, in South Africa, be able to meet the requirements arising out out of the particular nature of the Native's education."

A REPLY TO MR. JEF. E. MSIWA ON LANGUAGE.

Ilanga Lase Natal

This writer states that there is much inconvenience caused by the use of foreign languages in every sphere of life and as a remedy he suggests the full use of our language. He explains this thus: "I admit the variety in our languages, but this variety can be cured easily by introducing all our languages to our children. Evidently they are expected to learn all Native tongues and dialects of this Bantu branch, and that would be something like as far up as the Victoria Nyanza. Does he mean that it does not seem an easy cure? 3-16-34

He himself has found it necessary, or at least convenient to use English when writing his article, which— logically viewed — ought to have been in Zulu or another of the Bantu languages. This use of English is life's own solution to the difficulty caused by the multiplicity of languages. It is so among India's two hundred languages, and it is the natural one in Africa too, and in fact all the world over. His solution if it can be called a solution, is an artificial and burdensome one. Attempts in that direction would be so much time wasted. India's languages (at least most of them) are old culture tongues, and English (though also a great culture language) is next to being hated in India. But Indians are, nevertheless, compelled to speak or write it, if they want all India as listeners or readers. No Indian langu age could take its place.

English, the language of the world's two greatest Powers——is as a matter of fact...rapidly increasing its ground as a world - language everywhere, and because of its merits it is also fully worthy of it. This is Fate, the will of God. Why fight against it? English has had a start altogether too long to be overtaken by any other meritorious language. The Zulu language too and its companions (with all due respect to their charm and worth) have to surrender the leader- ship as a common platform for nations and tribes to this speech from the North. Life's conditions are (or have be- come) something that can be likened to a race. However dear a man's old mother may be to him, he cannot insist on holding her hand and make her run with him. If he did, he would be a hopeless loser. Nor can he afford to drag a Native country sledge after him. It would be too great a handicap.

There can be no doubt about it that in their own interest all Native tribes in British African colonies should work toward making English their daily and practical language. All education should be in that language. This would enable differing tribes to meet on a common platform to under- stand each other, and be felt as a social power. It would further bring the Union into something like speaking terms with English speaking Europeans in Africa and elsewhere. It would be the door to the great Anglo- American culture and world of en- deavour. It would only be by reason of that culture well-attained that dif- ference in colour could hope to be set aside in the end. It cannot be in the interest of either blacks or whites, fellow citizens of the same country, to keep up forever, and by principle, a division wall. Yet the condition, the inescapable one, for having it gradually levelled with the ground is equality in culture. Nothing less than a genuine adoption of European ways would (when the time comes) satisfy the whites At present most of them would not agree to even such terms with the Natives.

You may say: "But is it necessary that we Natives shall conform to European ways? We are hardly prepared to give up everything that is for us peculiar. "To this I will reply. He speaks in the end of his article about the burden of life and the salvation of Africa. Does he think that in the keeping up of the many African languages and the many differing customs with accompanying prejudices and tribal rivalries ... that in these things lie the salvation of Africa? Wherein would Africans... if left to themselves...agree except in superstition and nutual extermination? The ever recurring tribal faction fights, even under European rule, bear wit- ness to this.

European civilisaction (I do not at all say that it is identical with Christianity) is a tremendous, be- witching power, before which even such stubborn old cultures as the Chinese and the Turkish Moham- medan crumble down. Nothing else than next to wholesale adoption of European ways has kept Japan above water. Could then the African spirit hope to hold its own against the European? No! The adoption of European clothes and other signs reveal it plainly enough. Africans have got into the European train, and the result will be that they will be carried along its iron bound course. That civilisation has become too strong even for the Europeans themselves. It is a horse they cannot steer.

Race Relations in Kenya.

East Africa

THE newly formed Race Relations Committee of the Kenya Missionary Council has prepared a statement of its functions and aims, as submitted to the Secretary of State. The main object is the elucidation of African interests, with a view to securing the sympathetic understanding of the other races in Kenya. It is hoped that the Committee will form a channel of consultation between Africans and all their friends on the Legislative Council and elsewhere, so that the true views and wishes of the Africans, and the facts on which they are based, may become widely known in the Colony, and be dealt with to the satisfaction of all without that premature discussion overseas on partial and sometimes inaccurate information which has sometimes given rise to bitter feelings and acrimonious comments.

One of the main problems to which the Committee has given attention is the adequate representation of African views on the Legislative Council. Believing that one man alone is unable properly to carry out such an important task, the Committee has proposed a team of three, which would entail the addition of two extra nominated members. The handicap of having only one representative of African interests is particularly noticeable in debate, and such interests also need more insistent representation in Select Committees than is at present possible.

Without according official recognition, the Governor has expressed his willingness at all times to consider the representations of the Committee.

A BOOK REALLY NEEDED.

Professor Westermann is convinced that the African accepts the European, *i.e.*, his culture, as his ideal; and that he strives, and means to strive, to emulate it. Then it is surely of the greatest importance that he should understand exactly what he is striving to imitate and assimilate. At present he has but the haziest notion. In the great majority of cases he cannot distinguish between superficials and essentials. He does not know all the steps in our evolution—steps over which we plodded laboriously but which he is trying to skip; he has no real idea of the make-up of our race, and cannot assess how much of what we do and say is due to the artificial veneer of civilisation, and needs to be discounted accordingly. The educated Native coming to England must be as bewildered as the castaway in Winifred Holtby's brilliant satire "The Amazing Island." Yet they are and will be increasingly the interpreters of England to their more backward brothers in Africa. Africa is crying out for books. We believe that a sound guide on this problem should be one of the first books to be supplied in answer to that cry.

Rogers Says Shem, Ham and Japeth Were Only Traditional Figures

East Africa 11-1-34

Several persons have objected to my recent article on the Queen of Sheba, and the statement that "It is probable that the Negroid peoples of Asia brought civilization to Ethiopia and Egypt, from whence it came to Greece, and thence to the rest of Europe, including England." Mr. Charles C. Seifert, for instance, charges me with "Having joined that army of prejudiced and white scholars who have fixed notions of the inferiority of the black or Ethiopian race, notwithstanding the many glaring historical facts to the contrary."

J. A. Rogers

Mr. Seifert's letter of three pages convinces me that he is far more patriotic than he is scientific. Space will not permit my taking up his arguments. Indeed, if I must be truthful, rather than polite, it would be a waste of time, for the authorities cited by Mr. Seifert are considered authorities no longer, though there are certain general truths of theirs, some of which deal with the Negro, that are still valid. I will rather give briefly what modern archaeology has inclined me to think of the origin of man and the so-called Negro, in particular. More and more I find myself believing that this earth has always existed and mankind with it. Archbishop Ussher about a century ago fixed the date of the Creation at 4004 B. C., but archaeology, which is as real as Ussher was vapory, has set the date of life on this planet at about 50,000 million years, which is a period so vast that one might almost say it is eternity. Much of the land on which mankind once lived is at the bottom of the ocean now and much of what we now live on was once there also. In the millions of years to come when this land again comes to the surface mankind will know more about life. I will not say, "and its origin," for I believe life had none.

Nok assuming that man had an origin, no one knows what part of the world it was. It might have been at the North Pole or land that is now in the depths of the Pacific Ocean. As to the present human race there is a strong probability that the so-called Negro was the parent from which all the other so-called races sprang. All the earliest skulls are Negroid. There is reasonable proof that the Negro lived in all the tropical belts of the world and that he was probably the first denizen of the so-called New World. In any case there is fair proof that he was here long before Columbus. For aught we know he might have migrated from America to Africa.

There is much stronger proof that the Negro "originated" in what is now Europe, than in Africa. The Grimaldi, a Negro race, probably inhabited Europe some 15 to 20,000 years ago. Probably this race extended as far as South Africa, as the Bushman drawings and those of prehistoric Dordogne, France, are similar. The Negroes today are more numerous in Africa, and our later ancestors came from there, but there is no proof, whatver, that the Negro originated there. Millions of Negroids still live in Asia, and the most Negro-like people are still to be found in Asia, which is only a name. Until recently it was joined to Africa, and in all probability America was joined to Africa? For all we know it might yet be that Egyptian civilization originated in Ancient America. There is a striking resemblance between them. The term, "New World," is a rank misnomer. Some of our Negro scholars need to do the same thing as the white ones, namely, wake up. They need to visit the museums and read books on modern scientific discovery. It weakens one's case to use outworn information.

The above applies with even greater force to another critic, Amos Wilson, who objects to my saying that Cheops, builder of the Great Pyramids, was a Negro, and that Moses, according to Abrabian tradition, was one also. Mr. Wilson bases his arguments on Shem, Ham and Japeth, who, as I pointed out then, are only traditional figures, and never existed at all. This was merely tradition attempting to account for the different varieties of mankind. Moses also may be a purely traditional figure, but even as a tradition, the Arabians, in their writings believed him to be a Negro. Space will not permit my giving proof, but I have it.

Again, Wilson brings up a kind of argument that might have been used a century ago to prove that Cheops could not have been the "Son of Ham," and therefore not a Negro. Only fossils today believe that the Negroes originated from Ham, or that the Jews sprang from Shem. To the best of my knowledge all that ancient civilization that extended from India all the way to Egypt and Ethiopia, long, long before Cheops, was Negroid. The Sphinx, which may be older than the Great Pyramid, is clearly a symbolic Negro, who was worshipped as a god. Finally, in the Boston Museum, where I saw it, is an Egyptian bust with the inscription, "Negro Princess of the Cheops family."

White and Black "Equality."

East Africa 11-1-34

Views of Sir Harold McMichael.

To the Editor of "East Africa."

Jamaica, England

SIR,—Mr. Cullen Young's letter in your columns shows him to be greatly disturbed by Mr. Huggins's statement that until human nature changes there can be no social or political equality between white and black in Africa.

Sir Harold MacMichael, in his new book "The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," writes:—

"It is useless to approach the Native with abstract ideas of Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. The idea is preposterous to him. Men are not equal in any practical obvious sense, and the fact is so patent to the African that to deny it is merely a proof of wrong-headedness. A sense of homage is natural to him. It is a good and sensible instinct, and it must be given scope."

Mr. Cullen Young's letter, and his life, prove his high ideals and his earnestness; but cannot even he do the "bit of deeper thinking" for which he pleads?

Yours faithfully,

Khartoum. "AFER."

Race Problem – 1934

Africa

assets were practically nil. As business conditions had considerably improved in 1933, he had a definite impression that the numbe of such cases would be less.

Labour on the Lupa.

Mr. Weaver asked whether the Administration was satisfied that the supervision of labour conditions was adequate to ensure the discovery of such cases, and whether the Government had yet appointed a Secretary of Labour in the Secretariat. Mr. Calder said it had not yet been found possible to appoint that officer, but the Government was satisfied that most of the cases in which wages were not paid eventually came to its notice. Mr. Weaver gathered that on the new goldfields labour conditions were practically uncontrolled. Was any labour officer stationed there, and what arrangements were made for medical attention?

Mr. Calder replied that one of the duties of the Acting District Officer stationed in Mbeya was to supervise the labour market. With regard to medical attendance, all the mining was at present alluvial, and was conducted by small prospectors with a few labourers. Replying to Count de Penha Garcia, he added that prospecting was so sporadic at present that it had been impossible for the Administration to lay down special regulations regarding the obligation of prospectors to provide medical attendance.

Mdlle. Dannevig, noting reduction in the expenditure on education, asked whether it was mainly due to retrenchment of staff, closing down of central and industrial schools, and to the reduction in the grants to various missions. Mr. Calder replied there had been reductions under all three heads, but when conditions improved, education would be one of the first beneficiaries. The central schools had been closed partly for economic reasons and partly because it had been found very difficult to obtain employment for pupils leaving those schools.

Asked whether the amount spent per head of population meant the amount spent per child frequenting the European, Native, or Indian schools, or per head of the total population, Mr. Calder said that the calculations were based on the census report for 1931; the percentages spent per head of the population with regard to the Indians and Natives was based on the total population. The figures did not, however, seem clear with regard to the basis of calculation of the European population, and he would ask the Tanganyika Government to furnish an explanation.

Mdlle. Dannevig considered the expenditure of 0·26 cents on the education of each Native child exceedingly small; it was even less than in the preceding year, whereas the amount spent on the education of European and Indian children had increased. She asked whether 10·58% of the hut and poll tax was considered a reasonable amount to spend on Native education. Mr. Calder replied that Government would like to spend more, but could not at present without making further cuts under other heads.

Lord Lugard asked whether the Government made any contribution to Native elementary rural education. Was any education rate levied on the Natives? Mr. Calder replied that elementary vernacular education was paid for (a) by direct payments by the Government to Government schools, (b) by Government grants to mission schools, and (c) by Native contributions to Native administration schools.

Lord Lugard noted that the European education cess had been abolished, and asked the net cost to the revenue of the education of a European child. Mr. Calder replied that it varied: in some cases the education was completed in the Territory; in others, scholarships were granted for the continuation of studies outside the Territory.

"Does part of the money provided for the education of European children come from the Natives' pockets?" asked Mdlle. Dannevig. Mr. Calder replied that that could not be admitted; of a total education expenditure of £88,000, only £5,800 was spent on European education. Lord Lugard was told by Mr. Calder that the experimental school organised by Mr. Mumford at Malangali for the education of Natives on Native lines was still in operation, but that the curriculum had been modified, as it had been found desirable to give the boys some general industrial training.

Replying to Count de Penha Garcia, Mr. Calder said that the increase of convictions under the Native Liquor Ordinance had been due partly to better supervision.

Lord Lugard expressed satisfaction that a local brewery had been established. He had always advocated this course as a means of counteracting the consumption of spirits, and perhaps even of potent Native beverages. Did the Natives appreciate this beer, and what was its strength? Mr. Calder, who had no information on the subject, held out the hope that full details would be included in the next report.

Medical Services.

Asked by the Chairman whether he thought the 205 doctors in the Territory sufficient, Mr. Calder said it was difficult to answer. The Administration felt that the best way to ensure adequate medical attendance throughout the Territory was to train Native subordinates in health work, and thus spread a knowledge of hygiene farther afield. In this way, also, the cost of employing a larger staff of European doctors could be avoided. Replying to a further question by the Chairman, who drew attention to the increase of 35,823 persons admitted to hospital during the year, Mr. Calder said it showed the Native's appreciation of European medicine.

Lord Lugard said he had seen an extract from a German paper in which it was stated that the final statement of the liquidation of the accounts of the ex-enemy properties was now available. The total realised was stated to be £1,344,600, and the percentage bought by different nationalities was given. Were the figures accurate? Further what was the explanation of the item of £9,000 "surplus on commission account of the Custodian of Enemy Property"? Mr. Calder replied that all ex-enemy property had now been definitely liquidated, apart from a small sum which had been retained to meet unforeseen liabilities. The explanation of the item in revenue and expenditure to which Lord Lugard had referred was that the Custodian charged a fixed sum for his services. Any surplus left over after expenses had been paid was handed to Government.

M. Rappard said that in the demographic statistics in the report he noticed that the number of Swiss (220) came immediately after the number of Germans (2,149) and Greeks (918), and well ahead of the French (199) and Dutch (141). In what occupations were the Swiss engaged? Mr. Calder replied that some were planters while others were engaged in trade.

Referring to the Native census, M. Rappard said that the results were gratifying, since they showed an increase of 6% in five years and 22% in ten years. Such an enormous increase in the last ten years was almost alarming, for if the increase continued at that rate the Territory might not be capable of sustaining its population. He supposed, however, that the increase was largely due to improved demographic methods.

THE MISSION OF THE GOLD COAST DELEGATION TO LONDON.

Weekly News

X. 8-25-34

We closed our contribution on this subject last week, with an optimistic note, expressing the conviction that though apparently the Colonial Office has turned down the major submissions of the Gold Coast Delegation, yet in reality we are not persuaded that it is so, but would rather regard it as a attitude determined by two P's, which are—Policy and Prestige.

Freetown

This attitude in the past has been responsible for many wrongs the people have suffered in Crown Colonies, and will continue in vogue until such people have come to themselves and be in the position to show in every way that their development is entitled to a different treatment. It must not be forgotten that there are other Colonies with similar grievances as the Gold Coast, which are just watching how the issue shall turn, to press their own claims; and it would be no vain presumption to infer that the case of the Gold Coast Delegation was simply a test case, the result of which would determine the attitude of other Colonies. We have taken this point of view, because from our knowledge of the British Government in these latter days, it would not be so callous and unsympathetic towards the feelings of a people who have been credited with such high reputation for loyalty. In plain words, the attitude is only the maintenance of a given policy to avert embarrassment on the part of Downing Street.

Both in the matter of the Water Rate and the Sedition Ordinance with reference to the Gold Coast, and the Ground Rent with reference to Ashanti, some minor concessions have been granted and the situation has been entrusted to the new Governor to make such adjustments as to him shall be necessary. And if we have known Sir ARNOLD HODSON, our Children's Governor, who carries the heart of a child, we see cause for the opinion expressed by the honoured and level-headed leader of the Delegation, NANA Sir OFORI ATTA when about the result of their mission, he said "I am disappointed, but not discouraged."

For if the Colonial Minister could have committed himself thus far, by the answer he gave in the House of Parliament with reference to the immediate drop in the number of the seditious literature and his testimonial to the people's Loyalty, it could easily be discerned how he has tacitly admitted the point, implied in a statement from one of the Delegation, that, the result would have been different, if Sir SHENTON THOMAS had shown less of the "mailed fist" and had taken the leaders of the people, into his confidence by an informal conference. Again, whatever may be said of the position taken by the people in their objection to pay water rate, we think the submission of the Delegation is more than rational; namely, that the time for the imposition of

Minister was in sympathy with the situation serve the prestige of the Govern or, who after all, is the representative of His Majesty the KING—the KING can do no wrong. The presence of Sir SHENTON THOMAS at the Colonial Office when the Delegation got there and the active part he took in the deliberation we think, would give some support to this presentation of our view. The decision however that the Governor should not return to the Gold Coast but be banking his hopes in the last resort, on the transferred elsewhere, in consonance with the use of the "Official Majority Vote" and telegram of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society would indicate how much the Colonial people; but by some other way deal with any

of additional taxation is most inopportune and would take care to conserve the prestige of the would justly lead the people to think that the late Governor was most unsympathetic and injudicious. It was a blunder, it was provoking and consequently calculated to set the back up, of an extremely loyal people. Such a surmise would not in the least be any strained interpretation of the attitude of the Colonial Minister, when he declared that the Bill should stand and its enforcement should be left with the Governor to do so at an opportune moment. Then whatever the Colonial Minister would do, he

Race Problem – 1934

Africa

assets were practically nil. As business conditions had considerably improved in 1933, he had a definite impression that the number of such cases would be less.

Labour on the Lupa.

Mr. Weaver asked whether the Administration was satisfied that the supervision of labour conditions was adequate to ensure the discovery of such cases, and whether the Government had yet appointed a Secretary of Labour in the Secretariat. Mr. Calder said it had not yet been found possible to appoint that officer, but the Government was satisfied that most of the cases in which wages were not paid eventually came to its notice. Mr. Weaver gathered that on the new goldfields labour conditions were practically uncontrolled. Was any labour officer stationed there, and what arrangements were made for medical attention?

Mr. Calder replied that one of the duties of the Acting District Officer stationed in Mbeya was to supervise the labour market. With regard to medical attendance, all the mining was at present alluvial, and was conducted by small prospectors with a few labourers. Replying to Count de Penha Garcia, he added that prospecting was so sporadic at present that it had been impossible for the Administration to lay down special regulations regarding the obligation of prospectors to provide medical attendance.

Mdlle. Dannevig, noting reduction in the expenditure on education, asked whether it was mainly due to retrenchment of staff, closing down of central and industrial schools, and to the reduction in the grants to various missions. Mr. Calder replied there had been reductions under all three heads, but when conditions improved, education would be one of the first beneficiaries. The central schools had been closed partly for economic reasons and partly because it had been found very difficult to obtain employment for pupils leaving those schools.

Asked whether the amount spent per head of population meant the amount spent per child frequenting the European, Native, or Indian schools, or per head of the total population, Mr. Calder said that the calculations were based on the census report for 1931; the percentages spent per head of the population with regard to the Indians and Natives was based on the total population. The figures did not, however, seem clear with regard to the basis of calculation of the European population, and he would ask the Tanganyika Government to furnish an explanation.

Mdlle. Dannevig considered the expenditure of 0·26 cents on the education of each Native child exceedingly small; it was even less than in the preceding year, whereas the amount spent on the education of European and Indian children had increased. She asked whether 10·58% of the hut and poll tax was considered a reasonable amount to spend on Native education. Mr. Calder replied that Government would like to spend more, but could not at present without making further cuts under other heads.

Lord Lugard asked whether the Government made any contribution to Native elementary rural education. Was any education rate levied on the Natives? Mr. Calder replied that elementary vernacular education was paid for (a) by direct payments by the Government to Government schools, (b) by Government grants to mission schools, and (c) by Native contributions to Native administration schools.

Lord Lugard noted that the European education cess had been abolished, and asked the net cost to the revenue of the education of a European child. Mr. Calder replied that it varied: in some cases the education was completed in the Territory; in others, scholarships were granted for the continuation of studies outside the Territory.

"Does part of the money provided for the education of European children come from the Natives' pockets?" asked Mdlle. Dannevig. Mr. Calder replied that that could not be admitted; of a total education expenditure of £88,000, only £5,800 was spent on European education.

Lord Lugard was told by Mr. Calder that the experimental school organised by Mr. Mumford at Malangali for the education of Natives on Native lines was still in operation, but that the curriculum had been modified, as it had been found desirable to give the boys some general industrial training.

Replying to Count de Penha Garcia, Mr. Calder said that the increase of convictions under the Native Liquor Ordinance had been due partly to better supervision.

Lord Lugard expressed satisfaction that a local brewery had been established. He had always advocated this course as a means of counteracting the consumption of spirits, and perhaps even of potent Native beverages. Did the Natives appreciate this beer, and what was its strength? Mr. Calder, who had no information on the subject, held out the hope that full details would be included in the next report.

Medical Services.

Asked by the Chairman whether he thought the 205 doctors in the Territory sufficient, Mr. Calder said it was difficult to answer. The Administration felt that the best way to ensure adequate medical attendance throughout the Territory was to train Native subordinates in health work, and thus spread a knowledge of hygiene farther afield. In this way, also, the cost of employing a larger staff of European doctors could be avoided. Replying to a further question by the Chairman, who drew attention to the increase of 35,823 persons admitted to hospital during the year, Mr. Calder said it showed the Native's appreciation of European medicine.

Lord Lugard said he had seen an extract from a German paper in which it was stated that the final statement of the liquidation of the accounts of the ex-enemy properties was now available. The total realised was stated to be £1,344,600, and the percentage bought by different nationalities was given. Were the figures accurate? Further what was the explanation of the item of £0,000 "surplus on commission account of the Custodian of Enemy Property"? Mr. Calder replied that all ex-enemy property had now been definitely liquidated, apart from a small sum which had been retained to meet unforeseen liabilities. The explanation of the item in revenue and expenditure to which Lord Lugard had referred was that the Custodian charged a fixed sum for his services. Any surplus left over after expenses had been paid was handed to Government.

M. Rappard said that in the demographic statistics in the report he noticed that the number of Swiss (220) came immediately after the number of Germans (2,149) and Greeks (918), and well ahead of the French (199) and Dutch (141). In what occupations were the Swiss engaged? Mr. Calder replied that some were planters while others were engaged in trade.

Referring to the Native census, M. Rappard said that the results were gratifying, since they showed an increase of 6% in five years and 22% in ten years. Such an enormous increase in the last ten years was almost alarming, for if the increase continued at that rate the Territory might not be capable of sustaining its population. He supposed, however, that the increase was largely due to improved demographic methods.

THE MISSION OF THE GOLD COAST DELEGATION TO LONDON.

Weekly News

X. 8-25-34

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given situation with the conviction that whatever may have been deemed lawful may not as well be expedient. This is important; for even Sir SHENTON THOMAS himself would not sit with an easy conscience, to digest what his policy has cost the Gold Coast people; and this point is intensified by the most lamentable fact, that a member of the Delegation has had to sign the petition to His Majesty the KING and just next, to pay the supreme Sacrifice for the liberty of his people by his tragic death. Let men beware how they use their powers in this world; or they would have for the rest of their days, live to regret their actions.

RACE AND EDUCATION.

Ilanga Lase Natal

A study of the South African newspapers indicates the extent to which Europeans in this country are beginning to realise the actualities in regard to the future of the Bantu peoples. It is becoming increasingly evident that what is known as the Native problem is attracting more and more attention, and that the question is being considered from an angle which augurs well for the future. 9-14-34

In this connection it is interesting to note that at Cape Town recently Malinowski, who is Professor of Anthropology at the University of London, definitely refuted the theory that the Native is mentally inferior to the European because his skull is smaller. The learned Professor, who was addressing a gathering of the New Education Fellowship, made a strong point of the fact that the proving of equality was one thing, but that to attempt to prove inferiority was another. In his opinion, to try and correlate a physical thing such as the weight of the brain with an immeasurable thing constitutes one of the gravest errors known to science.

This question was not applied particularly to South Africa. It was a world-wide matter, and such has to be considered by all thinking people. The white races have become the world's schoolmasters, and in some instances they have discharged their task indifferently, so much so that many have been led to ask whether the white race in itself is not a stumbling block to education. Measured by results, Professor Malinowski declared that the cultivated Negro had proved himself quite capable of assimilating and using as much education as could be given him. Nor did the average skill of the professional Negro worker fall much below that of a skilled white labourer. Undoubtedly there has been much trouble and turmoil throughout the world as the result of colour bar legislation. We know quite a lot about it in South Africa and are bound to hear more regard it in the not-distant future.

Professor Malinowski cannot understand the real meaning of the phrase "educating the Bantu along Bantu lines". To him it seems to lead to dressing the Bantu up in re-tribalised clothes and making him dance before visiting dignitaries. There is a great deal of sham and unreality about this style of top-dressing. The Professor holds the view that Native education cannot be solved separately from statemanship and policies, and that it will never be solved without recourse to economic, agrarian and other matters. He is a great believer in the restoration of self-confidence in the Native, a view which is shared by all those who have studied the question and who, with Professor Malinowski, agree that if our people are constantly taught that only the white man is a capable person, the time must come when they will ask whether this is really so. This whole question would seem to be a fantasy when one views the alarm shown by the ruling race in its legislation as against the Native Africans debarring them from industry and differentiating against them from enjoying emoluments to which their ability and education entitle them. The question arises why so much fear for a people who are said to have no brains capable of doing things as the white people? Why not leave them untramelled since it is natural that they will not move forward? Until this is done we would be foolish to believe in the inferiority of the brain powers of Africans.

Opening Address to the Basutoland Council.

The Comet (Mochudi Bechuanaland)

"Year by year the Basuto have sat still and watched their precious soil being washed away without doing one hour's work to stop it, but last year a motion was put on the paper calling on the Paramount Chief and the Government to stop dongas. Why the Paramount Chief and the Government?" says His Honour Sir John Sturrock, among other things in his opening address to the Council. 10-3-34

It is a pity space does not allow us to discuss this matter fully and bring up to view other important aspects of it.

Under present conditions in Basutoland we fail to understand how the Basuto could be blamed for their inertion on the matter of soil erosion and donga prevention. The Paramount Chief and Chiefs think and claim that they have the sole right on the soil of the territory and nothing must be done without their authority. The rights of the people to the soil, are limited to their lands. The planting of trees in the dongas to steady the onrush of flood water by individuals would be useless without the authority of a chief as the trees would not be protected, and worse still such action in certain localities may result in a person being summoned to a native court.

Unless the chiefs encourage the people to prevent soil erosion by advising them to plant trees to which they will have a right there will be nothing doing.

Another cause of this deplorable inertion of the common people is the insecurity of land tenure under the present communal system, which has even corrupted.

Unless and until these matters are properly adjusted there can be no progress.

Race Problem – 1934

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S.S. SPEAKS TO THE PEOPLE

The Comet 9-14-34

No doubt you have been tickled to death by the great joke of my father dying between two stacks of hay with indecision.

It is not a joke my dear ladies and gentlemen, indecision is a serious disease, almost fatal in every case to donkeys especially if it is indecision about food. Basutoland

If ever you could be an ass and suffer from that disease, you would regret that you were an ass.

(Mr Mochonono.)

I have been feeling very much like my father between two stacks of hay, in fact I have been worse because I have found myself completely surrounded by stacks of enticing hay. There is so many news to tell you and I don't know which to tell you now and which next time; but being a clever Mr S.S. and much wiser than silly and stupid father, I am going to have a taste at all the stacks, I'll have a bite all round.

Those of you who have eyes and keep them open to see around them, will have observed that on the Northbushes, Eastern side and just outside the Police Camp there has suddenly sprung up some three corrugated iron huts, like mushrooms after rain. Those who have eyes but keep them in their pockets or wear them merely for ornamental or decorative purposes and for the improvement of their scarecrow-like ugly and awry faces, will be startled out of their ignorance when they find themselves in those huts.

Unlike mushrooms springing up after rain, those huts have sprung after a different kind of rain—the reign of typhus. There is a big difference between these rains, one rains and the soil brings forth food for us, the other reigns and the soil eats us up for its fertilisation and as food for worms.

These huts are called "Deverminisation Huts." If you do not know the meaning of that word, it means they are huts which take down, off, or from you, all sorts of noxious creeping and crawling creatures which belong to the kingdom of disease, and over which typhus reigns.

You enter the first hut and find men with hair clippers ready to pounce upon instantly and manipulate with their instruments and despatch you out minus a single hair on you.

In the second hut, men are waiting with comfortably hot water and hard bristled bushes, and no sooner do you enter than they fall upon you in a murderous fashion, submerging you in the hot water and then scrubbing your body with all enthusiasm; much after the same style as the Natives scrub and clean a pig after killing it, the little differences being that you are being scrubbed alive.

While you are undergoing and enduring these ordeals in these huts, your clothing is in a worse plight in the third hut, stewing in 212 degrees Eht. of hot water, and so is your vermin.

All this clean shaving, bathing of person and clothing, is done you free, without asking a farthing from you. If the Basuto were Scotchmen, the Government would rest assured that every one of them would be deverminised.

I am sure we are all very grateful to the Basutoland Government whose large-heartedness on this singular occasion completely eclipses their long established notoriety of close-handedness. One might be struck by the idea that perhaps typhus is a friend in a foe's cover.

Just one thing that sets me laughing ad infinitum, the superstition and conservatism of the Basuto. You know as well as I do that Basuto are born superstitious and conservative. When I was a boy I herded my father's flock of goats, amongst which was a Swiss goat of which I was very fond because of its rich and abundant milk. Whenever I felt a pinch of hunger during the day in the veld I drank from its large udder.

The same goat once strayed from the flock, and when I found it grazing quietly on the river bank on the second day of my search, do you think I would go near it alone? Who knew and could assure me that it was not a large aquatic monster camouflagee as our Swiss goat?

Well, in the first hut, where the hair clipping stunts are performed, it reminds the Basuto of the days of cannibalism; when the same hair clipping preliminaries were performed prior to and in preparation for the victim's butchery, and with the knowledge that in the third hut big post are boiling, it is very hard to repel the repugnant innuendo.

Worse and very much worse indeed, in the second hut in which you are scrubbed like a pig for pork, your first impression is strongly corroborated. You begin to feel agitated, confused and confounded; and all sorts of silly questions suggest themselves to your hysterical mind—Has the white man taken to cannibalism or is the butchery short of pork and substituting with human pork? Is there a good market for tinned Basuto flesh? Is there perhaps a great demand overseas for Basuto hair? etc.

However big a monetary inducement the Government may make, the Basuto superstition will outweigh it and I am looking forward with pleasurable anticipation to a riotous sheep-like herding of Basuto to these "Deverminisation Huts."

THIS LAWLESS AGE.

Ilanga
Lase Natal

WHAT ARE THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF CRIME?

9-21.2.34

[By Isaac Mavuso.]

Ellwood Sam

We are living in an age of paradoxes. At no previous time in the history of this world have there been so many seeming inconsistencies or self-contradictory conditions in almost every phase of human endeavour. The greatest minds have been baffled by the problems they represent, many of which still await some practicable solution.

On the one hand we have seen the continued over-prodution of the commodities of life, and on the other thousands in dire want of those commodities. On the one hand the excesses of the rich, on the other, the extreme privation of the poor. Again, huge demonstrations of peace, and at the same time gigantic preparations of war, wide spread propaganda for international good-will, intense nationalism and racial feeling. But the greatest paradox of this and of every preceding age is that we who possess the highest type of civilisation, with all its material benefits, and with all its mental and spiritual enlightenment, possess also the work of the most degraded criminals of all time. Since the world-war there has been a gradual and steady rise in the tide of crime which is now sweeping back and forth over the world. Daily we read in the newspapers, both local and foreign, the records of gruesome murders, suicides, assaults and daring robberies. A sinister fact, moreover, is that the bandit no longer relies upon the cover of the night to perpetrate his crime but dares to do so in broad daylight, often in the crowded street. But the night has by no means been relieved of lawlessness--the amount has merely been doubled--for fresh terrors stalk abroad during the hours of darkness.

In the preface to his official report, the Assistant Secretary of the Criminal Division of the Home Office, comparing the years 1929 and 1930, stated that there had been an increase in practically every indictable offence. The astounding result was (and this is in Great Britain alone) that in 1930 there were actually 12,500 more crimes committed than the previous year.

CRIME ABOUNDS IN AMERICA.

From the United States we obtain more staggering news of crime. There in that country possessing the greatest wealth and boasting the highest type of civilisation, lawlessness abounds. The United States of America operates the greatest system of schools ever known and spends more money on education than any other country, and yet her youth are the most lawless to be found anywhere. For the past few years that country has averaged 12,000 murders a year or one murder every forty-three minutes, night and day, most of which were committed by comparatively young men.

But these conditions are not confined alone in Great Britain and the United States. South Africa though somewhat fortunate than most other countries, has not been left unscathed. Every newspaper gives evidence that mail robberies, homicide, assaults and larceny are on the increase. In Russia, Italy, Spain and India, recent years have witnessed violence and bloodshed in which human life has been taken in the utmost wantonness. Not more than a few months ago the whole world was shocked by the Stavisky scandals in France.

Homer S. Cummings makes the following statement in the Liberty Magazine for December 23, 1933.

"The warfare which the armed underworld is urging upon organised society has reached alarming proportions.....We are dealing with more isolated crimes of haibed, greed or desparation. We are dealing with organised commercialised predatory crime; crime as a business, robbery, murder and blackmail on an efficient wholesale and retail basis. To-day we find a large group of people who are organised to wage war upon law and order, a group which to some extent possesses an aspect of government of its own".

CIVILISATION IN PERIL.

What a similarity there is between the conditions as outlined by Mr. Cummings and those of the Prophet Isaiah when he declared: "Your hands are defiled with blood, your fingers with iniquity..... None calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth ..... Their works are works of iniquity and the act of violence is in their hands.....Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood..... Their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity, wasting and destruction are in their paths"..... Isaiah 59 3-7. The prophet penned these words when the civilization of Judah was on the verge of collapse, when the shameful depravity of the people foretold almost certain destruction. Is it possible that present day conditions foretell the collapse of our civilisation?

Various theories have been advanced as to the cause of prevailing conditions, among which may be mentioned the reaction from World War, unemployment, inadequate home or school training, and the moving picture theatre. Undoubtedly these have not improved the situation, but none of them is the real cause.

Native Appointed African Supreme Court Justice

African American
11-3-34

AKKRA, Gold Coast Africa—(By Mail) — Charles Edward Woodhouse Bannerman, a full-blooded native of Sierra Leone, has recently been appointed a judge of the Britist Supreme Court of the Gold Coast colony.

Mr. Bannerman was formerly police court magistrate of the Cape Coast district.

The appointee was educated in England and admitted to the British bar. He practiced here for years as an advocate. He was decorated by the king for distinguished public service to the country. Several years ago after the African press started a campaign demanding the appointment of black men to high public office in place of Europeans sent out from England, Mr. Bannerman was elevated to the bench.

His appointment proved such a success that upon the recent resignation of one of the three white judges, he was elevated to the position of circuit judge of Ashanti and the northern territories of the Gold Coast.

Although the African press is demanding self-government for the Gold Coast, it nevertheless considers that all higher positions in the government should be given to members of the race so as to prepare the people to assume responsibilities when the time arrives for Africans to govern themselves.

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Don't be Mislead.

Sons of Basutoland.

Are you aware that you are not playing the game? One sees in your articles that you have grievances but you do go as far as to complain in the press and that is all you do. You have a leader in the National Council who is a brave man. He needs proper support, and that is Mr Chokobane. All Basutoland should be proud of such a man who strives to establish the rights of the Commoner. The Administration must now take a hint that unless the Commoner gets his rights there will be a turbulent time in the history of Basutoland.

It is true the Mosotho is liable to brisile enemies of Basustoland are many. Some chiefs are the teeth. best enemies of Basuto because they advocate slavery by encouraging unpaid labour Through favouritism their courts are not trusted, more so because they lack procedure in most cases. The commoner who has a case against a Chief's favourite knows that his own chance of winning is badly balanced. That is why men now resort to taking the law into their own hands. Do you wonder then that some chiefs' sons of Basutoland want justice. In all my experiences of all conditions of life I know there is one thing a Moso-tho's heart cannot put up with contempt. You can give a Mosotho the hardest work on the road or railway, in the mines and everywhere, you will find him jolly and active so long as he is treated with some respect. In fact a Mosotho proper loves to do his work properly and will show his true honest spirit if his master or employer shows his kindness. He will go so far as to defend his master's interests at his own risk. He makes his master's work his own work and not a mere tied-on duty. He loves to be praised for efficiency. On the other hand if the master is quarelsome, trrate and too overbearing, a Mosotho is liable to brisile in the long run, and show his teeth.

There is another danger overrunning Basutoland. There is too much preaching and churches are becoming a danger because, they all disagree on some petty doctrine; but it is strange to say they are supposed to be agents of Christ Jesus. Hatred and squabbles seem to be the main hobby. But one thing certain they want large pieces of land for mission purposes. Will Basuto ever get those pieces back? When the Paramount Chief ordered all people not to plough mountain slopes the idea was to spare the country for better use. There are a few reliable churches which have established a fine record in the territory, at the same time there are now so many *Mushroom Churches* and the likes, that are worse than soil erosion. Why not cut them out also? All that is necessary to get a large site in Basutoland is to apply for it under the name of some church, and that will remain the heritage of your children's children; and to qualify that a trading station will be next to it, what more do you want?

When I advocated the opening of the mines in Basutoland some time ago, some people said the mines would bring towns etc. and the land for tillage and pasturage would be limited - what do they think of the above myriads of churches; are they not taking ground and leaving none for the ordinary commoner to use? What say our chiefs to that, and what do they get for it? Why is it that a Native trader is not allowed to put his trrading station near the mission? Men wake up!

I am not Anti-Christian, I am Anti-Jesuit to the cores so if anybody belongs to my enemies, speak up, please Some time ago I run against a member of a certain society specially organized to gag men of my mental calibre. I was not surprised to learn his movements, his gag would simply make me worse - because if he is my enemy he is the enemy of fairplay, and equity. Sons of Basutoland don't let yourselves to be soft-soaped. your course is clear, and you have the right man for the B.P.A. if you waver, remember there are others who will spoil your chance of winning. The foe is within your gates, within your courts, within your doors your own brothers are joining the Communist Party - there lies the danger of confusing our ignorant people. Most of them cannot make a distinction between the B.P.A. and the Communist Party. Remember there is a talk now of doing away with the chiefs The aim of this kind of talk is to cause confusion. It is necessary for the people of Basutoland to be organized. It is necessary that chiefs and commoners should be of one mind to work for the good of our territory. We are in danger and no selfish talk will avail us anything. Chief and commoner must stand side by side and see eye to eye. Why should we be separated: O Sons of Basutoland, Rally!

JOHN MONAHENG.

The Post Office and the Bantu.

Native Opinion

For several years past the Post Office has been almost the only Department of the public service that has shown a handsome profit. This year however it is officially stated

that the estimate will be exceeded by over £200,000. The Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Senator C. F. Clarkson, in addressing the Durban Rotary Club said that "the Post Office was a gigantic business concern, and had to be conducted on business principles." This statement is hailed with relief; but the methods adopted in certain centres by his Department are anything but business-like. Take the case of the East London municipal location, where some 23,000 Natives reside two miles away from the city. The postal service between the main post office and the Location Office is as out-of-date as that in vogue in the hinterland of Eastern Pondoland. The delays and uncertainty in delivery and dispatch of letters and telegrams are a public disgrace to a town the size of East London. The revenue from the heavy mail matter ordinarily dealt with between the Location Office and town easily warrants an efficient and up-to-date service. A case in point of recent occurence was a summons posted a King William's Town to a party in the East London location. The letter containing the summons was posted two weeks earlier, and the litigant received the summons exactly 24 hours before the day set down for the court case. Would the Minister of Posts not investigate the circumstances of the East London Natives in view of their contributions to his coffers?

Native Voters' Convention.

A representative attendance of accredited delegates of the Cape Native Voters met in the Methodist Schoolroom King William's Town, on Monday, 17th December 1934, Mr. D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A. (Lond.) presiding. The constituent branches of Cape Town, Cathcart, Tembuland, Molteno, East London, Port Elizabeth, Victoria East, Fort Beaufort, Peelton and King William's Town were represented. The presidential address covered a wide range of legislative enactments and changed political aspects which tended to create grave concern regarding the future of the Bantu. A strong appeal was made to the Native electors not to be disheartened by the existing atmosphere of despair brought about by threats to abolish their franchise and possible segregation. The black voters were assured by the president that in the battle to defend their rights there were arrayed on their side European sympathisers, near and far, whose consciences constrained them from perpetrating any acts of injustice to black fellow-subjects of the Empire. Several resolutions were passed, among which were the following :—

RESOLVED THAT

(a) the matter of the cession of the Protectorates of Swaziland, Bechuanaland and Basutoland be strenuously opposed on the lines of a previous resolution of this Convention.

(b) a waiting vigil be kept on the policy of the Fusion or United Party regarding the treatment of the Bantu in the near future.

(c) the Prime Minister's threat to introduce legislation designed to debar Natives from qualifying as motor car drivers be watched by the Committee as to its effect in Parliament during the coming session.

(d) the Chamber of Mines be strongly urged to immediately increase the wages of all Native mine workers, particularly in view of the financial prosperity now experienced, to which the Bantu largely contributed through the low wages paid them by the Chamber of Mines.

(e) the Chamber of Mines be requested to grant full month's pay to the Bantu clerical staff during absence on leave.

(f) that Government be requested to fix a minimum wage of 1/- per hour for skilled Native labour.

(g) that Government be asked to include Natives in all existing industrial agreements at present enforced for the benefit of Europeans only, with a view to a minimum wage being laid down by legislation for Natives.

(h) the principle of consultation with the Bantu be insistently urged with the Government when the Native Bills now in Select Committee are dealt with.

(i) this Convention expresses sympathy with Mr. P. G. W. Grobler, Minister of Native Affairs in his continued ill-health, and also thanks the Minister for granting trading rights to Natives in the Transkei.

(j) that in regard to the latest definition of "Civilised Labour" as issued by the Department of Labour, it was resolved to impress upon the Government the urgent necessity to adopt a fair and economic interpretation. In order not to create an injustice to non-Europeans, the Convention humbly suggests that "Civilised Labour" should be considered as the labour rendered by persons whose skill and physical strength enabled them to earn a living that would conform to the standard generally recognised as tolerable from the usual European standpoint.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

European And African Leaders On Swaziland's Educational Policy

(BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

I.

The Swaziland Missionary Conference met at Bremersdorp on December 12 and 13 as a special meeting to discuss the many important matters that would come before the Advisory Board on Education which would be held subsequently. Believing that it would be advantageous to have the opinion of Native leaders on many of the subjects, a special Conference was held to which some 140 delegates of Native pastors and teachers attended, representing almost every section of the Native Church. These two Conferences were held simultaneously and in joint sessions when necessary. Through the kindness of Dr. D. Hynd and Mrs. Hynd and staff the meeetings were held in the spacious Church building of the Nazarene Mission.

Dr. Hynd as chairman of the Conference in welcoming this very representative gathering emphasized that the presence of Native delegates must not be interpreted in any way political, he was voicing the considered opinion of the Missionaries and stressed the point that they had been called together so that all could benefit by free and frank discussion on the maintter that touched the spiritual and educational work they were all engaged in.

The first session opened by Dr. Hynd was a dedication service, and during the two following days devotional addresses were given by the Rev. Jensen, Rev. Esselstyn, Rev. Robinson and Rev. Harvey.

Before the first business session opened the chairman read a telegram from His Honour the Resident Commissioner, expressing his regret of forced absence through ill-health, but assuring the conference of his sincere interest in their deliberations. The receipt of the message was very keenly appreciated and a wired reply expressing deep concern for the health of His Honour and wishing him a speedy recovery was unanimously adopted.

The business of conference was soon taken up with the subject of class 3 schools. The Administration had notified their intention to withdraw the grant-in-aid of three out of the five class schools, leaving one for the North (The S.A.C.M. Umbulazi Girls School) and one in the South (the Scandinavian Boys' Schools), to meet the needs for the whole of Swaziland, with the exception of the National School at Matapa. Conference felt that very little advantage on the ground of economy would accrue rom the point of policy it would seem retrograde. It was pointed out that in no other section of South Africa was the standard of Native Education reduced to Standard 4., and it wout tend to stunt the development of the Swazi Nation. The facilities of a higher standard of education would therefor largely fall on the private means of Missionary bodies, af financial burden far too great and one that legitimately belongs to the Education Department. Touching on this policy the following resolution was passed by the combined Conferences and requested it be sent forward to the Advisory Board:—

"Believing that the educational policy of this Administration is so very vital and important, we fail to see how this can be efficiently carried out by an official who is serving two Territories, whose time and interest is so divided. The conditions are such that we feel the time has arrived when there should be an Officer whose whole time can be concentrated on carrying out the duties of an Inspector of Education. We note that the Imperial policy is such that they feel that the Staff of Government Inspectors must be adequate and their reports should be based on frequent and unhurried visits.....it is their duty to make the educational aims understood and to give friendly advice and help in carrying them out. In view of this finding we feel that the Crown should make ample financial provision for the carrying out of this principles."

The Native Conference viewed with great alarm and anxiety the possibility of licenced beer halls in the Townsnips They felt that these would be injurious to the Native people themselves and to the Township itself, and sincerely trusted that after reviewing the situation the Authorities would delete this clause in the "New Laws governing the holding and selling of of Native Beer." At the same session they asked if the Administration would not consider making it a penal offence for a European to have any improper relationship with their womenfolk, for theo were gravely concerned for the welfare of their daughters and the future of the Swazi people. Touching on thhe Medical work done by the various Missionary bodies, it was felt that much more could be gained by the Administration, if they would only utilize the existing facilities as offered through the Mirssonary agencies, and the extra grant-in-aid would ultimately save the Administration a great deal of capital outlay; the present grants are out of all proportion to the services rendered.

Mr. D. C. Marivate, one of the rising Shangaan leaders, is a gifted musician. He is a rising composer of music and his Shangaan songs have been recorded. He was one of those men who accompanied Mr. Griffiths Motsieloa to England to record for the Singer Gramophone Company.

The Paramount Chief's educational policy through the iButo system was touched upon, but the Native people are looking for further information. Some of the speakers questioned the ability of their Chief to lead his subjects forward and make them a strong aud enlightened Nation, by falling back on old customs, some of which were certainly of doubtful benefit. Their chief concern being for the welfare of their children should they be called away from home for communal service.

Conference had the pleasure of a visit from the Deputy Resident Commissioner and the Inspector of Education. Dr. Hynd in introducing Mr. Marwick and Mr. Dumbrell expressed the pleasure of and the knowledge that the representatives of the Administration were sincere and sympathetic friends, whose interest in the welfare of the Native was never in doubt. Continuing Dr. Hynd said the gathering before them emphasized the act that we are builders of the Nation as well as educationists and the presence of so many leaders of the Native Church was a testimony of the real interest they took in the Educational and general advancement of their Native brethren. Mr. Dumbrell in addressing the Conference prefaced his remarks by the observation that education must not be confused with civilisation. In an illuminating address he asked how much of European civilisation could be adapted to suit the Native people. The Soul of the Native lies in the customs and traditions of the people and any educational system should benefit the tribe as a whole. The Rev. Robinson in returning thanks pointed to those present as the fruits of many of those who had "Come before" and was an eloquent tribute to their patience and perseverance in the uplifting of the savage on the one hand and the desire for advancement and enlightenment on the other.

Under Dog Kicks.

So far not much has been said about the decision of the Coloured Conference in Port Elizabeth to embark on a policy of defensive retaliation as a reply to the discrimination displayed against Native and Coloured people in recent industrial legislation. For all that the resolution adopted opens up intriguing possibilities. As is well know, mostly during the regime of the Nationalist-Labour Alliance, opportunity was taken to secure legislation fixing a minimum wage in most skilled occupations. No colour discrimination was shown, except that the wage scales were drawn purely on an European basis, which made no provision for the semi-skilled Native or Colour-

ed craftsman. Where this class of labour formerly found employment as semi-skilled bricklayers, carpenters, machine minders, and so forth, these avenues of employment have been steadily contracting until to day they may be said to be practically closed. Protest has had no effect, and the leaders of the Coloured have now decided to resort to the economic weapon. Where trade and industry boast that only white labour is employed the Coloured people are now saying. "Then sell your wares to white people; we shall only deal as far as possible with firms that do not shut our people out of employment." The logic of the position is unanswerable. The application of the principle may be negligible at the moment, but the fact that it has been thought of is both interesting and important. Numerically the Native and Coloured people are strong—economically they represent something bigger than the gold mines, as General Smuts recently declared at Alice—and in the general interest we want that strength to be wisely and beneficially exerted.

"Alice Times"

I. C. U. RE UNION CONFERENCE.

Ilanga Lase Natal

CHAMPION THE OBSTRUCTIONIST.

1-5-34

Olwesihlanu

The delegates who came to Durban to attend the I. C. U. Re-Union Conference since Sunday, 17th December, 1933, had to meet extraordinary tactics from Mr. A. W. G. Champion and a mob of hooligans. Indeed so far did Mr. Champion go that two independent Natives had to come on the following day and warned the delegates that a statement was made by Mr. Champion in the hearing of the aforesaid two Natives, threatening to let loose a gang of amalaita to assault the delegates, thus bringing Durban and Natal generally back to those sad happenings of the Beer Riots.

When the delegates arrived on the morning of the 17th December, they found that the Natal I. C. U. had made no preparations whatever for the holding of the Conference, which was well advertised for six months in all Native and the European public press, in spite of the fact that they were a party to this re union movement. It afterwards transpired that at the last moment, Mr. Champion was doing his best to wreck the Conference for reasons unknown to the delegates, and for that purpose, he ruthlessly attacked all the leading members of the Conference, including his own understudy, who acted for him during his exile, Mr. James Ngcobo, at a public open air meeting, held on the 17th December, 1933. He so far forgot himself, however, that he treated the present Minister of Justice's clemency towards himself with the contempt bred by an untutored mind. He boasted to the meeting and said: "I AM FREE NOW, AND PIROW WHO HAS DEFILED HIS OWN TABLE, HAS BEEN BANISHED TO THE RAILWAYS DEPARTMENT."

It is thought doubtful by many thinking Natives, who attended this meeting whether Mr. Champion will enjoy his freedom for very long, because it is this uncouth diplomacy and political illiteracy that makes the Native races of this country suffer and be subjected to unnecessary and tyrannical laws.

Had it not been for the exemplary diplomacy of the leaders of the Re-Union Conference Secretariat, Messrs. J. T. Gumede, Clements Kadalie and H. D. Tyamzashe, a position similar to the beer riots might have taken place on Tuesday, 19th December, 1933. But as it was, the Police were well aware of the intentions of certain hooligans, and the plot of assaulting the delegates was nipped in the bud. Thanks to the precautionary measures taken by the Police authorities of Durban, who guarded the premises where the delegates had made their headquarters, day and night, otherwise, the Conference would not have taken place at all.

On Wednesday, 20th December, 1933 after numerous consultations with Police and other authorities, the Committee Hall of the Bantu Social Centre was procured, and the Re-Union Conference was duly opened by the Chairman of the Secretariat, Mr. J. T. Gumede, who delivered a masterly address on the necessity of the three I. C. U.'s to forget the past differences but to unite once more. Mr. Clements Kadalie of the Independent I. C. U. and Secretary to the Conference then read all the correspondence showing that the Bloemfontein first Re-Union Conference of the three sections of the I. C. U. had full mandate to establish the principle of re-union. It was now for that Conference to ratify the proposed name of the re union body, namely, THE UNITED INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL WORKERS' UNION OF AFRICA. This was agreed to, and it was also decided to open offices of this re-united body in every centre in the Union.

At this stage, the work of the Conference was again interrupted and the Chairman, Mr. J. T. Gumede, was informed that the Town Council had decided on the authority of the new regulations in force that no meetings of Natives could be held unless the permission of the body was first obtained in writing after giving 48 hours' notice. As the Cape delegates had already booked their seats to sail the following day, it was decided therefore, that a deputation of the delegates should approach the Mayor and the Chief Constable with a view of obtaining special permission to continue the Conference that day, which request was eventually granted; business was then proceeded with late in the afternoon.

The Conference further decided to launch out an extensive campaign during 1934, prior to a bigger Conference under the auspices of the United I. C. U. of Africa in April, 1934, with a view of educating the workers as to the necessity of a united front on their behalf.

It was further resolved that each Province should convene a Provincial Conference on or before the 31st January, 1934, in order to ratify the names of Provincial Secretaries, which were entrusted to the Secretariat to appoint temporarily. It was decided further that each Province will bear its own expenses for printing stationery, and that all Membership Cards to be uniform, adopting the red card with the motto: "UNITED WE STAND, DIVIDED WE FALL."

In view of the fact that nearly all Branches of the three sections had already signified their approval of the re-union, Conference decided therefore, that all properties, etc., held by such Branches in each Province, be transferred forthwith as the properties of the UNITED INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL WORKERS' UNION OF AFRICA.

Before Conference closed, the delegates expressed great indignation at the attitude adopted by Mr. Champion, who from the outset opposed the idea of the reunification of the three I. C. U.s It is hoped, however, that the workers all over the country, particularly in Natal, will ignore men like Mr. Champion, who are a stumbling - block to the way of progress of the Native races of this country. If leaders cannot follow the popular desire of the masses for a united front, but are only concerned with their self-aggrandisement, it is time that the masses in the coming year should ignore such leadership.

H. D. TYAMZASHE.

THE CHRISTIAN APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Ilanga Lase Natal

10-5-34

Umhla ka 9th September eAlexandra Township kwaku usuku olukhulu Ibandhla lamaZion lalivula indhlu entsha eyati yapehlelelwa ngegama Zion Ebenezer Hall. Ababantu babengangotyani. Umsebenzi upetwe Ikomba-ndhlela noMongame'i webandhla umfo ka Mabiletsa exegwe uRev. Mnguni. Kwafundwa incwadi ka I Sam. Isahluko 7 verse 12, wavicaza incwadi kunye negama apehlela ngalo indhlu, ebonga ibandhla kakulu ngomsebenzi wokwaka indhlu esho ukuba kuyo yonke into, noma umuntu kufuneka umsebenzi ukuze abongwe futi ahlonishwe; emva kwe atshumayelo yake wanikeza ilungelo okuma ku Rev. Mbata waseStanderton naye umfo waseMambateni ngokufishane wati kuhle sizejwayeze ukwaka nokuhlala ezindhlini njengoba naseZweni elizayo siterjiswe zona izindhlu

IKwaya yabantwana baseZion yahlabelela ngokuginyisa amate, kwamkelwa izimali zokutakazelela uvulo lwendhlu zipuma kubaninindhlu nakwamanye amahlele akiti atokozisana nati esingenakukohlwa ukuzwakalisa ukubonga kwetu kubo bonke abatibelula izandhla zabo nababa nezifiso ezinhle ngomsebenzi wetu. Samkela imali engango £9 16s. Emveni lokwamkelwa kwemali uRev. S. Slepe weUnited Church of Christ wabongela ibandhla laseZion ngomkulelo no Rev. A Maginya wabusisa wavala inkonzo. IKwaya yabantwana baseZion bacula icilo eliti "Sivabonga uJehova ngokusinika umfo ka Mabiletsa owasenzela iZion" Emveni kwenkonzo kwangena zonke izinhlobo zezibiliboco namaTea Cakes ne Cold Drinks.

Pambili, mfo ka Mabiletsa! Kusasa sizoba sibonga okunye okukulu ozobe usukwenzile, yiyo leyo indhlela yokuhola isizwe.

IZion iSonto labantu
Lipetwe ngabantu
Lipatelwe abantu,
Ukuba kusonte abantu
Nokukulekela amakosi abantu nabantu bawo.

S. E. NKOMO.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

THE N. N. T. U. NEWCASTLE BRANCH AND ANNUAL SCHOOLS' EXHIBITION.

Ilanga Lase Natal

SCHOOL INSPECTOR MR. M. PROZESKY AT THE HEAD OF THE MOVEMENT.

10-12-34

Olwesikhane

(By J. H. R. Ki Malo.)

(Continued from last week.)

During my twelve years of labour in Native Schools I have made a special study of this subject, as I am very keen on it myself. And I am not the only one regretting the neglect with which it has been treated. There are many others, interested in Native Education and Native Schools, who agree with me on this point. That is why so many exhibitions and shows are set on foot, just to rouse teachers and make them interested in a subject, which by right, should give them no difficulties whatsoever.

When we know we have to teach a certain subject, we are bound to learn as much about it as possible. Therefore we should keep our eyes and ears open, especially as regards Manual work. But there is where many teachers fail. They look upon Crafts as an inferior subject, not worth thinking about, something fit for old women. They have the wrong conception that work degrades and I assure you, it is just the contrary. Work uplifts, ennobles, but never degrades a man. If a teacher is faced with the problem of teaching Crafts in school and finds he knows little or nothing about it, how is he or she to act? I say, try to learn from other people, there are many very skilful carvers among the older Native men. Go find them ask them to teach you the way to do it artistically and neatly. Many old Native women are excellent workers in grass and ilala. Get hints and advice from them, watch them at work for a while, and, believe me, you will soon be able to do it well as and perhaps even better than they Make something for yourself and then impart the knowledge thus gained to your pupils. Be enthusiastic about it and you will soon see your pupils as anxious as yourself, for enthusiasm is contagious, especially in the case of teacher and pupils. It will soon be a pleasure for you and for your pupils to go to the Craft Room.

But now let me return to the first point from which I have strayed a little. What is the aim which should urge us on to teach Manual work carefully, diligently and also tastefully?

(1) We encourage in our pupils habits of industry and diligence. Native boys and girls are very apt to waste many precious hours of the day, sitting about at home, doing absolutely nothing We'll, I think if we teachers succeed in making our pupils interested in their work, they will do it, not only in school for the school, but also they will spend the leisure hours at home making things for themselves to beautify and improve their own homes I always encourage pupils to do some of their craftwork at home, if they ask for it themselves, and I know from experience that the hours thus spent busy with their hands, keep our boys and girls out of much mischief, which idleness always brings in its train. You all know the saying that Satan always finds something for idle hands to do. Therefore, let us not only train our children's minds, but also their hands and their spirits. Once you have fostered a spirit of enthusiasm in your pupils concerning handwork, you will see that it will improve them greatly in many respects and whilst they are usefully employed in something they like doing, there is no danger of bad company and sinful pleasures. So it is really a great factor in the moral training of our boys and girls.

THE NATIVE SCAPEGOAT AGAIN.

Ilanga Lase Natal

10-12-34

Olwesikhane

OUR old friend Mr. Abecrombie of Pretoria has popped up his head again to express his venom against the Africans of this country who are working and living in the various towns and labour centres of the Union The occasion this time has been the poor white conference which has been held at Kimberley. In speaking for a solution of this problem he suggested the sweeping of all Natives in the towns in a decade to make room for poor whites who are to gradually take the jobs now given to Native Africans. Our friend has had a brain wave. He at first had the whole conference with him but better counsels later prevailed and his great attempt at legalized robbery of a million human beings' rights was foiled.

WHEN WHITES WERE FEW.

It is not as if the Native Africans were at first the ones who offered themselves to leave their homes to go to the labour centres and towns but the conditions of former days made it necessary for large numbers to respond to the demand to give their labour in order to make the gold industry a success that it has been in the years gone by. Their cheap labour was required and necessary to enable the gold industry to yield the huge profits which it has done to the enrichment of many in this country who would have been otherwise poor and obscure. But now that the whites have increased in number due to this very cheap labour and the poor among them have reached alarming numbers through no fault of the Natives but largely through their own shortcomings the remedy is visualized in the expropriation of the jobs now enjoyed by the Native Africans. What are fiasco would thus be set on foot! The idea of removing a million inhabitants of this country back to their former homes in order to leave the towns and their jobs seems a plausible scheme but utterly impracticable. The whole world would hear of it and stand aghast and undoubtedly would not be silent at the preposterousness of it all.

A country is a corporate body and can only live on and prosper through the mutual operation of its various parts. The Native Africans are an essential part and factor in this country. This has been so decreed by Providence. The white people may be highly civilized and be the inventors of many wonderful things and be able to fly and speak and see at great distances but it would be presumption if they imagine that they can supursede Nature and Providence. This action if it could ever succeed would only show that they are actuated by the vice of ingratitude to evict a whole nation of people for such a selfish end for the reason that the prosperity they enjoy in this land has been largely due to the patient labour and willingness of our people to work at a wage that ensures substantial profits for their white white masters.

This imaginary line of least resistance is attempted by reason of

the fact that the Native Africans having no vote cannot resist this serious attempt to wrest from them their legitimate rights to live and work for themselves in this country and this propensity is only due to cowardice as they dare not imagine it, less to express it as against any section of the people who are strong with the vote and can make them uncomfortable in Parliament and in the public press. These fallacious ideas seen to be common in South Africa as even Ministers give expression to them without compunction of conscience us if Native Africans were not human beings and had no human rights. It is openly suggested in high places and is the policy just now to gradually remove Native Africans from all positions which seem respectable and are desired by some unemployed European. But in spite of the criticism by the Minister of Labour the employers have the human right of deciding who is going to work for them and if the Native African gives satisfactory service there seems no reason to force them to employ European employes with their ideas of superiority and stipulation for minor rights which are not existent with Native African servants.

Lovedale Bible School

Native Opinion

A. B. Simpson, the founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, says, "There is nothing so hurtful as restless working for God has undertaken to work His sovereign will. Often He calls us aside for a season, and bids us be still and learn, and we go forth again to minister." But the Native Minister, in his zeal for the good of his people scarcely gives himself even a few weeks' rest, as certain circumstances do not permit him, and is consequently in harness until old age or death release him. Nevertheless the work which is so essentially concerned with the eternal and invisible realities of God and the Son of Man demands respite from the routine calls. In the words 'Come ye yourselves apart' Christ enjoins rest to His co-workers. Behind the men to whom these words were addressed were the labours of their mission, and in part of them lay still far greater work extending to the unseen future which was to affect the coming generations of all human races. It is the Bible alone that affords rest of mind and spiritual recruitment.—"And there I will meet with thee and commune with thee. Exo. 25.22' It is in the Bible alone where the spiritual senses of fellowship with the Father and the Son are acutely enlivened—One God and the Father of all, who is above all, and is through all, and in you all. What a spiritual environment and enrapture in the atmosphere of heaven which the Bible creates for the minister of Christ. Spurgeon says "the Bible is God's Book and when I sit down to read it, I seem to hear a voice springing up from it, saying "man, read me study my pages for I was penned by God. Love me, for He is my Author.' Is this the spirit with which our people read and think of the Bible? Last year a Native Minister said, "in his congregation of 200 members on the Lord's Day only seven had Bibles." The non-possession and non-use of the Bible by the Christian people of our day are responsible for what Dr. Donald Fraser, a recognized authority in African Missions wrote shortly before his death. "In Africa there are more heathen than there were fifty years ago" Beneath these words is buoyant faith in the African Christians that, with with the creative word of God they are one with the rest of Christendom in being changed from glory to glory even by the spirit of the Lord.

The great problem facing the Christian Church is that worldism and European civilisation have entombed the soul and its God—ward aspirations stifled. It is becoming more and more difficult to think and live for the soul as a person being in man in the same degree that the body is prepared for. Ministers read and study the Bible privately and separately. What would be the result in our land were such isolated fires brought together once a year? What feelings would the Holy Spirit instil into the hearts of our people regarding the Bible when they see and hear how it assembles their Ministers at the Lovedale Bible School in common undenominational brotherhood. Well may one think of an African proverb. Lions which do not sit in council were defeated by a lame-buffalo. "When Wesley brothers and Whitefield and four others in the pursuit of personal holiness covenanted to join each other at Oxford in 1729, and sought to learn the secrets of service, the condition of society was such that evangelical faith had scarcely a name to live. The spiritual outbursts from that little band have been world-wide," says Pierson. In our age the sense of sin is blurred and can only be quickened by the burning word of God Luk. 24.32. Christ is calling "Come ye yourselves apart and learn of me."

The donation of £10,000 from one Christian man for the establishment of a Bible School after a century of medical, educational and evangelistic missionary operations in South Africa is heart-searching. It is a tremendous sacrifice offered to Christ for one specific and sublime object—Christ's meeting place with His co-workers. In the service for God there is nothing more indispensable than privacy with Him. God Himself said to Moses "Come unto me into the mount" there never was in the history of the Church—mililant so many religious conferences, Bible and Prayer Unions as there are in this age. They are a response to the Divine call as the only remedy for the Christianity of our day that has been dwarfed by worldism. Thanks to God that Native ministers have not been in different to this heavenly call to the Lovedale Bible School—a ten days course.

It is in the nature of Christian sacrifices, perhaps even of the ancients, to enkindle love, gratitude, adoration, and call forth sacrifice of some kind. When a slave boy actually realised that he was freed from slavery through the philanthropy of a Christian gentleman unknown to him, he fell down at his feet and clenched him and would not be torn off. The gift of £10,000 has touched many hearts of Native ministers who have not as yet been to the Lovedale Bible School but are seriously thinking of sacrificing time—ten days—as a token of their gratitude for this place of retreat. exaltation of mind, refreshment of the soul and spiritual brotherly fellowship. 25 October—2 November 1934.

Memebers of the Native Ministers' Bible and Prayer Union:—

J. Somaza (Methodist), Shad Mashologu (Baptist), J. W. Nxiweni (Presbyterian Church of Africa), W. Mpamba (Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa.)

Race Problem - 1934
Africa

Impressions of East Africa.

Professor Julian Huxley's Bird's-eye View.

THE theatre at the London School of Economics was crowded last Friday when Professor Julian Huxley gave a discursive address on East Africa, illustrated by some good slides, some of which were, however, rather crudely coloured. He started by emphasising the extraordinary variety met with over a comparatively small area, scenically, in animal life, and also as regards interest in the human population. With reference to this last he said that there are more varieties of physical types in East Africa than in the whole of Europe, and that the variety in development is equally marked. Would that some generalisers about the Native would realise this. East Africa

Professor Huxley stressed the importance of applied anthropology in dealing with the problems of the impact of the white man on the black, which had come to the continent like a thunderclap. He also pointed out how very recent was our knowledge of Africa and the startling rate at which it has grown, instancing that Lake Kivu was not seen by a white man until the 'nineties, in which decade effective occupation of many parts of East Africa may also be said to have begun. 1-11-34

When he talked about the Natives, who have never evolved for themselves a wheel, a plough, building in stone, or any form of writing, he stated that although these things indicated a very low level of culture, he was very hopeful for their future, largely because they are not overcrowded, and not over-encumbered with customs. He added that they are also healthy—an opinion denied by many—and willing and anxious to rise. Central Africa is practically the only large area in the world of which the future is not at all determined, and it may, given wise guidance, develop an autochthonous civilisation. London, England

The African Capable of Developing.

Talking of the impatience shown by some as regards progress, he thought it unreasonable to expect much result from education until a higher background in the home had been provided, and he drove this home by showing slides of schools next to slides of the hovel-like homes from which the pupils came and to which they must return. He warned his audience that there is a pathetic picture to be seen even now of Natives falling between the two stools of primitive content and superficially Westernised discontent, but added that wherever you find sympathetic direction the Native can do perfectly good work.

"We in England have an enormous responsibility as the Power responsible for the greatest African Empire. The future is undecided, but the African is capable of developing, and if we only guide him aright, he may develop a civilisation of his own which will be a real contribution to the civilisation of the world." These were brave, hopeful words, and they were coupled with an appreciation of the way in which missionaries are nowadays really trying to prepare themselves for their important role before they go out, and by an obviously genuine pride in the work of the Civil Service.

The lecturer made little reference to the settler community, and what little he did say was not sympathetic. He also expressed regret that the development of the gold mines was being left to private enterprise, but recognised that this is now *chose jugée*.

One would have liked to have heard from him, as a biologist, his views on what might be called the broader ethical treatment of the Natives: the argument that as they crave, as he admits, for education, they should have it explained more fully to them that the granting of such privileges entails certain responses: in a word, treating them, not as helpless child-races, but as potential citizens of a world Power. But his time was necessarily limited.

As it was, Professor Huxley covered a great variety of ground. He called the white ants "the most successful of the invertebrates of Africa," which is as true as it is amusing. He showed us good close-ups of animals as diverse as the giraffe and the pangolin, good views of the flora, emphasising the predominance of scarlet which is so rare in temperate climates, where fertilisation by bees and butterflies is usual, because bees cannot see red, whereas in the tropics the flowers are pollinated by birds which can. These slides also included a particularly good close-up of one of the beautiful water-lilies on Lake Bunyoni. There were others showing facial types of Natives, canoe structure and many other details of Africa in general: in fact, the selection of views was admirable in that every picture illustrated some relevant point.

Liberia and the U.S.A.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

SIR,—The remarks on Liberia from a New York correspondent published recently have no doubt been read with much interest and not a little sympathy by British people connected with that part of West Africa. The statement that there are now in the United States 14 million people of African descent will come as a surprise to many, because I imagine the figure had been placed much nearer 10 millions, but if there are 14 millions there is all the more scope for them to be of help to the African Republic. West Africa 13-1-34 London, England

It has long been a surprise to many British well-wishers of Liberia that neither the West Africans of the four British Colonies of the Coast, nor the Afro-Americans in the United States have shown their belief in Liberia in a practical way by subscribing to its loans, instead of leaving it to deal with non-African lenders, who, I am convinced, while they have stipulated for fairly high interest on their money, are not really inimical to Liberian aspirations. As to onerousness of interest, this is a matter purely of security, and until Liberia itself puts its finances and its affairs generally into a sound and solvent state, I do not see how its people can complain at having to pay higher interest than is paid by people of better-established countries.

At the same time, I consider that the leaders of this new Afro-American movement in the United S[illegible] the exact value and significance of [illegible] to be seen—ought as their first step to approach the League of Nations, and ask it to make an investigation as to how much of the United States loan reached Liberia in actual cash, and what exactly were the conditions as to expenditure of the money in the United States which were attached to the loans. Failing this, I suggest that the group should approach Mr. Firestone and see what is the lowest figure he would take to relinquish his claims. Then, if the 14 million sympathisers in the United States would raise that amount and pay off the Firestone interest, the world, I think, would be impressed by this practical proof of sympathy.

If something of that kind were done, and if all the Liberian political parties continued their opposition to the League of Nations' plan of assistance, would it not be possible for Liberians themselves to apply the League plan in principle, but have as a kind of League representation some distinguished Englishman, such as, let us say, Lord Noel-Buxton, and some equally distinguished citizen of the United States, who might act in an honorary capacity to advise and help the Liberian Government to do what is wanted? I think your correspondent and many others connected with Liberia are mistaken in thinking that there is prejudice against a country outside Africa because it is administered by Africans; there is distrust, but it is because the country has for years been badly managed.—Yours faithfully,

London, Jan. 1. H. WALTON.

Native Crime in Tanganyika.

East Africa 1-11-34 London, England

Complaints from the Lupa.

To the Editor of "East Africa."

SIR,—The letter in a recent issue of *East Africa* signed "Safari" portrays very accurately the state of affairs in Tanganyika to-day, but I fail to see why he should blame "paramountcy" and you the War. "Safari" is also quite wrong in thinking that the coastal Native is the only one affected. Years after the War the Native inland was willing, obliging, and courteous, but then came a period when it was most difficult to get a Native tried for anything from murder downwards; and it is not very much easier now. The administrative officers in ninety cases out of a hundred are, to quote a police witness, "afraid of the courage of their opinions." They are afraid of censure from Dar es Salaam.

The prisoners who are incarcerated about Dar es Salaam—officials do not like having their own stuff stolen—are in a good many cases better off than their gaolers; in the country districts the prisoner is much better off. Round Arusha, Moshi, Tanga, Iringa and Mbeya are a crowd of Native criminals at large who live by theft and intimidation of their weaker neighbours. If arrested they get three months in gaol, with better food than they have outside, while the work is a scream. Watering the policeman's garden is one job—with the watering can upside down. Cutting wood is another—a sort of Bacchanalian picnic to which by arrangement Native women are invited.

The Mbeya, or rather Lupa, area is the worst hotbed for criminals at large. Thefts of gold are conducted almost openly. When, after tremendous difficulty, thieves are caught, they receive sentences which are no deterrent. Every day European camps are cleaned out of every iota, and practically no one is ever caught. For crimes for which

Europeans are sentenced to five and ten years, Natives escape with imprisonment for months. Yet £10 in cash is equivalent to at least £100 in the Native's calculations.

The police, instead of being continually on patrol, are required to spend their time filling up forms and writing letters inquiring whether Bill A—who carried a rifle in Matabeleland, Zululand and the Great War—is a fit person to have a .22 pea rifle in addition to a 12-bore stovepipe gun; or whether Captain B—who commanded a battery in the Great War—is permitted to have a .375 rifle and a bow and arrow.

Mbeya, Yours faithfully,
Tanganyika Territory. "ULENDO."

[This letter, written by a man well known throughout southern Tanganyika, has been considerably abbreviated. *Ed. "F.A."*]

Aggrey House.

Readers, especially African readers of the younger generation, are no doubt acquainted with the project for putting at the disposal of students from Africa a house in London that will serve many of their requirements during their residence here, away from home. A memorandum setting out the main points of the scheme was recently sent by the Secretary of State to the Colonies concerned, asking for financial support, and the generous and far-seeing way in which the West African territories, especially, received the scheme, and promised to support it, has now enabled the organising committee to proceed forthwith with the necessary building alterations, the decorations and furnishing of the premises at 47, Doughty Street, London, W.C.1. This is the road that leads from Gray's Inn to the old Foundling site, close to the new University buildings, the Inns of Court, and other academic centres.

1-20-34

The house, which will be known as "Aggrey House," in honour of that fine West African, the late Dr. J. K. Aggrey, has been acquired on a long lease, with an option of purchase. It was built about 150 years ago, in the style of the period, and stands next to the house where Charles Dickens lived during his earlier life, and which is now known as the Dickens' Museum.

Readers who have visited England and experienced the difficulties awaiting a young student away from home will be interested to know what steps are being taken in order to achieve the purpose in view. I took the first opportunity and visited the premises, where I found the builders busy with the necessary alterations, and was able to inspect the plans for the arrangement of the various rooms, furnishing and decorations. I was also able to see the preparations being made by the organising committee for handing over to the trustees a well-organised club-house, well connected with other students' clubs and institutions, useful to students and visitors and their social and academic needs.

London England —

What the Club will Contain.

The plans show clearly that "Aggrey House," as far as planning decorations and furnishing are concerned, will compare favourably with any social and residential club in London. In the well-lit basement are kitchen, larder, pantry, etc., and, facing the street, a large and most friendly-looking dining-room. On the ground floor are two large rooms, which can be thrown into one, known in club language as morning- and smoking-rooms, and at the back is a spacious office for the secretary. On the first floor, a writing-room takes up the whole width of the building facing the street. It has a fine, old period marble mantelpiece, and will have eight writing-desks with shelves for any books the students need. Next to it, on the same floor, will be the library, holding the reference books needed for general purposes and those of the students of medicine, law, etc. It is intended to get together, also, a really good general library, to which no doubt many well-wishers in this country and elsewhere will wish to contribute. On the second and third floors are the bedrooms for the accommodation of nine residents, and the club secretary. These rooms all have special equipment for the use of students who want to read and study. It is important to keep in mind that the same nine students will not necessarily, or even probably, occupy the rooms all the year round. Students who so wish—probably the majority who come here—as they become familiar with London may prefer residence elsewhere, though using "Aggrey House" almost daily as a club. But parents oversea will know that their sons can go straight to "Aggrey House," certain that they will be provided either with a room there, or (if "Aggrey House" be at the moment full) with addresses where they will be assured of a friendly reception and quarters at a figure approved by "Aggrey House," thus avoiding many exasperating experiences. So soon as "Aggrey House" opens, the West African student coming to London can go there *certain* that there is a room ready for him at this, his own club, or, in the unexpected event of all accommodation, there being in use, at a place *recommended* by his club.

On the two mezzanine floors are bathrooms and other offices for residents and visitors, and a small garden at the back, paved and provided with trees and flowers in tubs, somewhat after the manner of the Royal Automobile Club, will provide an attractive place in the summer. In the winter, central heating will keep the building warm.

Suggestions Invited.

In order to ensure the comfort of the students, any of them at present in London are free to visit the house now, while building, decorating, and so on, are still in progress, where they will be shown the premises and the plans, and be invited to make suggestions, in books kept there for the purpose. As many readers know, "Aggrey House" is intended to serve West Indians as well as Africans, and the idea of widening the circle for membership is an appealing one, as "Aggrey House" has been conceived in the first instance as a club and meeting-place for *students*, where they can go by right, as to a home from home, meet their fellow students and their friends in London, and find such comfort and assistance as any students away from home, living in the usual "diggings," stand in need of, and which students from Egypt, India, China and many other countries already have at their own clubs.

As a general meeting-place and a centre for social intercourse, discussion, study and information, "Aggrey House" should not in any way interfere with, but rather assist, any other clubs and societies African and West Indian students form and maintain.

Students' Own House Committee.

The internal management of "Aggrey House," such as the drawing up of club rules, etc., the trustees, who will carry the financial responsibility, wisely, I think, will leave to the future house committee, composed of members.

I hope shortly to publish a list of contributions already received.

Knowing what I do of the ideals of the authors of this project, I salute it as one of the most promising means of British-African friendship and mutual respect I have ever known. Of course, everything, absolutely everything, will depend upon the *spirit* in which the trustees go to work, and the secretary applies their principles. Young men, students especially, are quick to sense the atmosphere of a club, as distinct from that of a philanthropic institution. Any suggestion of the latter, and they would avoid the place like a plague. I hope, and believe, that in this, as in less vital matters, young West Africa will find good cause for rejoicing at "Aggrey House," which it is hoped to have ready about Easter.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa.

Misconception of Justice.

Native Opinion (Imvo Zabantsundu) 10-9-34

(By a Native African.)

(Continued.)

But it is usually destructive of far more than our place, or our virtue. Have you ever deliberately set yourselves to imagine and measure the suffering, the guilt, and the mortality caused necessarily by the failure of any large dealing merchant, or large branched bank? Take it at the lowest possible supposition—count, at the fewest you choose the families whose means of support have been involved in the catastrophe. Then, on the morning after the intelligence of ruin, let us go forth amongst them in earnest thought; let us use that imagination which we waste so often on fictitious sorrow, to measure the stern facts of that multitudinous distress; strike open the private doors of their chambers, and enter silently into the midst of the domestic misery; look upon the old men, who had reserved for their failing strength some remainder of rest in the evening tide of life, cast helplessly back into its trouble and tumult; look upon the active strength of middle age suddenly blasted into incapacity, its hopes crushed, and its hardly earned rewards snatched away in the same instant at once the heart withered, and the right arm snapped; piteous children; delicately nurtured, whose soft eyes now large with wonder at their parents! Grief, must soon be set in the dimness of famine; and, far more than all this, look forward to the length of sorrow beyond to the hardest labour of life, now to be undergone either in all the severity of unexpected and inexperienced trial, or else, more bitter still, to be begun again, and endured for the second time, amidst the ruins of cherished hopes and the feebleness of advancing years embittered by the continual sting and taunt of the inner feeling that it has all been brought about, not by fair course of appointed circumstances, but by miserable chance and wanton treachery; and last of all, look beyond this to the shattered destinies of those who have faltered under the trial, and sunk past recovery to despair. And then consider whether the hand which has poured this poison into all the springs of life be one whit less guiltily red with human blood than that which literally pours the hemlock into the cup, or guides the dagger to the heart? We read with horror of the crimes of a Borgias or a Trophana; but there never lived Borgias such as live now in the midst of us. The cruel lady of Ferrara slew only in the strength of passion—she slew only a few, those who thwarted her purposes or who vexed her soul; she slew sharply and suddenly, embittering the fate of her victims with no foretastes of destruction, no prolongations of pain; and, finally and chiefly she slew, not without remorse nor without pity. But we, in no storm of passion, in no blindness of wrath—we, in calm and clear and untempted selfishness, pour our poison—not for a few only, but for multitudes; not for those who have wronged us, or resisted, but for those who have trusted us and aided; we, not with sudden gift of merciful and unconscious death, but with slow waste of hunger and weary rack of disappointment and despair; we, last and chiefly, do our murdering, not with any pauses of pity or scorching of conscience but in facile and forgetful calm of mind and so, forsooth, read day by day, complacently, as if they meant any one else than ourselves, the words that forever describe the wicked: The poison of asps is under their lips, and their feet are swift to shed blood."

Stock-theft In Basutoland.

(The Cape Times 10-9-34)

This quetion which has agitated the Basuto minds for a long time and which, instead of abating, is, on the contrary, becoming more and more menacing because, became the subject of discussion in the present session of the Basutoland Council. It was a motion from the people through the public pitsos preceding the sitting of the Council and it was brought up by councillors who came from different places, namely Matsieng Quthing and Berea. Discussion on this matter was lively and the speakers seemed to be taking the matter seriously and spoke more frankly than it is usually the case. While some members proposed the old-fashioned and savage remedies such as capital punishment, long terms of imprisonment and branding of thieves, others made very useful suggestions such as lashes or where a chief or headman is implicated in a case of stock-theft that he be deposed from his rank. Cr Leloko was the first to suggest the above remedy where chiefs and headmen were concerned and was, strange to say, supported by several others among whom was Chief Theko Makhaola, that important and progressive young Chief of Qachas Nek, who, since his entry into the Council, a few years ago, has proved to be quite a capable and an able leader of his people, and a powerful speaker too.

Another useful suggestion came from Cr. Bolokoe of Mohale's Hoek a nephew of the Paramount Chief who advised the chiefs to hand over all cases of stock-theft to the Paramount Chief's and Resident Commissioner's courts for trial and punishment as they (the chiefs) have failed to impose deterrent punishment on the culprits and the territory has in consequence earned a bad reputation.

It is these two suggestions that we propose to discuss. The first suggestion of deposing a chief or a headman, should he be found guilty of theft, would, no doubt, make the chiefs sit up a bit and think of the consequences before mixing up with the thieves, more especially if such punishment could be applied to one or two cases. But knowing the present day Basuto chiefs as we do we have doubts if any chief with good connection with some important chiefs could be so disgraced. Will not the usual fraternity play its part? There is every likelihood that evidence could be suppressed by threats or some excuses by the courts found to clear the offender from the charge, and in this way the ends of justice defeated. The

older people can recall cases of liquor running where chiefs were concerned and how the followers of a chief would sacrifice themselves to save their chief. There are also cases of public violence where very often evidence is suppressed to clear the chief from all responsibility. Thus it will be seen that though the suggestion appears to be good yet its success under the present condition, is doubtful.

Now we come to the suggestion that the chiefs hand over all cases of stock thefts to the courts of the Resident Commissioner and the Paramount Chief for trial and punishment. This implies that the thieves when caught should be sent to the Paramount Chief who will decide who to try in his court and who to hand over to the European courts for trial. As there are already complaints about the trial of stock theft cases in this court which are those taking place within the area falling under this court we fail to see how the same court could be expected to serve the whole territory with better results. That will be attempting the impossible.

It would have been far better if the chiefs had suggeted the handing over of all stock-theft cases to the European courts for trial and punishment. They are the only courts that can deal effectively with this evil. Already cases of stock-theft from over the border are dealt with in the European courts and such cases are few and far apart. Why, because the offenders know fully well that they connot escape punishment

If there is anything that will bring about the down fall of chieftainship much sooner than anything else it is stock-theft. And if the chiefs want to continue to be chiefs they had better surrender these cases without any reservation. That would be a wise step. The prosperity of the territory has been seriously affected by this menace and it cannot be allowed to continue unchecked as it is bound in course of time to affect the Union in some way or other.

UNITIED INDUSTRAL COMMERCIAL WORKERS UNION.

Ilanga Lase Natal 10-5-34

Mhleli weLanga,

Ak'ungicweshele isikala kuleyo nvaba kaMalandela, kengiti qapuqapu mazwana am'balwa. Ungadinwa Mhleli yim'na, angiyena ohlupayo epeni nasezweni lonke. Kodwa okwenzekayo ezweni kuya hlupa, ngemikuba nemigilingwane, namasiko nokwenza nokukuluma kodwa kube kunga bonakali okuyikona okupumelelayo kukona konke loko kwenza kube kulapo kunga lungile, kuvuk'ukukuluma kupela ngemilomo kube kunga bonakali okwenzekayo ngenxa yomona, nokutanda ubudunanobuho'i nezimendhlela okusika loko kufake inzondo, nokwahlukaniswa kwesizwe esimnyama pakati sodwa. Unozala waloko ngumona nokutanda izimendhlela kubeke loko sekudala incitakalo nokufa kupela. Poke, Mhleli, uma ngikuluma lamazwi njena ngisuswa osekwenzekile eTransvaal naseFree State okute kona kwapeli swa ukufa kwezwe amapasi (the big pass law)kodwa yasala iNatal. Poke maZulu ngiyapinda njalo ngiti yasala iNatal ngiyamangala ukuti iNatal lena yasala kanjani na? Usho njalo umbuzo uti, iNatal lena yasala kanjani yona na? Kulomkosi omk lu kangakayana, owabe uqale ePort Elizabeth waya eBlomfontein naseRand) eGoli, ukuze kuye namanxusa ePito'i eyobonana noMinister of Native Affairs ongu Mr. P. G. W Grobler, kube kulapo wayesazi nobangubani ukuti lomkosi omkulu kangakawezwe lonke namakosi, nabaholi nezinumzane nomkandhlu wonke wabansundu ungakete namIndia naKaladi. Futi kungewona owanimhla lomkosi ngowesikati eside kakulu wabe uhlangene eBlomfontain ngo 1931 owenza lapo iziqumo ziya kuHulumeni weNyunyani encengwa ecelwa ukuba apelise noma enze kangcono kubantu (eTransvaal, naseFree State) Asazike akuti iNatal kwatiwani ngayo lapo, ngobo kulapo ingozi yaqamaka kona yamapasi eyona nempela eyenza ukuba kuizwe lomhlangano ngawo lowo nyaka eBlomfontain kuyokwaziswa kucelwe kuHulumeni ukupeliswa kwe(pass law). Poke una sesitola sibheka Mhleli, siyatola ukuti kona lapo kulowo mhlangano owabe use (Blomfontain) kwabe kungeko nxusa lika Kongolone noma leNatal Minister, Association noma yele Advisery Board, noma yele Workers Union, Joint Council. Njalo, noma ye'e indhlu ukube yalapa kiti kwaZulu elali yile lapo ukuyiswa izikalo nemibona kaZulu kaMalandela, ngesifo samapasi aseze abayisidina emzimbeni yabantu abampofu, nabahlupekayo, nababa lambayo. Poke angazi Mnleli, lapo una babekona, abaho'i balezi nhlangano esengizibalile ngasenhlapoke sesiyozwa ngabo ukuze kuti uma sebesitshenile ukuti babekona sibabuze ukuti poke iNatal, yasala kanjani na? Nanko umbuzo njalo. Poke into yiive engisusayo Mhleli ngisuswa ngobane iNatal iloku yabasemva kuko konke okwenziwayo okwempucuzeko futi kuze kuti nokuhle okufikayo lapa eNatal kufike kufele kona lapa noma kupupele kona lapa.

Lapake sengicela abaholi bonke baseNatal ukuba bahlangane ku South African National Congress, ukuze bakwazi abantu abalandelayo ukuba bahlangane.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Teach us to be Better Farmers.

The Comet 9-26-34

School Boy's appeal to Basutoland fathers for a thorough grounding in Agriculture.

Masson

I think it would be only fair to my readers to acquaint them with the fact that I recently left school and that although I do not wish to seem an upstart by criticising the methods of old men, I want to appeal to our fathers to help us young people who intend taking up farming as a career.

The farmer's son of today has too soft a time of it and this is due to the fact that fathers of today think that children need not go through the same gruelling training that they or their fathers had to complete. This tends to make fathers or farmers make their sons into glorified foremen who only direct in their work, but who never see that their orders are carried out properly and still worse who cannot perform the work themselves. Is it fair to give us young people so much rope in our youth that we'll hang ourselves in later years when we are on our own? I don't think it is. Won't it embitter us to a certain extent against our fathers for their lack of teaching? In some cases it will. At any rate isn't it worth while satisfying ourselves that you have done your duty towards your children? After all that is the primary duty of parents—to do their duty towards their children.

In other countries the children of farmers, who are not the aristocracy but peasants are taught the principles of farming by being made to do the farm work.

Many of our embryo farmers can't do much for themselves, they have always to be served. I wonder what they would do in countries where there are no cheap servants at one's back and call and consequently where they would have to do the work themselves? Such farmers I may say were encouraged by their parents in their youth to have things done for them. If you always have someone to do your bidding you are only handicapping yourself while making the other more capable.

The trouble is that some parents fail to teach their children to fend for themselves. The boy who has been taught to do things for himself has a great advantage over one who has not had such training. So back we are where we were—lack of training - and whose fault is it? Well that of the parents.

At school I remember how certain boys looked forward to their holidays and to the enjoyable parties. There was never any talk of work and to hear them speak certainly made one's mouth water. In conclusion I would like to make just a last appeal to fathers. It should be the aim of every father to make his son a better farmer than himself. For this the farmer should make the training of his son as interesting as possible for modern youth, I hear is very easily bored.

yours,

ASSA S. MOSHABESHA.

Masite

Better Usage of Land

Native opinion

(Imperial Publication)

"It was significant that both Sir Herbert Sloley and Dr. C. H. Neveling (Government Agricultural Economist) believed that the clause prohibiting Native squatting and shares-tenancy in the 1913 Land Act ought to be repealed."

10-2-34

Dr. H. M. Robertson made the above statement of noteworthy importance before the Economic Society of South Africa when discussing "The Rural Native." In further advocating the abrogation of the Natives' Land Act No. 27 of 1913 for its retrogressive effects he forcefully argues that the only solution was to allow Natives to rent land once more. The Land Act had not secured territorial segregation of white and black; it simply tended to substitute labour tenancy for tenancy at money rent. Yet the spread of rent-paying tenants would increase the productivity of agriculture. It would not lead to the quality of farming suffering through the practice of "Kafir farming," where the landowner "farms Kafirs" instead of farming the land. A farmer who is willing to let his land to Natives—who have to pay the rent out of the produce they raise from it—has on the face of it no better use to which he will put the land, if the law forbids him to do it." The hordes of white landowner in the Free State and Transvaal, who, through failure to make their farms produce adequate crops year after year, are the hopeless bankrupts seen gravitating to the urban centres. The FONS ET ORIGO MALI is the Lands Act which drove Native squatters from the European farms. The blacks formerly provided the labour required to make the arable farm lands a paying proposition. The law substituted nothing for that labour which was withdrawn, the net result being the insolvency of the white farmer and the homelessness of the ejected squatters.

Dr. Robertson also touched the important subject of classification of Native groups as affected by domicile. An intricate problem. The reserve census classifications of occupation. "The urban Native," he said, "is usually classed as "agricultural Natives, especially where individual tenure had been extended, were frequently not detribalised; but this is not the case. The other groups of rural Natives—continued to live an almost de-tribalised, while Natives between the two extremes—completely tribal life on some preserve the most valid distinction between the two groups of European-owned land. A fruer picture, he said, would be those dwelling on lands occupied by Europeans subtenants, or European result from accepting the distinction between the other two classes is also ill-founded because of a confusion between the effects of European ownership and European

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

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Better Usage of Land

Native opinion

(Journal Bantu Studies)

"It was significant that both Sir Herbert Sloley and Dr. C. H. Neveling (Government Agricultural Economist) believed that the clause prohibiting Native squatting and shares-tenancy in the 1913 Land Act ought to be repealed."

10-2-34

Dr. H. M. Robertson made the above statement of noteworthy importance before the Economic Society of South Africa when discussing "The Rural Native." In further advocating the abrogation of the Natives' Land Act No. 27 of 1913 for its retrogressive effects he forcefully argues that the only solution was to allow Natives to rent land once more. The Land Act had not secured territorial segregation of white and black; it simply tended to substitute labour tenancy for tenancy at money rent. Yet the spread of rent-paying tenants would increase the productivity of agriculture. It would not lead to the quality of farming suffering through the practice of "Kafir farming," where the landowner "farms Kafirs" instead of farming the land. A farmer who is willing to let his land to Natives—who have to pay the rent out of the produce they raise from it—has on the face of it no better use to which he will put the land, if the law forbids him to do it." The hordes of white landowner in the Free State and Transvaal, who, through failure to make their farms produce adequate crops year after year, are the hopeless bankrupts seen gravitating to the urban centres. The FONS ET ORIGO MALI is the Lands Act which drove Native squatters from the European farms. The blacks formerly provided the labour required to make the arable farm lands a paying proposition. The law substituted nothing for that labour which was withdrawn, the net result being the insolvency of the white farmer and the homelessness of the ejected squatters.

Dr. Robertson also touched the important subject of classification of Native groups as affected by domicile. An intricate problem. The census classifications of Natives, especially where in "peasants," "agricultural as individual tenure had been and other occupa- not extended, were frequently tional groups. This would The de-tribalised, while Natives preserve the most valid dis- the continued to live an almost tinction between the two ded completely tribal life on some groups of rural Natives— be European-owned land. A "those dwelling on lands pean ruer picture, he said, would occupied by Europeans sub- pean result from accepting the ownership and European

though we cannot agree with "The urban Native," he him in labelling any class of said, "is usually classed as Natives as detribalised, his detribalised; but this is not statement on the economic necessarily the case. The subsistence of Natives living distinction between the other on European owned farms as contrasted with Natives settled two classes is also ill-founded on individual land tenure or because of a confusion be- crown land strikes the root of tween the effects of European

sist on wages earned on the spot, plus certain privileges; those dwelling on land not occupied by Europeans—whether it is owned by Europeans, or is a Native reserve or Crown land makes little difference—subsist on their own production, supplemented by wages earned by work for Europeans at a distance from their place of residence."

"Dr. Robertson went on to speak of the Land Act of 1913, which had been unsuccessful in securing segregation, since there was no place where the Native might be segregated."

It is essential Europeans realised that Natives, whether living under conditions of individual tenure or in the urban areas, (and as such are thereby cut adrift from original tribal connections for years in succession) are nevertheless recognised members of their corresponding tribes settled in the reserves. Such Natives have full rights to claim domicile among their kin, if for some reason, circumstances compelled them to return to their original tribes.

The Jury Farce.

Native Opinion 1927 Oct 31

Bantu political and church organisations, Government commissions, and eminent legal authorities have times without number roundly condemned the system of trial by jury in the courts of South Africa. Decisions of cases between European and European have often proved ridiculous and even disgusting to the presiding judges, some of whom have made no secret of their feelings. The administration of justice with the help of a jury in cases between black complainants and white accused has sunk to such a level as to be regarded a sheer farce. It is astonishing that the Ministers of Justice have yet taken no steps to inhibit the downward trend that threatens to stigmatise the much-vaunted law of the land. Despite numerous recommendations that the law be amended to eliminate the jury system, the Minister of Justice did not see fit to include this aspect in the recent General Law Amendment which Parliament passed. There is a law (38 of 1927), the 29th clause of which is designed to safeguard the peaceful relations between Europeans and Natives. The latter have been prosecuted fairly often for its transgression. And yet a law exists in the same Statute Book which provides for a white jury to be elected under a system that would empanel the stupidest of dunderheads and the most inverterate negrophobes South Africa has produced. On the one hand, criminals are being gaoled for a breach of the 1927 Act, while on the other the machinery guaranteed to strain the good relations between white and black—that white jury with their preposterous verdicts—continues to function. A serious threat against the dignity of the law and the courts has raised its head in a new development. Cheap dispensation with the lives of Natives by callous Europeans is being sedulously encouraged by the knowledge that miscreants can always rely on the acquittal by a jury consisting of their compatriots.

To further stress the necessity of an immediate amendment of the law, a judge on circuit has had reason to make strong comment on the conduct of a jury. Mr. Justice Gutsche at East London, two weeks ago, felt the embarrassment of acquitting a European, **Grosskopff on a charge of negligence when the accused rode a motor cycle on a dark night on a black road, with only a small hand torch to guide him, killing a Native woman and seriously wounding two others.** Although the learned judge refrained from discussing the racial aspect, he nevertheless stated that "there were certain elements which made those particular miscarriages deplorable," and concluded with the opinion that "probably nine juries out of ten, CONSISTING OF INTELLIGENT, REASONABLE MEN, would hold conduct of that kind marked negligence."

Grosskopff's acquittal according to the law virtually makes him immune against any further civil action by the relatives of the deceased woman and by the injured women. The Natives have thus suffered death and incapacitation; are left with no means of obtaining redress, all through the verdict of that particular jury. According to their lights, that jury in all probability enjoy the satisfaction of having done their duty, as no question of their educational attainments or social standing was enquired into. The entire issue thus resolves itself to the fact that the law is at fault for placing Europeans in the responsible position of administering justice without imposing a severe test of their knowledge, experience and civic reputation.

Bantu Church Assembly.

Native Opinion 1927 Oct 31

(Contributed.)

The Bantu Presbyterian Church met in Assembly in Johannesburg from the 21st to 26th September last. On Friday 7.30 p.m., 21st ultimo at the Bantu Men's Social Centre, the Right Rev. Candlish Koti, retiring Moderator delivered his well thought opening address, and constituted the Assembly with prayer, after which he was cordially thanked. The Right Rev. A. Dewar, the new Moderator was introduced and welcomed in the usual Presbyterian form escorted by the Very Revs. P. L. Hunter M.A., Y. Mbali, H. Mama, ex-Moderators, and took his official chair.

The Assemb'y received a hearty welcome from the Mayor and Mayoress on behalf of the City and also from the Johannesburg Ministers' Council, the Director of Native Labour, the Johannesburg Native residents. The afternoon of Tuesday 25th was spent in sight seeing round the City, conveyance offered freely by the City Council.

The following changes in the ministry and appointments were announced:—

Rev. Mr. Arnott M.A. appointed by the Foreign Mission Committee to the Principalship of Blythswood Institution. The Rev. H. Mackenzie M.A. acting vice Rev. R. H. W. Shepherd M.A. (Lovedale) on furlough, overseas.

The Rev. Chief H. Mama, inducted to the pastorate of Emgwali, Dohne.

Applications from the Revs. E. M. Ncwana, of the Methodist Church, and J. Jolobe of the Presbyterian Church of S.A. were received and accepted.

Rev. E. M, Ncwana appointed to Tarkastad, Rev. J. Jolobe to Cala and Indwe. The Assembly was informed that in the near future Revs. P. L. Hunter M.A of Gillespie, and B. J. Ross M.A of Cunningham would retire. Agreed to appoint Rev. D. W. Semple, M.A., Sulenkama, as successor to Rev. B. J. Ross with recommendations that Cunningham Congregations take steps towards calling a Pastor; that Gillespie and Sulenkama Congregations be granted a right of Call.

The activities of Mr. Ballenden, Mr Lawrence, Mr. H. B. Piliso, Mr. Radebe, and the Johannesberg European and Native Press were noted with great appreciation iu connection with the delegates.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa.

BECHUANALAND'S LANE OF ADVERSITY.

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One of the main arguments of those who favour the transfer of the Protectorates to the Union is that their economic position is such that, if it is allowed to continue, matters will develop in such a way as to compel the Union Government seriously to reconsider its present attitude in regard to the question of taking over.

At the moment it is not possible correctly to visualise the actual position in the whole of the Native Territories but it would seem that happenings in Bechuanaland during the last twenty months or so have brought about a state of affairs which, to say the least, is far from encouraging. According to the Resident Commissioner, the period under review has been one of great difficulty. Epidemics among the inhabitants, outbreaks of cattle disease, drought, locusts and economic distress have afflicted the country, and "had it not been for the determined efforts made by the Administration and the most generous financial contributions made by the Imperial Government, the Territory might well economically have ceased to exist." This statement is corroborated by the fact that in order to balance its accounts, Bechuanaland requires a further grant of £78,000 from the Imperial Government. While this is materially less than the figure for the previous years, it brings the total grant for three years to £353,000.

Quite apart from other economic factors, the financial position of the Protectorate is well known to the Union Government and in the circumstances few will deny that there are adequate grounds for the recent statement by General Smuts to the effect that the economic position was all-important. It would appear that the Advisory Council of Bechuanaland fully realises the tremendous significance of what has taken place in the last few weeks, so much so that the Resident Commissioner has requested permission for a small deputation of the Council to interview the Prime Minister of the Union on the subject of the transfer of three European blocks in the Protectorate.

Up to the present the Council has expressed no opinion concerning the transfer of the protectorate to the Union, but it is noteworthy that the Resident Commissioner reminded members that the position of the British Government was explained in the House of Commons by Mr. Thomas at the end of last April, when he stated that in accordance with the pledges given when the South African Bill was before Parliament, the House of Commons would have the fullest opportunity of discussing and, if they wished, of disapproving any proposed transfer. The Secretary for the Dominions added that the Government would make no decision until both the Native and European population had had a full opportunity of expressing their views.

In tha light of the facts enumerated by the Resident Commissioner regarding "the long lane of adversity" which has confronted the Protectorate during the past year or so, we are glad to note that the end of this extremely trying period is within reasonable distance - it would appear that in so far as Bechuanaland is concerned, economic considerations will form the fundamental basis of any negotiations in regard to the suggested transfer of the Territory.

Race Problem – 1934

Africa.

Those Native Bills.

It has become an established custom in Government circles to make the Native Bills in the Select Committee of Parliament a happy prelude to a pending general election. Following the likelihood of a general election taking place about the middle of next year, news has again trickled from Pretoria to the effect "that a special effort is to be made during the Parliamentary session to reach an agreement on the Native question. The Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament is to be reconstituted, and it is hoped that this Committee will get to work at the earliest possible opportunity."

No secret is made by the political leaders of the fact that since Fusion has been attained, they are more hopeful of an early agreement regarding the majority of issues still in dispute.

The question arises: what and between whom are these issues in dispute? The policy of complete disfranchisement of the Bantu in the Cape, and their consequent segregation territorially has been the goal of the Nationalists since the advent of Union. Additional land for Bantu occupation has frustrated attempts to realise this dream. The recommendations of the Scully, Beaumont and Economic Commissions for more land to be allocated to Natives have not helped to solve the problem.

The tide of thought and diplomacy seems to have taken a new turn however, since dominion status was granted to the Union Government by the Imperial Conferences and epitomised in the Status Act. General Smuts, as leader of the old South African Party has renounced his policy of a tolerant attitude towards Native rights in order to capitulate with the Prime Minister who held the reins of power. We are aware that the chief points on which the two leaders differed, other than republicanism, were the Native franchise and segregation of the Natives. Once General Smuts made Fusion an accomplished fact, he directed his stupendous mental energies towards assisting his partners, the Nationalists, to win their desires.

A bold bid was to be made to obtain land somewhere in order to carry out the Hertzogian programme. Europeans in Natal, Free State and Transvaal would not yield a single acre. This deadlock strangely resulted in an urgent demand for the handing over of the Protectorates by the Imperial Government to the Union. General Smuts vigorously pursued this propaganda in England recently when he knew well that a settled Native policy in this country still depended on the outcome of the Native bills in the Select Committee.

We must therefore infer that if the Protectorates were handed over immediately as requested the deliberations of the Select Committee would develop on lines of a Native policy hitherto never imagined in the history of South Africa. The Government would be in the happy position of being free to formulate a policy to suit their tastes if the British authorities ceded their wards without safeguards and assurances of a policy acceptable to themselves and the Natives.

Thus it would appear that while the party in power is likely to use the Native Bills as an election bogey, there is also the objective of precipitating the Protectorates issue to win more votes in the Platteland, as an issue that brings republicanism nearer consummation.

[Written to express the views of "Imvo Zabantsundu" by A. M. Jabavu, Market Square, King William's Town.]

DURBAN AND ITS NATIVES.

QUITE recently a letter from the Department of Native Affairs called attention to the very unsatisfactory state of affairs which is alleged to exist in certain parts of Greater Durban, and pointedly asked what action the Town Council proposed to take in the matter.

Some time ago, in dealing with this subject, we emphasised the necessity for a marked improvement in the conditions under which quite a large number of our people live, at the same time warning the responsible authority that a policy of dilly-dallying with the matter would only intensify it. It would appear that since then the Department of Native Affairs has instituted inquiries, and the Minister, in his letter to the Town Council, makes no secret of the fact that the reports that have reached him concerning the conditions prevailing in certain areas are fully justified. He goes so far as to state that these reports indicate that the areas referred to are fast becoming slums in which lawlessness and generally undesirable social conditions are prevalent.

And this was not all the Minister had to say. Having stressed the evil, he suggested a means whereby a remedy might be found, and in this connection mentioned the segregation provisions of the Native Urban Areas Act, at the same time pointing out that this in itself would be of little avail unless those removed from the areas complained of were provided with suitable housing.

It is generally recognised that the conditions existing in certain parts of Greater Durban are nothing more or less than appalling, and sooner or later the authorities will awake to a full realisation of this regrettable fact. An effort was made some time ago to grapple with the question by the laying out of the Native Village at Umlazi, but owing to certain economic factors this scheme has not proved an unqualified success. These factors were stressed by us some time ago, when the hope was expressed that they would receive urgent and careful consideration.

In the minds of many people the absence of anything in the nature of a protest against the attitude of the Department of Native Affairs has been interpreted as an admission of the truth of the Minister's indictment. Be this as it may, up to the present the Town Council as a body has not seen fit to issue a definite statement on the subject. Meanwhile, however, the Native Administration Committee, through its Chairman, has intimated that the Town Council is ready and willing to do every thing possible to eliminate the undesirable conditions at Mayville. The Manager of the Native Administration Department, however, goes much further by suggesting that an additional 200 cottages be erected at the Umlazi Native Location. Will this solve the problem?

We find ourselves largely in agreement with a correspondent who points out that the whole position is governed by the question of earning capacity. Slums, he says, are not so much the product of insufficient housing accomodation as the product of poverty and ignorance. These evils must be overcome before housing schemes can be considered. There is not the least doubt that Native wages, not only in Durban, but throughout the Union, are such that it is quite impossible for our people to obtain a higher standard of life, and the time has arrived when the whole economic position in regard to Native pay and living conditions must be tackled.

In this connection it is both important and interesting to recall the report of the Native Economic Commission, which expressed the view that the slum problem, the housing problem, the general problem of raising the Native standard of living to approximate more nearly to

that of a simple European standard of living are dependent upon the Native's wage level. "We feel little doubt, added the Commission, "that the Native is capable of greater efficiency than circumstances have as yet encouraged or allowed him to exhibit. The objective, therefore, should be the raising of his efficiency and his wages, the one reacting on the other, thereby securing a higher Native standard of living and consuming power which will be as much to the advantage of the community as of the Native".

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Agent General's Position

(From our South African Correspondent.)

When one considers that the total number of Indians in South Africa is less than two hundred thousand, one is amazed to think that such a thing as an "Indian problem" can be said to exist. Yet the concentration of the great majority in the coastal regions of Natal and their proximity to a large tribal African population may help to explain the hostile attitude of many Europeans. Though the Indian does not, as the African increasingly does, dominate the political and economic thinking of the white man in the Union, the problem of Indo-European race relationships has peculiar difficulties of its own, and, especially in Natal, is actual enough.

The South African Indian community is not homogeneous. Disparities of wealth are marked. The merchant class is comfortably off, and in it are to be found men of very considerable wealth. It is perhaps unfortunate that a confessional difference should coincide almost exactly with the economic contrast between the well-to-do merchant and the unskilled worker on the sugar plantation and in the coalmines, or the peasant on the land. Mohammedan charity—real enough within the ranks of Islam—does not extend to the unfortunate Hindu; and there are in South Africa but few Hindus of wealth. The grinding poverty of the lowest-paid Hindus and their terrible living conditions have to be seen to be believed.

Until very recently, the South African Indian community as a whole was represented by one body, the South African Indian Congress, which had attained almost official status. With it the accredited Agent of the Government of India in the Union, appointed as a result of the Capetown Conference of 1927, worked in close harmony.

In the nature of things, the interests of Indian capital occasionally outweighed, in the mind of the Congress, those of Indian labour. And yet the Congress was representative enough. Moslems, Hindus, and Christians all held office in it, and the needs of the very poor, though perhaps not always pressed with the utmost persistence possible, were by no means forgotten. Little would have been heard of the deficiencies, real or supposed, of the Congress had it not been for the furious personal quarrels out of which emerged a new and rival body—the Colonial-born and Settlers' Indian Association.

This body, led by a Christian lawyer and a Hindu journalist—the latter no less a person than Mr. Gandhi's son—poses as the friend of the poor man and the advocate of radical and Socialistic remedies as against the cautious respectability of the Congress. The Congress claims, not unjustly, that it has a saner grasp of the realities of the situation and that half a loaf really is better than no bread.

The actual point on which disruption took place illustrates this temperamental difference. The South African Government had decided to appoint a Commission to investigate the possibility of the participation of South African Indians in schemes of Indian colonisation abroad. There is quite a possibility that this decision was made merely to "call the bluff" of certain Natal members of Parliament who enthusiastically advocated colonisation without knowing exactly when, where, or how it was going to take place. Be that as it may, the Government offered a seat on the Commission to an Indian—a Hindu estate agent of high reputation, prudent and upright.

The Congress, mindful that this was the first time that an Indian had been invited to serve on a Commission dealing with Indian affairs, and believing that acceptance would set a useful precedent, were in favour of co-operating, without prejudice to their views on colonisation. But those who subsequently formed the Colonial-born and Settlers' Indian Association would have no compromise with the unclean thing. They desired the Congress to commit itself in advance to a blank refusal to have anything to do with colonisation. The Congress leaders were far-seeing men of affairs. They realised—as has, indeed, proved to be the case—that the Commission's report would be innocuous, and the precedent of Indian membership of the Commission would be valuable. They finally decided to co-operate.

Then the opposition decided to secede. They criticised their former colleagues in no measured terms. A war of words began which ended in dissolving loyalties of many years' standing. With incredible stupidity the little Indian population, fighting its unequal fight for recognition in a hostile South Africa, was split into two warring sections, with two organisations and two newspaper organs. Even a visit from the Rev. C. F. Andrews a few months back failed to reconcile the two factions. The division seems permanent.

Unfortunately the Indian Agent General has become involved in the quarrel. The Archangel Gabriel himself could hardly have pleased both sections at once. The capable and upright, but very human, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh certainly did not succeed in doing so. He was loudly accused by the Colonial-born and Settlers' Association of having favoured the Congress; and there is little doubt that he did so. It is probable that he, like many others, underrated the support accorded to the opposition group and the persistence of its leaders.

Instead of directing their criticisms against the man, however, the Colonial-born and Settlers' Association attacked the office. They asked why South Africans of Indian origin should require a representative of the Government of India to protect them. They urged that the presence of the Agent General stamped them as foreigners, an unassimilable minority in the land of their birth. They drew attention, justly enough, to the illogical character of the Capetown agreement, which at one and the same time laid down the destiny of South African Indians as absorption into the general Western civilisation of South Africa and provided them with a protector from the gorgeous East. There is some point in their arguments. The striking success of Mr. Sastri during his term of office and the no less valuable service of the Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh and his gifted wife have helped to make workable an office which in its nature is anomalous and probably must be temporary.

The Kunwar and Kunwarani have done more than can be briefly set down to overcome racial prejudice among white South Africans, to facilitate social contacts between educated Indians and Europeans, and to encourage philanthropic social service for the poorer classes of Indians.

The Kunwar has had the immense advantage, in so far as the European population is concerned, of being a Christian. This one advantage led to another, for Sir Maharaj Singh was the first Agent General to bring his wife with him to South Africa. The work which Lady Singh has done there is beyond praise. Indirectly it will benefit every section of Indian womanhood, and its effects will be felt many years hence. But in order to observe this end, much of the Kunwarani's time has inevitably had to be devoted to contacts with leading European women. This very service to her community has led to her being criticised by some sections of it, and this criticism has been exploited, with singular injustice, by the Colonial-born and Settlers' Indian Association.

It is worth while to try the experiment, illogical though it be, of the Agent Generalship for at least another term of office. The appointment is, however, one of great difficulty. Select a man who can work steadily at influencing the European community and he will be criticised as the Kunwar has been criticised. Select a man whose contacts with the European community will be limited, and his chief reason for existence will be gone. The former danger is probably less to be feared than the latter, for whoever is appointed can hardly win the support of the Colonial-born and Settlers' Association, unless they eat their own words.

The needs of the South African Indians, especially of the poorest class, are great. The new Fusion Government has made provision already for more expenditure on schools and on hospital accommodation, but much remains to be done. A wise Agent General could still assist in this progressive movement of European thought—if the rival factions of his own people will let him.

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The South African Indian community is not homogeneous. Disparities of wealth are marked. The merchant class is comfortably off, and in it are to be found men of very considerable wealth. It is perhaps unfortunate that a confessional difference should coincide almost exactly with the economic contrast between the well-to-do merchant and the unskilled worker on the sugar plantation and in the coalmines, or the peasant on the land. Mohammedan charity—real enough within the ranks of Islam—does not extend to the unfortunate Hindu; and there are in South Africa but few Hindus of wealth. The grinding poverty of the lowest-paid Hindus and their terrible living conditions have to be seen to be believed.

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Race Problem — 1934

Africa.

Resident Commissioner's Address

Paramount Chief, Sons of Moshesh and Members of the Basutoland Council.

1. I greet you on the occasion of the opening of the Twenty-ninth Session of the Council. The Council

2. I have learned, with regret, since the last Session of Council, of the death of Councillors Tsepinare Letsie, Joseph Molapo, Ephraim Lebakeng and Lekhafola Selengoane. 10-3-34

3. You have no doubt all heard that Our High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Stanley, G.C.M.G., is leaving us to take up another appointment which has been given to him by His Majesty the King. During the time that he has been High Commissioner, Basutoland has passed through great difficulties and I know that this Council realises the debt which they owe to him and is genuinely sorry that he is leaving us. He and Lady Stanley will shortly arrive in Basutoland on a farewell visit. Sir William Clark, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., has been selected by His Majesty the King to succeed Sir Herbert Stanley.

4. You will remember that the last Session was closed immediately after its opening on account of the exceedingly adverse conditions with which the country was faced at the time. Energetic measures were taken by the Government and large sums of money were expended in an effort to alleviate the distress caused to the Basuto by the unparalleled drought. Fortunately, when the drought broke very ample rains fell and climatic conditions continued to be so favourable that better crops were reaped than had at one time appeared to be possible. The pasture also recovered in a wonderful manner and it must be very many years since such an abundant growth was last seen in Basutoland.

5. Though we may now hope for continued improvement in conditions I would yet urge upon you and, through you, upon the whole nation that the period of distress through which we have passed should have provided lessons which ought not to be forgotten. At the end of the drought, and for many months before, the greatest danger was the lack of water and even a greater danger than the shortage of food. If another drought occurs will it be found that no Mosuto has taken any steps to conserve water? Since the last rains came who have put in a day's or even an hour's work with that object in view? In this Council in 1928, this matter was discussed and I promised that the Government would give all the assistance in its power in the way of advice as to suitable localities for dams and even in giving monetary assistance to those who could show that they had built wisely and according to Government advice. Only a very few have taken action as a result of the discussion.

6. In the past you have overstocked your country and killed off large areas of the best pasture in the world. Further you have ploughed up for agricultural purposes land that have been meant for pasture, often on the slopes of mountains with the result that in two or three years the land has ceased to be of any use either for agriculture or pasture. From this also has resulted a frightful deterioration in your live stock. Where can you see now the kind of pony which made the name "Basuto Pony" famous? Where are the fat cattle that have used to be the pride of your fathers and grandfathers?

7. Then, again, there is the question of soil erosion which is intimately connected with agricultural methods and pasture preservation. Year by year the Basuto have sat still and watched their precious soil being washed away without doing one hour's work to stop dongas. Why the Paramount Chief and the Government? What are the Chiefs doing, what are the peasants doing to preserve the land for their own crops? The Paramount Chief and the Government cannot do it alone; it is impossible for them unless the Chiefs and people discard their apathy and work, yes, work hard to help themselves. The Paramount Chief has done very good work in preventing more ploughing of mountain slopes. Advice the Government is always ready to give; advice we have given for years. This matter is, of course, connected with the others which I have mentioned—donga prevention, water conservation, and pasture preservation. It is also intimately connected with your food supply. Where there has been water preserved, even if your main crops fail, it is always possible to produce some food to see you through the worst.

8. I must warn you of a serious danger that is threatening the country. It is considered probable that there will be a very large hatching of locusts and you all know how they can destroy your crops in a night. Such a catastrophe would tend to throw the country back to the conditions that were experienced last year. The Government in the Union taking the most energetic measures possible and this Government will do all that is in its power. It is most important that Chiefs render all possible assistance. You have already had instructions from the Paramount Chief on this matter.

9. I feel quite sure that you all regret very much that the Principal Veterinary and Agricultural Officer, Mr Verney, is retiring. The nation owes him a great debt of gratitude. He has worked very hard for you and has

managed to persuade you to do a bit of which you now see the benefit. It would have been better for you if you had accepted and acted upon more of his advice.

10. Mr. Verneys place as Principal Veterinary Officer has been filled and Mr. G. T. Henderson will arrive to take up his duties in a few days.

11. Further more, the High Commissioner who recognises that it is upon its agriculture and its live stock that this Territory depends more than on anything else has recommended to the Secretary of State and has received approval that an expert officer should be engaged to take charge of the whole of Agricultural and Veterinary Departments. Mr. Thornton who has been Director of Native Agriculture in the Union of South Africa for many years, has been chosen to fill this important position.

12. As you are aware, a Commission with Sir Alan Pim as its head has been appointed to investigate the financial and economic position of Basutoland and we hope to welcome them here in a few days. The object of the Commission is to study all the means that should be in order to increase the prosperity of Basutoland and the Basuto I have not the least doubt that many wise suggestions will be made. I do not know what they will be but I do know this that if the prosperity of the country is to be increased it is essential that the Chiefs should be alive to their responsibilities, and further that there can be no increase of prosperity without a corresponding increase of effort.

13. The following is a statement of the Revenue and Expenditure for the year ended the 31st March 1934:—

REVENUE.

Native Tax	60,017
Customs and Excise ...	90,040
Posts and Telegraphs ...	12,906
Licence	8,466
Fees of Court or office ...	773
Judicial Fines	434
Income Tax	4,115
Fees for Services rendered ...	1,023
Interest	1,963
Wool Export Duty ...	8,107
Poll Tax	1,265
Civil Servants Salary R. C. Address III. Deductions	4,550
Miscellaneous	12,155
Education Levy	10,340
	£246,144

EXPENDITURE.

Establishments	29,320
Police	33,586
Posts and Telegraphs ..	10949
Administration of Justice	13923
Public Works	26,445
Medical	25,712
Education	39,352
Lerotholi Technical School	5,515
Agriculture	19,949
Allowances to Chiefs and Headmen	11,143
Basutoland Council	736
Leper Settlement ...	19,671
Miscellaneous (including Famine Relief)	55,472
Capital Expenditure ...	538
	£292,113

14. The following are the more important Proclamations and Notices issued since the last meeting of Council:

Proclamation No. I of 1933.

Proclamation No 15 of 1933—Basutoland Donkeys importation Restriction Proclamation 1933.

Proclamation No. 22 of 1933—Basutoland Poll Tax Proclamation, 1933 (imposing a Poll Tax on certain adult males in Basutoland).

Proclamation No. 26 of 1933 Bosutoland Electricity Supply Proclamation, 1933 (making provision for the supply and use of electric power in Basutoland).

Proclamation No. 54 of 1933—Basutoland Postage Revenue Stamps Proclamation. 1933 "empowering the High Commissioner to authorise the issue of stamps for postage and Revenue in Basutoland".

Notice No. 32 of 1933 - Reimposing wool and Mohair Export duty as from the 15th March, 1933.

Notice No. 90 of 1933 Delivery fee on parcels addressed to destinations served by Postal Agencies, cancellation of Notice No. 23 of 1928.

S. Rhodesian Policy.

Prime Minister's Important Statement.

MR. G. MARTIN HUGGINS, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, and Leader of the United Party, issued a statement of policy last week, which was thus summarised by *The Times*:—

"Mr. Huggins says that the immediate task of the Government must be to repair the ravages of the depression, and develop energetically the mining and farming industries, upon which depends the very existence of white civilisation in Southern Rhodesia. The United Party will maintain freedom and further the constitutional development of the Colony.

"With regard to closer political relationships with neighbouring territories, either on the south or the north, the people will be given ample opportunities of expressing their view, by means either of a referendum or General Election. This undertaking is given in case circumstances change during the lifetime of the Parliament about to be elected. At present union with Northern Rhodesia or with the Union is not regarded as a practical issue, except apparently by opponents of the United Party.

"Mr. Huggins says that the revenue is buoyant, ensuring the flotation of such development loans as may be necessary at a low rate of interest. Taxation will definitely be reduced. Assistance to the mining industry by loans of money and equipment will be extended. The party recognises that agriculture needs financial assistance, and the orderly and efficient marketing of farm products will receive its foremost attention. An important feature of agriculture policy will be the development of Native agriculture on lines complementary to, and not competitive with, that of Europeans. An organisation will be created to market Native-grown crops in a way which will ensure to the producer a fair return but not undercut or compete with the produce of white settlers. The amount of encouragement to be given to *bonâ fide* secondary industries will depend on the outcome of the Customs Conference with the Union.

Future of the Natives.

"As regards the Native population, Mr. Huggins says that the policy of the United Party is 'gradual, differential development.'

"We shall endeavour, he continues, to restore the authority of chiefs and headmen until the Native is sufficiently advanced to have Native Councils; and at the same time to revive in the Native respect for authority. A Secretary for Native Affairs will be appointed as chief of staff to the Minister for Native Affairs. This official under the Minister will co-ordinate and control all matters appertaining to Native policy. The Native's economic status will be improved, and his channels of trade so directed that he will not undermine the economic structure of the white race.

"Reserves are to be developed so as eventually to provide for all Natives at present residing on alienated land and Crown land in the European area. It is hoped to re-establish communal life and responsibility. Hostels will be provided for unemployed Natives in urban areas, and any Natives who do not find employment within a reasonable time will be sent back to the reserves or to another area to look for employment. Village settlements are to be established for the large number of Natives employed in towns or living in scattered locations round urban areas. This will ensure better control.

"Mr. Huggins announces that a scheme will be submitted to Parliament with a view to establishing old age pensions, and concludes by saying that the policy of the United Party is designed with the object of improving the material welfare of all classes and races in the Colony. It will take some time to develop, and the co-operation of the whole people will be required to carry it through."

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Bantu Credit Societies.

Native Opinion

(Imvo Zabantsundu) 10-10-34

The Department of Native Affairs has done the Natives of the Transkeian Territories a great service in elaborating a very sound scheme for the provision of Native Co-operative Credit Societies. Proclamation No. 191 of 1934 has been published in the Government Gazette No. 2226, dated 5th October 1934 (price 6d., Government Printer, Pretoria) to give effect to a long-left want amongst the Natives generally. It is a well-known fact that Bantu financial enterprise has, more often than not, foundered on the rocks of monetary mismanagement. The lack of business acumen among Natives has always been a source of wrangling in their financial organisations, actuated more by ignorance and ineptitude than a desire to gain. Thus, instances have occured where the funds of a society initiated with high motives, have been squandered through want of specific regulations that will ensure a lasting preservation of funds. It has become a weakness of the Bantu race to distribute the hard-earned treasure of many years among individual members, as soon as the funds of their associations assume globular proportions. Our people have yet to be taught that financial societies started with definite objects are there to benefit posterity, in the same way that the white man's banks, assurance companies and savings banks have been a legacy from the financiers of a few centuries ago.

A debt of gratitude is due to the Government by the Natives for the far-reaching step of consolidating their economic endeavour. The habit of thrift has made the people England and Scotland for instance, command the respect of the world, and our people might do worse than follow this commendable example.

Proclamation No. 191 of 1934 excludes all other existing laws from binding Native Co-operative Credit Societies established under it. Its salient points are: A Central Committee which functions according to duties assigned to it by the proclamation. This Committee consists of not less than three and not more than five members who will be elected by the co-operative bodies or societies and will hold office for three years, except as may otherwise be provided. Any ten or more persons who are Natives lawfully domiciled within an area for which it is proposed to establish a Native co-operative credit society, and who have collectively subscribed a capital of no less than £20 may, after forming themselves into a society, decide upon the area within which such society shall carry on operations and may apply to the central committee for the registration of such society.

Provisions are fully set out in the proclamation dealing with the liability of members, audit and inspection by an officer appointed by the Minister. Dissolution, voluntarily or by order of court. Division of a society into two or more societies: Prohibition of any person or body of persons from carrying on business under the name of Native Co-operative Credit Society or any other name importing a similar meaning, unless such person or persons are registered as provided by the proclamation. A certificate signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Central Committee that a society has been registered under this proclamation amply legalises registration. Penalties are provided for breaches of the law by individuals or groups.

The proclamation only affects the Transkeian Territories. Schedule "A" tabulates the by-laws applicable to credit societies, the election of officers to the Central Committee. Funds of the Central Committee are drawn from contributions by societies, registration fees, and any grants or donations received; and are to be designated the "Central Fund." Disbursements therefrom are to be made only under a given category of purposes. The objects of the society are to promote thrift and co-operation amongst its members; to make loans to its members for expenditure on projects which, together with the labour and management of the individual borrowers, afford a reasonable prospect of profit, and to create local capital and a security based on collective responsibility of honest and thrifty persons.

Loans to members of the society may be made for use for productive purposes in agriculture, stock breeding, trade, industry or business, or to enable a member to go to a centre where he is able to obtain remunerative employment. No loan shall be made to a member for a non-productive purpose.

THE AFRICAN CONGRESS CLUBS FOR JOHANNESBURG THE REEF AND OTHER LARGE CITIES.

Ilanga Lase Natal - 10-12-34

In order to bring down the policy of the African National Congress from the clouds to Earth, more especially that aspect of its policy which aims at creating the economic foundations upon which to build the progress of the Native African people in this country, I desire to make a short outline or illustration of what the African

It shall be the duty of the "A. C. C." to keep stores and warehouses containing all manner of goods required by members and their families for their own consumption and to be given the right to deliver same to the members at their homes or anywhere else as the case may be, and in whatever condition those articles or goods may be required and upon any terms or conditions as the management of "the A. C. C." may decide.

OBJECTS.

These should be as wide as required but to include the supply of meat, any article of food, accommodations, entertainments, sports and any other necessaries for the benefit of its members or their families. If the Africans increased the support given to "the A. C. C." the latter would be placed in a position to be able to employ more people in their services and also create new openings for our educated young people all over the country. Our young men would get opportunities to serve apprenticeships after leaving schools and before starting business on their own, in the same way as the white people and the Indians do for their own sons and daughters today. The Africans have no opportunities of serving in any apprenticeship and therefore they should fail to compete against greater experience. If the Africans consolidate their cash they will have learnt their great lesson and have really begun to realise the great inherent powers that lie hidden in their numbers today.

I wonder if any one of you has considered the great amount

of money which the Africans bring into their Locations as wages from town every Saturday. Today all that money does not remain with the Africans. It all goes back to town before the end of the week. Now if the Africans will make up their minds to have some of this cash to circulate among themselves they will grasp the necessity of forming the "A.C.C." and see how they may best supply one another with some of the food and other necessaries.

I have suggested that every Location should take a proper and earnest interest in the formation of the "A.C.C." within their own Location for the purpose of getting their own supplies cheaper. The "A.C.C." will be able to get its supplies direct from the producer or the manufacturer and thus eliminate the profits of the middleman or the speculator.

All these so-called "Native Eating Houses" and the "Naturelle winkels" should really be the property of the "A.C.C." under the direction of the African National Congress. These Hotels would naturally have butcheries attached to each one of them and thus offer the direct channels through which Africans all over the country may be able to sell their stock for a good price. The "A.C.C." would get its capital from the General National Fund, "Isivivane or "Isithabathaba" under the control of the Upper House, "Indlunkulu" of the African National Congress. Those who will contribute regularly into the fund will under the Regulations of the "A. C. C." be entitled to certain benefits by way of bonuses, rebates or employment. The idea of making the Africans take shares as in European concerns is still unsuitable to the African masses today but they can be made to understand the need for establishing the "A.C.C." and that they must provide the funds which are required for its establishment Here I should perhaps make it clear that this Fund, "Isithabathaba" or "Isivivane" shall be under the absolute control of the African National Congress, no Provincial Congress should interfere with the progress of the Fund in any Province. The Fund is to be the property of the African National Congress and administered of course through the recognised Provincial Administration of the Congress. Congress Clubs, '(the A.C.C.)" can and should do for the Africans in Johannesburg, the Reef and in every town and District in South Africa today.

The African National Congress, as the recognised National Organisation for all Africans should establish "the A. C. C." and have it registered as a Private Company with limited liability. The shareholders to be the Trustees of the African National Congress appointed by the National Executive and approved by the Annual General Conference of the African National Congress. "The A.C.C." as such to be given power to appoint Local Committees and to establish branches in any city, town, place or District in this country or in any foreign country in which the African National Congress may decide to establish business relations for the purposes of carrying out the objects of "the A. C. C." and to have the power to appoint General Managers, Managers, Inspectors, Solicitors, Secretaries, Auditors, Accountants, Cashiers, Agent Officers and any other Assistants or servants to help carry out the objects of "the A. C. C." or of any of its branches.

The membership in the "A. C. C." shall be exclusively limited or reserved for the members of the African National Congress who have fully paid up all their fees and contributions todate. Every member shall be introduced to the local Secretary by some member of the African National Congress of good standing in the books of the Congress.

AFRICAN WORKERS ARRESTED FOR ASKING OVERTIME PAYMENT

Crusader News Agency

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa. (CNA - By mail) Twenty-three African workers who refused to work overtime unless they were paid, were arrested here October 15. They were workers for the Steel and Barnets Furniture Factory, whose manager invoked the Master and Servants Act to have them arrested.

2162 Seventh Ave., New York

The men are now out on bail. Their defense is in the hands of the IRAKA, African International Labor Defense, which is cooperating with the African Furniture Workers Union.

11-17-34

The men have been working from 7:20 in the morning until after 5 in the afternoon, for one pound a week. In the middle of October, they were told by the factory owner to go on working after five. They refused to do so unless a promised pay for the overtime.

No Legal Limit to Hours

The trial of these workers brought to light some shameful facts. It appears that there is no legal limit to the hours a Native may be compelled to work overtime without pay. If he refuses, he may be arrested and sentenced under the Master and Servants Act. The Factory Act says nothing about hours, and Native workers do not fall under other acts which may limit the length of the working day.

Giving evidence in the case, the accountant of the furniture factory said: "I consider working hours from 7:20 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily. Really, these people have no hours. They work until they are told to go in the evening. White workers finish at 5 p.m. Unfortunately, we can't get the white workers to stay for overtime without permission from the union. We have to pay the white workers for overtime."

Race Problem - 1934

Africa.

CRITICISM ON THE PROPOSED ZULU ORTHOGRAPHY.

Ilanga Lase Natal 10-5-34

(By Steel Nom De Plume.)

Olwesihlanu

I cannot understand the reason for all this trouble about Zulu orthography as the most prominent and universal language, (the English), is a most complicated one. What is required is a revision and addition of some of the foreign words into the Zulu language. A new orthography altogether as suggested by these learned gentlemen is absolutely unnecessary. It would create considerable confusion. If a new orthography is to be introduced at all, it should not interfere with the existing alphabet system, as it militates against the purpose of combining the Bantu languages into one.

The correct method of writing Zulu is now being practised in the "Ilanga lase Natal," and the correct way of spelling will be found in a book called "Umbuso ka Shaka." We Zulu speaking community cannot appreciate the proposal of the new orthography. In order to make it a success, our Zulu educationists should be consulted. People such as the Rev. J. L. Dube, Mr. Josiah Mapumulo, Mr. S. Nyongwana and many others. The results of a conference with such Zulu educationists would be of great benefit.

An orthography which would interfere with the present alphabet would necessitate the reprinting of all the present Zulu books and provide work for the unemployed, if that is the object of this undertaking. It is the English language that badly needs a new orthography because no matter how far you are advanced in its literature you can never be in a position to spell all the words and names without assistance. It takes about 15 years' hard schooling for an Englishman to acquire full knowledge of his mother language, whereas with the Zulu, two years are just sufficient and one can spell any word or name from their pronounciation and without consulting a dictionary. It is an admitted fact that the Zulu language requires its orthography to be revised but the revision should be based on the old alphabet. That method would not subject it to confusion and criticism, otherwise I would suggest the introduction of Bantu Esperanto.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Ilanga Lase Natal 10-5-34

Olwesihlanu

On Sunday the 9th September, I had the good fortune to meet a number of the Reef and Pretoria leaders at 10, Adama Arcade, 37, Commissioner Street, Johannesburg. I had invited as many as I could remember. Among those present were Messrs H. Selby Msimang, R. V. Selope Thema, Z. P. Ramailane, S. P. Matseke (Pretoria), S. A. Leshoai (Bloemfontein,) J. S. Motsephe, Jeremiah Maseko, T. D. Mweli Skota, J. Ngubane, C.S. Mabaso A. Thoka, P. A. Molete and J. H. Langa. Mr. L. T. Mvabaza unfortunately arrived too late having been unavoidably detained. Mr. S. M. Makgatho sent in an apology but expressed himself as wholeheartedly with the movement. I must say that I was disappointed at the absence of Messrs. S. B. Macheng, Moses Mphahlele, R. M. Tladi G.S. Mabeta and a few other old stalwarts of the Congress. I can only hope that they will throw in their lot with me.

Mr. Z.P. Ramailane presided and, in a few words, outlined the purpose of the meeting by pointing out that as a strange in Johannesburg I felt that I could do nothing without the cooperation of the old leaders of the Congress. That being the case it became my duty to call them together that they may advise how to go about things and to solicit their cooperation with my thanks for responding to my invitation.

Upon the assurance that Dr. Seme's constitution of the Congress was not at all intended to over-ride the old constitution but to supplement it, and that I personally had decided to work under the old constitution those leaders who had felt that they could not recognise the new constitution became considerably relieved and at once decided to throw in their lot with me in the reorganisation of the Congress. Following the spirit of the manifesto, these leaders felt that it was essential that all existing differences should be buried and forgotten and that it was time African leaders joined forces in the interest of the race. To give effect to this determination, it was agreed that Mr. S. P. Matseke and Mr. Z.P. Ramailane should convene a meeting of the Transvaal African Congress forthwith when the last nail on the coffin of discord will be driven as never before. Mr. Matseke expressed it as his candid opinion that in the event the majority at the meeting deciding that his election to the Transvaal Presidency was irregular, he would resign in order to contest the office once more. It was decided that the matter be settled at Randfontein on the 29th September to the 1st. October, 1934 at a special meeting of the Transvaal African Congress already convened by the Executive Council of that body.

I was there and then urged to summon a meeting of all African leaders at Bloemfontein of the 15th, 16th and 17th December next on the lines of the manifesto and with a view to harmony and cooperation among the leaders. This I promised to do, and each leader promised to use his influence with other leaders to make the meeting a success.

On the question of policy, it was felt that Congress could not be run on old lines as times and conditions had changed and the people had long accepted the basic principles of the Congress. All what they wanted now was what Congress intended to do for them. Mr. H. Selby Msimang was requested to draft a policy for the Congress which he would submit to a few local leaders prior to the Bloemfontein Conference of leaders.

Messrs. S. P. Matseke and Z. P. Ramailane were requested to draw up a programme of my itinerary on the

Reef and Pretoria and that Mr. Ramailane should assist me in the reorganisation and resuscitation of branches.

This concluded a most successful and splendid meeting.

E. MDOLOMBA.
Secretary General,
African National Congress

Insolence a Justification?

Native Opinion 10-23-34

Major C. L. R. Harries magistrate of Ladysmith Natal fined one I. J. Bezuidenhout, 26 a farm manager £1 or seven day's hard labour for assaulting a Native. According to the evidence, on the 26th September last the Native was trussed up with a reim which passed round his neck and fastened to his right arm, and again to his left leg and was finally secured to a stake that had been driven into the ground. The muscular power of an induna was requisitioned by Bezuidenhout to further subdue the Native. Bezuidenhout immediately launched the offensive on the strength of a report that the Native was responsible for the death of a calf as a result of his dereliction of duty. The Native completely disarmed, Bezuidenhout is reported to have flogged him with a harness trace, struck him all over the body, paused for an interval, kicked him in the stomach, until the induna remonstrated. Bezuidenhout stopped and re-started the flogging until the Native was dazed and unable to walk for three days.

This evidence was corroborated by another Native witness. Bezuidenhout, in his evidence, said the Native became insolent when asked to explain matters, and also threatened to strike him with a stick. He admitted the trussing and flogging, and also stated that he came from Transvaal, and had been in Natal one month. He had struck the Native 20 blows.

In convicting the accused as above-stated the magistrate said he would accept the evidence that the Native was insolent.

We therefore conclude that apparently insolence is regarded by the magistrate as a provocation; in which case it would mitigate the accused's culpability. If the bench took into account the insolence of a Native to a White man as a justification to take the law into his own hands, could insolence by a White man be similarly regarded of any legal value in liberating a black aggressor? The instrument of the law (The Master and Servants' Act) could have been invoked by Bezuidenhout in lieu of the flogging but no reference was made to this by the magistrate for the accused man's enlightenment. The suggestion made by the court was to the effect that "had the matter ended in a fair fight the case would never have come to court." By hypothesis, if a fair fight had resulted and the European had had his skull broken in two, would the case not have came to court even then? The impression left on Bezuidenhout's mind by the court is that he should have given the Native servant a square fight for his dereliction of duty. The White man will probably resort to this panacea when he again clashes with a Native servant, and if results are disastrous to himself, the magistrate will be faced with a knotty problem in endeavouring to undo his precedent.

Noted South African Writer Visits Daily World Plant; Lauds SNS as Remarkable Newspaper Venture

Atlanta Daily World 10-28-34

I. H. W. Shepherd, chaplain of Lovedale and director of the publicity of the Lovedale Press, Cape Province, South Africa, who is touring the country making a three months study of the conditions of the American Negro, was a visitor at the Atlanta Daily World plant and offices Saturday.

Mr. Shepherd, a native of Scotland, has visited a large number of centers of Negro population in this country since landing in New York and has spent a considerable amount of time in New York City, Toronto, Canada, Rochester N. Y., at Yale university, Washington, D. C., Hampton Institute, Norfolk, Va., Durham, Chapel Hill and Charlotte, N. C., and in this city. When he leaves here Tuesday, he will go to Tuskegee where he will make a close study of the working of that famous institution.

Questioned as to the general comparison of the natives of Africa with the American Negro, the South African divine was quick to point to the fine progress being made by the members of the Bantu tribe, many of whom are quite polished and civilized, judging by the white man's standards. Rev Shepherd asserted that there were some 12,000 Bantus in the Cape Province registered as voters, and that property owning and educational quaifications governed their use of the ballot He was loathe, however, to discuss in detail whether or not there was any effort to seriously enforce these electoral prerequisites upon the members of the white group in South Africa as was practiced upon the darker natives.

Mr. Shepherd is making this special study under an agreemant between the Carnegie Corporation of this country and the Visitors Grand Committee of South Africa. He is also widely known as the author of several books, among them "The Bantu" an intimate study of this tribe, described as one of the most advanced in the world; "The Humanism of Jesus" and "Under the Oaks," a collection of sermons.

Ahe distinguished visitor lauded the members of the World and SNS staffs for the progress that has been made, stating that the Atlanta Daily World is being regarded with much interest throughout the civilized world as the only daily published by and for Negroes in the universe. He stated that the general question uppermost in the minds of all persons who have heard of the publication is "How can the Negroes in Atlanta have a daily newspaper when no other city, even with a larger population, is able to boast of a daily of that kind."

Rev. Shepherd also paid a tribute to the Scott Newspaper Syndicate for the other publications printed in its shop and expressed much surprise when he learned of the large number of weekly newspapers being turned out in the local plant. He was impressed to the organization and program of the concern that he promised to make another visit to the plant before his departure late Tuesday.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

THE N. N. I. U. NEWCASTLE BRANCH AND ANNUAL SCHOOLS' EXHIBITION.

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SCHOOL INSPECTOR Mr M. PROZESKY AT THE HEAD OF THE MOVEMENT.

Ilanga Lase Natal

(By J. H. R. K MALO.)

(Continued from last week.)

10-12-34

(2) We encourage habits of neatness and develop natural abilities which slumber in every human being, but need to be brought out and improved and which only expand when they are made use of. But to reap these results we teachers are bound to supervise all work closely, at least until our pupils have acquired a certain amount of skill in their work. Yet much tact is necessary if we want our children to work cheerfully and with enthusiasm. We must never depreciate their ideas, but as far as possible, let them work them out. Very few children are naturally neat and tidy. Work done without close supervision may look good to the superficial eye, but the expert will at once detect beneath it all slip-shod, careless, if not dirty work. There is our task. We must teach our pupils that cleanliness is the most important factor for successful work. Let us provide a basin and some coarse towels just outside the craft room where they can always wash their hands before commencing their work. When work is progressing let us keep an eye on every one. Are they plaiting evenly, are the joints made neatly, is the sewing done in such a way that it cannot be seen on the outside? Let us take an example: A child is going to make an ordinary door mat, a task not worth talking about, you will say. Yet this very common mat as it progresses, will reveal to you a great deal of the pupil's character and at the same time of teacher's the supervision. Of course there are some children very ambitious and naturally endowed with a sense of the beautiful, and they will give you very little trouble in any work. But these are rare and the majority of children just do care. They will plait away in a slip-shod fashion, not minding uneven work, wide joints, narrow beginnings and endings and vice versa. They care not if you do not care. They will plait away in a slip-shod fashion, not minding uneven work, wide joints, narrow beginnings and endings and vice versa. They won't bother to conceal the string, ilala or whatever material they are using to sew the mat together. They won't care to work a nice, even design, they just work away in a slovenly way if we do not watch them closely. Here is again our task from the beginning supervision and advice are absolutely necessary. Let children show you the material they have collected, grass, mealie husks, ilala, palm leaves, fibre, or whatever they are going to use. Ask what they would like to make, if it is in accordance with the syllabus do not discourage them. Give a few hints as to the best of making the article in question, tell the child what width of plait, what design, etc, you would advise to use. Then let the pupil begin, but do not lose sight of any pupil in your group, note each one's progress carefully, where carelessness creeps in, correct at once, show the child how to remedy and do better. Don't let the child begin a second article before the first one is completed unless you are, by circumstances, compelled to do so, for instance, should you run short of material. Usually an incompleted article put aside will never be completed and I have noticed that our Native children have a tendency to start plaiting what they will throw into a corner to morrow. They must never be allowed to do so, for this encourages careless, wasteful habits. If work is closely supervised, lesson after lesson, there can be no question of useless, soiled, untidy work. Moreover, pupils are very sharp. They will soon see that their teacher takes a real interest in their work and consequently they will be anxious to do it well. Soon you won't have to ask them to show you their work, they will come of their own accord to let you see their progress. Here I am speaking from my own experience, not only in Manual work but in Needlework and Gardening as well. If you are interested, enthusiastic about it, your pupils will be so too. But if you are indifferent, your pupils won't bother either. I have seen a teacher sitting in the middle of the group of 20 or 30 pupils busy doing grasswork. She absolutely took no notice of, nor interest in her girls' work, letting them do as they pleased whilst she was reading a book. It was not on one solitary occasion, but lesson after lesson, and I was wondering what quality of work those children would produce. On examining the work, I found one good piece of work among the whole lot. Sad, but true. I am sure you all agree with me when I say that t is is not the way to train our pupils in habits of neatness and love of work. If they have to undo work which is already far advanced, they resent doing it, or they have a very keen sense of justice, and they see that it is as much, or more, the teacher's fault than their own. If work is controlled properly, there is no possibility of creating ill feeling and discontent in the children, for there will be no chance of a great deal of slovenly work. "A stitch in time saves nine" can here be applied. If teachers and pupils thus co-operate in their work, a happy atmosphere will reign in the craft room. I tell you that I am never happier than when I am working away among the children. Their bright faces and eagerness in their work make me forget weariness and trouble, and time just flies when we are at work. When I ring the bell at 2. 30, there is a general "Auh" in the room. They regret leaving off work and it is the same in the evenings when we do craftwork with our boarders. Their fingers are as quick as their tongue and the night prayer bell rings all to soon. Of course, whilst I am with them I never have a minute I could call my own I am always besieged, and a

I say sometimes to them, "persecuted." But they know and understand that I have always time for them and I do not want to neglect them.

Misconception of Justice!

Native Opinion

(By a Native African).

10-23-34

(Continued.)

You may, indeed, perhaps think there is some excuse for many in this matter, just because the sin is so unconscious; that the guilt is not so great when it is unapprehended, and that it is much more pardonable to slay heedlessly than purposefully. I believe no feeling can be more mistaken, and that in reality and in the sight of heaven, the callous indifference which pursues its own interests at any cost of life, though it does not definitely adopt the purpose of sin, is a state of mind at once more heinous and more hopeless than the wildest aberrations of ungoverned passion. There may be, in the last case, some element of good and of redemption still mingled in the character, but, in the other, few or none. There may be hope for the man who has betrayed his friend in fear; but, what hope for him who trades in unregarded blood, and builds his fortune on unrepented treason?

But, however this may be, and wherever you may think yourselves bound in justice to impute the greater sin, be assured that the question is one

of responsibilities only, not of facts. The definite result of all our modern haste to be rich is assuredly, and constantly, the murder of a certain number of persons by our hands every year. I have not time to go into the details of another. On the whole, the broadest and terriblest way in which we cause the destruction of the poor namely, the way of luxury and waste, destroying in improvidence what might have been the support of thousands; but if you follow what I have endeavoured to lay before you to day you will find that wherever and whenever men are endeavouring to make money hastily, and to avoid the labour which Providence has appointed to be the only source of honourable profit; and also wherever and whenever they permit themselves to use it luxuriously, without reflecting how far they are misguiding the labour of others; there and then, in either case, they are literally and infallibly causing, for their own benefit or their own pleasure, a certain, annual number of human deaths; that, therefore, the choice given to everyman born into this world is, simply, whether he will be a labourer. or an assassin: and whosoever has not his hand on the hilt of the plough, has it on the hilt of the dagger. Whilst life is a sordid scramble in which the prizes are pernicious wealth, and luxury and idleness, and in which the blanks are hunger, ignorance, vice, unhappiness the prison, and the gallows; immorality and crime must flourish as pestilence flourishes in a filthy, pent, and insanitary city. It is sad to see the custodians of the public morality bewailing the wickedness of men, and fostering the evil suroundings from which the wickedness springs. It is as foolish as to refuse to drain the marsh from which the malaria comes, because it is the property of a grand duke who wishes to shoot wildfowl there.

THE AFRICAN CONGRESS CLUBS FOR JOHANNESBURG THE REEF AND OTHER LARGE CITIES.

(Continued from last week.)

The "A.C.C." will enable the African National Congress to advocate among its members, the use of foods which are produced from Native sources from the country and help to open African Bazaars for this purpose in all our large cities and in Johannesburg. Some one has even suggested that the Africans should have a day in the week when they must use Native foods and nothing else. The Jew and the Indians are giving us very useful lessons on these lines and for that reason they are able to support their own widows and orphans and to give employment to their own people. The European dieting is unsuitable and too expensive for the African workers in town.

The "A. C. C." should for instance be able to produce a proper loaf for the African worker at a much cheaper rate t an the bread which we buy from the European shops today and which are deficient in proper nutrition and not so foodsome. The other day in the African Locations in Rustenburg I was surprised to see the Africans use very good bread of their own make, bread which is 75 per cent better than the loaf which you buy in town, with the possible exception of the Jewish bread. Why should we not club together and agree to make our own bread in Johannesburg and employ our own young men and women in the trade? Just think how many sixpences from wages of Africans go out every day to buy bread and which money could easily circulate among ourselves and help to improve our own conditions and to employ one another just as the Indians are doing in this country today. You never will find a poor Indian, especially the Mahommedan Indian working for a foreigner. Their laws and customs are very much like our own laws and customs. They have a sort of communism like our family system of ownership. Each family was a social and economic unit with legal rights to manage and control its own members. There can be no unemployment under our old native system where there is sufficient land and water for the growing of crops.

I hope that the General Secretary of the African National Congress, the Rev. Elijah Mdolomba will succeed in establishing branches of the African National Congress in every Location on the Reef. The present policy of the Congress today lays down that every Branch of the African National Congress shall be managed by its own officers who have been duly elected by the local members of the Congress. The books of the Congress shall be kept properly by the officer of the branch and all financial transactions to be fully reflected in those books. Each Branch of the Congress shall elect two delegates to represent that Branch in the General and other Conferences of the African National Congress as well as in the Provincial Conferences of the recognised Congress Executive.

UNITED NATIVE NATIONAL CHURCH OF CHRIST.

U MONGAMELI OMUSHA.

Ngomuhla ka 20 kuze kube 24 Sept. 34, bekuhlangene umhlangano weChurch Council yebandhla elingasenhla. Wabingelelwa uMnumzane u S. M. Kuzwayo, uChairman waseDurban ngezwi kwabaseRoma 13. 11- 14, wasebeka amazwi okubonga ukufika komhlangano efisela umhlangano inqubo enhle. Eshlalweni kwaku uRev. Ph. J. Mkize esekelwe u S. M. Kuzwayo uMbhali kung A.M. Ntuli was'Ekukanyeni, kwakishwa lezi zinqumo:

1. Ukushutshwa komongameli omudala uRev. P. Lamula njengo kusho komuteto webandhla esigabeni soMongameli, kwamiswa uRev. Ph. J Mkize kwaMpunzana School, Nongoma P. O.

2. Ukuyocelela ibandhla amalungelo kwaHulumeni.

3. Ukuyo kalela ibandhla las'Ekukanyeni kwaMapumulo lapa kupete kona uRev. H. K. Mtembu, ebeselimisiwe izinyanga ezimbili ukuba lingasorti yiMantshi yakwaMapumulo ngesizatu sokuti alikangeni emtetweni.

4. Kwatunywa laba: Rev. H. K. Mtembu was'Ekukanyeni no Rev. Ph. J. Mkize osewuMongameli no Rev. D. Msomi was'Ekupilen i nendabe, bahambake ngoLwesibili 25 Sept. 1934, ukuyobonana noNdabazabantu eMgungundhlovu.

Esigabeni sokuqala uNdabazabantu ubuzise kakulu imfundo yoMengameli omusha nokuti wayengowalipi ibandhla enamalungelo mani ebandhleni. Kutenoba esenelisiwe ukumubuza wasemuyala uMengameli omusha ngokuti kawozipata kahle pambi kuka Hulumeni ngoba arabandhla onelwa yibo oMengameli. Esigabeni sesibili wati. Akenibe kahle ukusifaka lesisicelo senu nobuya nibuye kodwa uHulumeni utanda ukuba niqine kahle.

Esigabeni sesitatu uNdabazabantu ucela yena uRev. H. K. Mtembu ukuba alande ngokumiswa kwake nokuti wamiswa iyipi iNkosi. Eselandileke, kwapenywa emabhukwini omuteto kwatiwa awuko umuteto ovimbela abantu ukuba bazisontele emizini yabo ngapandhle komuntu osaka ake indhlu ngapandhle kwemvume kaHulumeni. Ekubuyeni kwabo kwaNdabazabantu batusa kakulu impato nezeluleko abayalwa ngazo basho nokuti impela zifana nezikayise endodaneni yake. Kwanqunywa nokuti umhlangano ozayo uyoba kona lapa eDurban ngomhla ka 29. ku December kuze kube ngo 1st kaJanuary 1935.

A. M NTULI

Race Problem – 1934

Africa

Future of the Non-European in South Africa.

Native Opinion

BISHOP SIMS' ADDRESS.

10-30-34

"What is the future of the non-Europeon in South Africa?"

A vital question! At the moment, **one around which hinges the political, economic and social welfare of the whole Union. And one, screaming aloud for solution, before the country will enjoy any lasting prosperity.**

In an optimistic address on the subject, speaking to a gathering of the Roodebloem Brotherhood at Woodstock, Cape Town, on Sunday 14th October the Right Rev. D. H. Sims, presiding Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Africa, endeavoured to answer this question.

"The social order is not what the best wish is to be," said the Bishop in prefacing his address. "The 'is' is not the 'ought.' The real is not the ideal. But the social order is not static. It moves, it changes, and there is hope for a better day, if the changes in society tend towards the goal of progress. It is irrational to have society divided into sections and classes according to colour of the skin and the texture of hair, but it is so, and therefore we must start with what is so."

"The most of us belong to that branch of the human group in South Africa called non-European. If there is any question, which should constantly engage the attention of students over the world, it is the future of the existing society or its sequences. No patriotic institution can shunt to a detour, the question which people ask to-day: What will be our fate to-morrow?"

"There are two ways of looking at the question," continued the Bishop, introducing the subject proper. (a) What of my future as an individual, and (b) What of the future of the group of which I am a member? These two are inter-related and inter-dependent.

South Africa is a land of great promise. It is filled with opportunity, It has an advantage which many of the nations have not. It has youth on its side, and it is not yet burdened with useless traditions, which fetters the hands of many older countries.

It is the consensus of opinion among relations that in some future time the non-Europeans' state as to colour will be quite different to the present status. The majority with European blood who can "pass," will slide over into the European ranks and be lost to the non-European group. That process goes on even now. The remaining two extremes in colour within the non-Europeans will gradually encroach on the middle colour group, and there will be a general levelling up, The result will be "means between the extremes" in colour.

In fact, the same process is affecting the whole human race, and in some thousands of years to come the present colour scheme shall have given way to another, between the two extremes of white and black. It is inevitable.

The non-European's hope in the skilled trades is blurred by the Act, which practically makes it impossible for the non-European to become an apprentice, and apprenticeship in South Africa is a potent factor in skilled labour progress.

The amount of money available for public education from the Government Treasury does not bolster hope very high for the future. The present pro rata wealth does not prophesy well for the future of non-Europeans. The gate to the professions is barely standing ajar.

The co-operation of the non-European within the group has been a sad story, and somewhat discouraging. He has had the crab sin. Individual competition has been too prevalent. Selfhelp has not functioned to any large degree among non-Europeans. He has **been too much of a baby, and too often a parasite.**

Persistence and dogged tenacity have not found the valuation among non-Europeans, which must play large parts in the upward climb of any people who would be great.

The monster, Race Prejudice, has fatted and dominated in South Africa to too large a degree. It is a form of insanity. We find her venomous claws choking Justice So well has she done her work that her propaganda has become contagious and epidemic, and we find some of the bitterest and most irrational race hatred or "Colourphobia" within the ranks of the non-European himself. The Coloured cannot consistently say to the white man. "Take your foot off my neck" until he removes his from the neck of the Bantu.

The laws which govern and effect particularly the non-European mostly, are not calculated to generate enthusiasm on the part of the non-Europeans who think.

Vocational diversification is at present at a low ebb. Out of the many occupations in South Africa, about thirty being prominent, the non-European is chiefly confined to five: Teaching, preaching, common labour, domestics and hawkers.

Leadership, with few exceptions, has been very poor, non-productive and competitive. Ofttimes it has been too impulsive. It has been spasmodic often to a grievous fault. We have the reputation for starting anything, even a civilisation, on the instalment plan and abandoning it on the same plan. Of course, there have been a few stalwarts like Dr. A. Abdurahman, who stand out like giant oaks in the forest.

But withal, the non-European is here, and is here to stay. He has portrayed some characteristics which give hope. As a rule, he is not revengeful, and forgives easily. This has a lot to do with the tranquility of South Africa. Bolshevism is practically zero among the non-Europeans. In the second place, he is a great imitator, and often imitates the virtues. In the third place, he does not easily despair, for there are not many suicides among non-Europeans. He is hopeful, when every ray of light seems to be absent from the social horizon, he marks time and hopes on. He has been a hard worker. He is the **economic backbone of South Africa, in spite of the fact that he does not profit much from his labour on account of present economic systems. There is a growing awakening on his part to his own status, and yearning for a change.** Alongside of this is a parallel attitude of discontent, and wholesome discontent is a forerunner of improvement.

There is increased interest in, enlightenment on, and serious study of the conditions of the non-Europeans, On the part of the Government (the Hofmeyr Commission), proposals in the Native Affairs Department about "Pass Laws," "Guest Tax," housing schemes and education facilities, the A.P.O., the Bantu European Conference, the John R. Mott, the New Education Fellowship Conferences, the Institution of Race Relations, the Universities and Colleges for Europeans in South Africa, in their courses and clubs for the study of non European problems and relationships.

The Churches have done much on inter-racial matters but I feel that the Church has not lived up to its opportunity. Lack of courage has been one of her besetments.

The non-European has a fine sense of humour, which has served him well in crises, and has acted as an overflow pipe or safety valve for the animosity gas arising from social injustices.

"The hope of the non-European as I see it," continued Bishop Sims, "must lie along the following lines.

"Education. May I define education as participation in complete living. I distinguish education from training, academic certificates, degrees and technical facilities. I mean education which enables

individuals and groups to adjust themselves profitably and properly to a changing world and changing needs. Education that comes from home, school, and other environmental associations.

"Economic base. A huge portion of the world's ills to-day is economic. Millions of people are denied the privilege of earning a living. Non-Europeans must seek economic opportunity, or else one of the doors of hope is locked. Economic emancipation of the non-European will be beneficial to the country and develop a home market. It may be a long fight, but it must be made and the economic base realised.

"Race pride is one of the essentials of progress. Nobody is proud of one who is not proud of himself. The psychology of race pride explains many successful enterprises on the part of the race that suffers, but works and hopes on, and still is proud and conscious of its kind.

"A dynamic patriotism. The non-European who loves his country, not only in words but deeds, who will say my country's progress must not be retarded by me or mine, is helping to open wider the door of hope. There should be exhibited the guardianship of service and sacrifice for the best for which our country stands. Any non-European who is not true in spirit and deed to South Africa is not entitled to the protection of her flag.

"What group of people in South Africa have claim above the non-Europeans to Africa as homeland? Others may be guests, but, in spite of the entertainment to the contrary, the non-European is host in South Africa.

"Persistence—keeping eternally at whatever is good and whatever is the programme of progress. A dogged determination to do or die.

"Co-operation on a fifty-fifty proposition. Not a day of individual supremacy. The world's work is done by groups. All groups successful to-day are co-operative groups. Our future bids us choose wisely. Team work is the call for the successful future. Co-operation within the group and between the non European and European groups. It is false philosophy, it is poor economy it is impossible and sheer nonsense to try in this sub-continent to make headway without the co-operation of the best Europeans. The Europeans will never try in South Africa to get along, especially economically, without the non-Europeans.

"The non-European students and Cause have much to hope for from the European student, who is to-day overriding tradition in our land, and facing the future squarely and with resolute courage.

"One of the great weights hanging around the neck of the non-European in South Africa is inherited attitudes from the past on the part of the Europeans, most of whom conceive of the non-Europeans as having a fixed status which he cannot pass, regardless of worthy effort, environment and opportunity. Many, too many, Europeans adopt the attitude which, so far as I can ascertain, is peculiarly South African. It is this: 'They shall not pass.'

"The challenge of the time is that the European approach the whole question of the future of his non-European brother with an open mind: with what is known as the scientific point of view, facing facts instead of turning his back upon them. Non-Europeans are usually taken on their 'face' value, and not their par value. Increasingly in South Africa the white man is willing to listen with an open mind and impartial attitude to, the appeal of, and for justice to the non-European. This is the ground for optimism in this great race problem."

HYBRID BILL

NOTIFICATION OF INTENTION TO APPLY FOR PERMISSION TO INTRODUCE A BILL.

Notice is hereby given that it is the intention of the Minister of Native Affairs to apply for leave to introduce into the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa at the next ensuing session thereof a Bill relating to the award of land to the descendants of the late John Dunn.

The general objects of the Bill are:-

(1) to declare that the descendants of the late John Dunn are entitled to the award of certain land in Reserve No. VII A, commonly known as Dunn's Reserve, in the District of Mtunzini, Zululand;

(2) to provide for the appointment of a Commission to determine which persons are by virtue of their descent from the late John Dunn, entitled to such award;

(3) to provide for the alternative award of land in Reserve No. IX in the District of Mtunzini, Zululand, to descendants of the late John Dunn residing in the Reserve;

(4) to provide for the survey of the land described in paragraphs (1) and (3) hereof; for the award of the land so surveyed and the grant of title thereto to the descendants of the late John Dunn, subject to conditions; for the recovery of the costs of survey; and for the exclusion of the land awarded from the land described in the Schedule to the Natives Land Act, 1913.

It is further notified that copies of the proposed Bill will be deposited on or before the last day of Novembhr, 1934, with the Clerk of the House of Assembly at Cape Town, the Administrator of the Natal Province, the Administrator of the Cape Province the Magistrate of the District of Mtunzini, Zululand, and at, such other places as may be determined.

Dated at Pretoria this 8th day October. 1934.

H. J. HUME.
Government Attorney.
Parliamentary Agent for the Promoter.

Race Problem – 1934

Africa

THE AFRICAN CONGRESS CLUBS FOR JOHANNESBURG THE REEF AND OTHER LARGE CITIES.

(Continued from last week.)

The Provincial Conference is naturally the first clearing house for all Congress business which is done in every Province and moreover, the General Annual Conference is more of a legislative Body and has to carry out its business through the Provincial Administration. The Amended Constitution of the African National Congress carries out this policy. The delegates who have been thus elected become the responsible representatives of their own constituents in both the Provincial and National councils of the nation. It is my earnest conviction that these are the proper lines of reorganisation of the African National Congress and I am very pleased to say that this Constitution has been approved by two successive General Annual Conferences of the Congress and I must invite my critics to properly note this fact. The copies of the Amendments are obtainable at the shop of Mr. Jack Barnard, 187a Commissioner St, Johannesburg for 1s. per copy.

RE CONGRESS AND JOINT COUNCILS.

I have been asked to make a statement on the above matter and I do not hesitate to say that such a statement is for many reasons desirable. Sometimes I have wondered why there was no official contact between the Executives of the African National Congress and that of the Joint Council of Natives and Europeans. The two bodies could with great advantage meet and thrash out a common programme and decide upon certain lines of co-operation. The Joint Council on the European side is certainly composed of the best friends of the Africans today. Some of these beside possessing the undoubted gifts of scholarship have the indisputable and most valuable technique which we African African leaders do not as yet possess. As a rule and in most cases the Natives most benefit by contacts with Europeans. Personally I also think that if this suggestion is accepted by the Executive of the Joint Council the two executives could hold a preliminary discussion on say, Dingane's day in Johannesburg. I am not suggesting any fusion between the two bodies but I think that co operation is possible and would be profitable, because the greater parts of our programmes are really common ground. Moreover this will help to bring about real unity between the Native leaders themselves.

The African National Congress should lead the way in giving expression to the natural aspirations of our people and at the same time to recognise and be able to express the appreciation of the invaluable services and great personal sacrifice which European friends are making for us. Let the African leaders allow the new spirit of co operation to take real possession of our hearts and minds and let us all work earnestly for the upliftment of our people If we do this honestly, the work of the National Executive of the African National Congress will be made more easy and some definite progress will be made to improve the economic position of our people along the lines indicated in our policy which has been accepted by the masses of our people all over South Africa.

Nkosi Sikelela.....Morena Hlohonolofatsa---Afrika.

P. ka I. SEME,
President General of the African National Congress.

Johannesburg.

A SIGNIFICANT MOVE.

LAST Tuesday at Imbumbulu there was enacted a scene of unusual significance which marked an era of progress in Native Administration The occasion was the making of peace between the two factors of the Abambo tribe settled about the Nhovo River. Trouble in that locality has been going on for many months. The two young men, half-brothers who are the responsible heads of their respective factions would seem to have been rather weak to allow this trouble to drag so long and it not being apparent what efforts they were making to quieten their wards. The blame for this long-drawn trouble may be laid on one of them or on both, but we are not concerned with this now since the affair will now be a bygone What we want to stress is the significance to be put on the gesture from the Native Affairs Department through the Chief Native Commissioner to enlist the aid of certain prominent Chiefs and influential Native leaders of their people.

There was a time when such a gesture was unthinkable by reason of the fact that confidence in Native Chiefs and leaders was non-existent. We remember during the Bambata Rebellion that Dinuzulu offered to lead an impi into the Nkandla forest against Bambata in order to bring him to his senses but this was refused at once because the authorities were not sure of Dinuzulu's loyalty himself as the course of the great trial which was enacted later at Greytown proved. But it is now a far cry to the year 1906. The present custodian of the Usutu clan, as it is nowadays called, is a man of different stamp. He is loyal to the Government to the core and any idea of rebellion is repugnant to him. Therefore we thankfully appreciate the invitation by the Chief Native Commissioner to Chief Mshiyeni to travel from Nongoma to help in advising and warning the rival factions of the Abambo tribe. By this act the Government tacitly recognises officially, the higher status which the representative of the Zulu Royal enjoys over other Chiefs. However it may have been in the past this is as it should be now because the anxiety which the white rulers have had hitherto regarding the loyalty of the Zulus is no longer justified. His position will henceforth be used to the enhancement of the Governments' interests as well as those of the Natives. If a consultation of chiefs could now be made, we do not doubt but that most of them would favour the idea of one them to be considered higher than the rest and we are sure that one would be a member of the Zulu Royal House at present this being Chief Mshiyeni If any would raise objections it would not be for any good reason but because of selfish interests and unseemly ambitions.

It was especially diplomatic at Imbumbulu that Chief Mshiyeni was asked to give advice to the warring Chiefs and their people at the request and in the presence of the Chief Native Commissioner himself and district Native Commissioners so as to lend prestige to the welcome innovation. This will have the effect of creating in the Native people self-respect when they come to realize that responsibility has been laid upon some of themselves and that if they keep loyal to the authorities promotion is their just due. We want to eliminate the idea that authority may and can be exercised only by Europeans. We want our people to more and more depend upon themselves and have the stamina to initiate reforms among themselves and that they are carried to their end. We want to see Chiefs importuning the Government to bring roads to their locations and helping to make them in order that their people may be enabled to convey their produce to the various markets in the towns. These cat-and-dog squabbles should now be a thing of the past and we plead for the discouragement of this and the advice and co-operation of our white rulers to help the Native Africans to take their proper place as respectable inhabitants of this country.

Racial Problems.

Dr. J. H. Oldham's Survey.

Dr. J. H. Oldham talked to City men last week on "Christianity and the Race Problem." He said that the subject of race had been brought to the fore recently by the Germans, and on untenable premises, but behind their exaggeration something tangible remained.

Race difference was a biological fact, but he thought it extremely possible that there was also a difference in mental and intellectual qualities and dispositions. This he considered a gain in a world of standardisation, for such differences increased the possibilities of the human race. Racial difficulties arose only when one race put forward a claim to superiority. Then came the question: What is the standard of superiority? If a standard were fixed—and none had yet been agreed upon—it was then necessary to consider if the other race which had failed to reach the standard had had equal opportunities of doing so.

Dr. Oldham aptly illustrated his point by imagining an athletic contest between two teams, one of heavy-weights and the other of light-weights, with the apportionment of marks for respective events left to one side to decide.

He claimed that science had not said the last word on marriage between different stocks, but, generally speaking, it seemed as if inter-marriage between nearly related stocks actually strengthened the progeny, whereas between widely separated stocks the result might be disastrous. Apart from that he considered such marriages undesirable in the present state of the world. The two parties had been brought up in such different circumstances that the union was unlikely to be happy; even if it were, owing to the attraction between the two, there came the pull with the children as to which culture they should be made to follow.

Race does not Create the Problem.

In South Africa the dominant feeling was that the white race could not contemplate with equanimity the disappearance of its own civilisation, a thought which led to unnatural repression. The actual racial situation was in his view not the most important aspect of the so-called racial problem: its essence was, rather, the problem of human beings being brought together. The only way was for black and white to get together round a table and thrash things out: that he had realised when in Kenya with the Hilton Young Commission. Then he saw that the problem was not fundamentally racial, but rather economic, political and anthropological: it was a problem of people living together, accentuated by difference in race, but not caused by it. Race increased the difference but did not create it.

There was the point that daily irritation undeniably attached itself to a particular feature, and that meeting the same type brought the irritation to mind again. For instance, if one was annoyed with a fellow passenger in the train for opening or shutting a window, or being otherwise objectionable, one said on arriving home: "There was a horrible fellow in the train who did so and so"; but if that passenger happened to be an Indian, a man would say: "Indians are horrible people. Look at that man in the train who did so and so."

The point on which we should concentrate, Dr. Oldham urged, was that whatever differences exist, underlying all was our common humanity.

"There is no doctrine more pernicious," he said, "than that all men are equal. It is demonstrably false, but it makes no difference so long as people approach the problem in the right attitude. We must recognise the rich diversity of the human race, but still meet the others on the basis of humanity. Each race has as much right to its individuality and to its form as we have to ours, for each is as God created it, and for the men and women of each race alike Christ died. If you deny that, you undermine your own personal values, and have nothing left yourself."

NATIVE RIGHTS IN AFRICA

London Conference

(From our London Staff.)

Fleet Street, Tuesday.

Men who had held high official positions in various parts of Africa, missionaries from Nyasaland and Kenya, and Mr. W. G. Ballinger, whose work for the native trade union movement in South Africa is well known, spoke to-day at a conference organised by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. A number of societies interested in the subject of our responsibilities to subject peoples in Africa were represented, and a number of Africans were present.

Mr. W. McGregor Ross, formerly Director of Public Works, Kenya Colony, said that the process of settlement by peaceful penetration in East Africa had been accompanied by a wholesale disregard of native rights. "Is there any hope of peace and comradeship," he asked, "within a nation in which a minority more highly educated socially, more advanced, and politically very powerful, is in possession of many hundreds of square miles of land which within living memory comprised the homes of tens of thousands of peasants of a class not yet able to stand by themselves. Disregard of the ethical considerations involved in the situation will end in catastrophe. These East Africans are not such worms as to adopt tamely the position of serfs."

Major Orde Browne said that it was essential that there should be adequate machinery for supervising and controlling labour, generally maintaining a watch over labour conditions. In the Congo the Belgians had made careful investigations to see how far the native population was in a position to bear the strain of any proposed developments, and as a result the greater part of the Belgian Congo was closed to-day to further development.

He did not know of any British administration that had produced a detailed account of the districts from which a supply of labour could be drawn for any desired exploitation.

Speaking of the three British Protectorates, Mr. Ballinger said that their ultimate destiny was within the Union of South Africa, but that Great Britain ought to retain them for the present so that they might be developed on co-operative lines with a system of peasant proprietorship.

"The African native is by no means backward," said Mr. Ballinger. "In the past he has looked to this country as the way out for him from the conditions of the Union of South Africa. He is now looking towards the East. We want his emancipation to come from Europe."

In answer to a question, Mr. McGregor Ross said that the report of the Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission was so lengthy that it would take the Africans a considerable time to study it. They were anxious that the British Government should not take any irrevocable steps before they had had a chance to become acquainted with it.

The Rev. E. Cullen Young, formerly missionary in Nyasaland, spoke of the pleasant relations existing between British and Africans in that territory, where he did not think any African had ever seen a door shut or slammed in his face.

Archdeacon Owen, of Kenya Colony, president of the Native Taxpayers' Association, said that there was no liberty that had had to be fought for as strenuously as the liberty of association among Africans. The authorities had very wide powers to suppress almost any sort of meeting, but it had been agreed that they had no right to put a bar on any meeting unless they thought that it was likely to cause serious trouble.

Dr. Drummond Shiels, formerly Under Secretary of State for the Dominions, declared his belief that democracy was suitable for every people and more suitable for Africans than for many other people. The essentials of Parliamentary institutions were not unsuitable for Africans.

Race Problem — 1934

Africa

OUR DURBAN NATIVES

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CRIME AND SELF-EXPRESSION.

Ilanga Lase Natal

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11-9-34

((B. WALLET VILAKAZI.)

Ekwesilisanu

I have read with great concern the lyric description made by one of our European papers where crime and squalor in the heart of Durban were revealed. The writer describes the raid under "The moon was just peeping out behind a bank of cloud," when they entered the illicit dance hall. "Built in a setting of tumble down shacks, with filthy yards where cockroaches and rats scurried away under the beams of torches, this dance hall seemed to be the last place on earth where human beings would go to find enjoyment." The writer goes on to describe the occupants of the dance hall, and this is still more miserable than the hall itself. "Several tables smelling of stale food stood about in confusion, while beds consisting of blankets and some rotting coir matting lay scattered on the floor. On the walls hung evening dresses of fine silks. Female underclothing and even shoes were to be seen everywhere. An open box of face-powder stood on the chair, and this drew attention to a huge, magnificeutly built Native whose face was made grotesque by the film of powder with which he had plastered himself."

On reading through the description one can not fail to draw the conclusion that in many other corners of Durban there must be more such halls yet undiscovered. What are they? We may infer that these are secret societies where men satisfy their desire which never find satisfaction in the broad workaday world. Secret societies also where one class of men finds no self-expression openly or where the State does not provide for the full development of all functions of societies. When one goes a little deeper into the question, there must be something lacking in the policy of Durban regarding her interest towards things that g to mould the social standard of a certain class of Natives who degenerate to so low a level as to evoke such words from a policeman: "Your nation look what you are deteriorating into."

I would for convenience sake classify Durban Natives into three classes: those that have reached a very good standard of Christianity and education including ministers of religion, school-teachers, clerks, trained nurses, etc. The second group comprises those of us who have got very little education and owing to economic pressure flock to towns to seek a job as domestic servants, shop servants, delivering parcels and taking messages, doers of odd jobs in garages, in short, those who will be willing to do anything for any pay in order to earn a living. The third class of us enrolls all the uneducated who do kitchen work, the majority of whom are males, and those who do the most unskilled work of road digging, ricksha pulling, etc. We find this class mostly in compounds. There is a lot of attraction in compounds and when these most unskilled men are free they go for war-dances and they generally visit the municipal beer-halls. But what of Sunday? They go out into the outskirts of Durban semetimes in search of beer or they simply lie down and recuperate. Kitchen boys of course go ahead with their ordinary routine work and feel too pleased to parade the streets late in the afternoons with the white short-knickered suits trimmed with red, and a stick in hand. From this lot the town breeds lieta-gangs who waylay men in the late hours of the night. The educated class of Natives is the most harmless in Durban and they are very docile and reserved. There is a very marked distrinction in them in that they nearly all are church members and well behaved gentlemen and ladies. There is considerable educated material in Durban that can be organised into very efficient clubs both educational and social, but it seems we need a Ray E. Phillips or a Mark Radebe. It is not to this class that my pen is directed but to the middle or second class.

Durban has no organisation for the Natives who will not associate with the educated nor with kitchen boys or ricksha pullers. Go to the motorbus and taxi ranks and you will find many of these young men lolling with hands in the pockets and moving with no aim in view. The girls who are domestic servants also, generally met with in parks standing in groups and hanging about the streets of Durban, belong to this middle class. They will dress gorgeously and compete with any mademoiselle of Paris. They do not care for places like the Social Centre unless the whole program of the evening will be jazz, jazz; a change from this must be a dance. That forms the core of their enjoyment otherwise life is not sweet. They must then hire the illicit dance halls even if these to the public eye seem "to be the last place on earth where human beings would go to find enjoyment;" even if, as they sing and dance in their own fashion and crazy mood they are practically naked, sleeping under sacks where spitting cats dash upstairs, and mangy dogs bark noisily at the approach of the posse: they are satisfied only to know that at least there is self- expression. Every decent man and women abhors such conditions and feels something must be done. Either Durban must get rid of this class of people (which is impractical and impossible) or Durban must provide an outlet for self-expression demanded by the evil deeds of this class (which is practical and workable.) Ingomidance has been provided for the illiterate, and the Bantu Social Centre is fully equipped for the advanced Natives. Something under good supervision must be done for the poor man who degenerates to the moral level of a "pig." His emotions must be sublimated by luring him to higher conditions. He can not suddenly rise, and that is why he prefers to resign himself to secret societies where he administers justice in his own way.

Histroy must teach us, that Natives can not help but degenerate to some low moral standard He must subscribe to such mean societies if self expression is repressed. In the 19th century the Carbonari in Italy were a secret society founded against the political ideas of Austria who would not allow free political institutions for Italians; today in modern America where the administration of justice in the state does not meet with the approval of a large minority there is the Ku Klux Klan which secretly administers its own justice upon those it finds as offenders. I believe that illicit dance halls as the one described in the European paper, must be overhauled and substituted for something elevating, for Durban cannot escape the evils that ooze out from such halls. These evils must flow and penetrate to affect even the white population. It is a process that goes on slowly and yet unperceptibly until it has found its fertile soil. The middle class Native must be absorbed in the vitality of the better.

Trading in the Transkei.

The Comet

We reproduce here the comment of the *South African Outlook* on the representations of the European traders in the Transkeian Territories regarding Native trade, in the hope that they will be of interest to the Basuto as they are experiencing the same difficulties as the Natives of the Transkei. Also that the Administration may follow the example of the Minister of Native Affairs in the matter as they have copied the agricultural methods of the Transkeian Territories.

"The European traders in the Transkei mustered in full force at Umtata on October 2nd for the visit of the Minister of Native Affairs (the Hon. P. W. Grobler). For some days previous to the visit advertisements appeared in the newspapers requesting every trader in the Territories to be present and as a consequence there assembled the largest crowd of Europeans ever seen in Umtata. Yet we doubt the wisdom of the traders in bringing to such an intensive and demonstrative pitch their opposition to the proposal to allow Natives to trade. In their desire to impress the Minister they doubtless also impressed their Native neighbours, not all of whom understand that the traders have Native interests and well-being at heart. An influential deputation instead of a massed demonstration would perhaps have been better. Then again some of the statements made on the occasion of the meeting with the Minister cannot but be classified as serious exaggerations. To say that the Minister's proposals "represent absolute ruin to all Europeans who have been settled here for years" and "that it is a matter of life and death" is making statements difficult to take seriously. The proposal has been in the air for years past and we do not doubt that many traders could to-day sell out their chances of being ruined for very substantial figures. We sympathise with the traders in their fears, though we believe these to be more imaginary than real, for when the difficulties which would-be Native traders will have to overcome are taken into consideration we do not see that the position of Europeans will be changed without plenty of time elapsing for the necessary adjustments. The most that can be expected of the proposals is that they will slowly bring in changes and we know of few spheres of enterprise which are not from time to time subjected to such. The right of the Natives to trade has been held up too long is indicated by one of Colonel Haselden's main points.

"According to the *Daily Dispatch* report the Minister replied after listening to the traders' delegates for an hour and three-quarters. Many of the arguments which had been raised, he said, could be easily refuted, but there were others to which a good deal of weight had to be attached. He hoped that the gathering did not expect an immediate reply, as the position would have to be discussed by the Cabinet, and a reply given later. "But whatever happens,' he added, "this must remain a Native Territory, and nothing concerning the Transkeian Territory which affects the rights of the Natives will be attempted. This is not a new matter. The Natives' right to trade has been before you for some years, and has been well discussed in the Senate and in the councils. Since I became Minister of Native Affairs, many representations dealing with this have been made to me, and while I have been on tour I have been thanked by the Natives for the promise which has been given to them. I do not think that any Government could break that promise. It would have very serious consequences."

FUTURE OF THE PROTECTORATES.

Ilanga Lase Natal

FROM what was stated by the Secretary of State for Dominions last week, it would appear that the question of the future of the Native Territories in the Union has received the serious attention of the British Government, and that already there is some measure of agreement in regard to the spirit in which the matter should be approached.

11-16-34

Before commenting upon statements of General Smuts and Mr. Thomas, it is important to remember what those statements actually contained. The Deputy-Prime Minister of the Union was anything but ambiguous. After remarking that there was a hope that as a result of the work of the Select Committe on Native Affairs there was a possibility of a substantial addition to the Native Reserves and of finding a workable and generally acceptable scheme in regard to the political status of our people, General Smuts went on to remove what he considered the "complete misconception" apparently existing in England regarding the Union's intention in respect of the Protectorates. "The Union Government," he said, naturally had no fault to find with the British Government's pledges to consult both the Natives and Parliament before taking action, but the Union feared there were grave dangers in delay and postponement."

In support of this contention General Smuts emphasised that the economic position of the Protectorates was far from improving, and that their economic future might easily become a serious problem. The pressure on the Union's home markets was constantly increasing, and an agitation might easily arise for the exclusion of Native territories from those markets on the ground that they were foreign territories. According to General Smuts, such an agitation has already begun, and in his view the only way out of the difficulty is incorporation. "If incorporation is unduly delayed," he added, "the proper time for it may pass, and even the Union may come to hesitate about taking them over!"

Now let us turn to the reply of the Secretary of State for the Dominions. "The British Government," said Mr. Thomas, "would not be unmindful of and would not attempt to run away from the promises and obligations it had entered into on behalf of the Natives in this particular question. To say less would be not to discharge the obligation one had towards the territories and the Natives. I would equally say," proceeded Mr. Thomas, "that if this difficult and delicate problem were approached in the broad spirit in which General Smuts approached it, namely, with a sincere desire to do the right thing, then a real solution will be found in the accomodation of both sides to their obligations and commitments."

Briefly epitomised, these two statements, in our opinion, indicate clearly that (1) the Union is both willing and anxious that the question of the incorporation of the Native Territories shall not be unnecessarily delayed; (2) the Union Government fully realises that the importance of consulting those chiefly concerned; (3) that economic considerations make it essential to tackle the problem as soon as possible; (4) that the Government of Great Britain promises and obligations; and (5) that both Governments will approach the question with a sincere desire to do the right thing.

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Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Native Policy.

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WITH the near approach of the opening of the next session of the Union Parliament, it is interesting and important to note the various matters of moment that are to engage the attention of the New United Party Government. It is, of course, much too early to estimate, with any degree of correctness, the full extent of the Government's legislative programme, but it can be stated definitely that at least two matters of tremendous national significance will be tackled. The first are the amendments to the South Africa Act necessitated by the Status Act. It is anticipated that this will produce much debate, in the course of which many of the bogeys raised during last session will again be pushed to the forefront.

The other question of great national importance is the Native Bills, which, according to a promise given by the Prime Minister, will be tackled. Need we say that it behoves our people to watch the trend of events during the next few months with the closest vigilance? It would appear that already this great problem is engaging general attention, and that upon its solution depends in a large measure the success or failure of the new Governmental regime not only in the Union, but in other parts of South Africa. From what was stated by the Premier of Southern Rhodesia some ten days ago, it is abundantly evident that the new Government which is shortly to be elected there will be pledged to put into effect the policy adumbrated by its leader, which in the main aims at the creation of the machinery necessitated by the removal of the High Commissioner's control over Native legislation, a point in regard to which the negotiations have not as yet reached finality.

In the course of his remarks the Rhodesian Premier claimed that during his recent visit to England he had been able to put some ideas into the heads of the Colonial Office regarding a uniform Native policy for the East African Colonies, thereby implying that his Government has already consulted those Colonies on this very vital question. Be that as it may, the whole of the sub-continent, if not the whole of the civilised world, will follow with the closest interest the trend of developments in the land of Rhodes, where there are many who have a profound regard for just dealing.

Meanwhile it is impossible to forecast what is going to happen in the Union. There is not the least doubt that of late there has been a marked change in the general outlook on what is known as the Native question, and signs are not wanting that even in high quarters there is a definite move in the direction of viewing it from quite a different angle. When the report of the Select Committee on Native Affairs has been made public, it may be possible to visualise, to some extent, the trend of Union policy, but at the moment the ultimate destiny of our people is still shrouded in the mists of doubt and uncertainty. It therefore behoves them seriously to consider each and every point as it arises. For our part we can see no reason why a movement should not be started whereby our people should be made acquainted with what is going on, so that they may be in a position to judge the position. No time is to be lost if the Bantu races in South Africa are to have any say in legislation which so vitally affects them, and to this end it is imperative that their views shall be crystallised so that when the proper time comes there will be no misunderstanding. It would be to the good of the country if the European public did not quarrel so much amongst themselves, but give the head of the National Congress their full support and draft a policy suitable to the Bantu races for the information of members of Parliament.

THE DECAY OF LIBERTY.

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The Honourable Jan Smutsert, in his Rectorial speech at St. Andrews University lamented the decay of liberty. It was a memorable speech, delivered in his usual impressive manner, and it received very favourable editorials from the great English newspapers who all passed without comment his reference to the sufferings of the Boers at the hands of the English. His Scotch audience only smiled when he referred to theirs, for their memories went to the massive military walls which could not prevent their raids, when their bonnets went over the border and they laid waste the Northern counties of England.

One wonders just how much he meant by this lament, for were not orders given to the electors to vote for the sitting members of Parliament. Was not in spite of its practical concern £150, 000 for 5 years given to an Italian Shipping Co. without consultation with, or the permission of Parliament; and have not Cabinet Ministers here the power to make regulations which have the full force of acts of Parliament; and were not the Fusion Bills drafted and carried through the House without any reference to the individual parliamentary elector? By any flight of imagination, is it also possible that he was voicing the thoughts and feelings of the millions of Natives whose liberty of movement is curbed by the Pass Laws and Municipal regulations; whose progress in skilled occupations is forbidden by the Colour Bar, and who are forced to submit to laws in the framing of which they have had no voice? If he deeply regrets the loss of personal liberty, and the tyranny of Parliamentary majorities, are we not justified in auguring well for the years to come? At the very last his voice and influence will be heard and felt on the side of the voiceless proletariat and there will be a loosening of the fetters, and a fuller sense of freedom. Less than this, surely cannot be, if words mean anything.

NEWS MUSICAL.

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(By REUBEN E. DAVIES A. T. C. L.)

The University of South Africa is practically known throughout the world and therefore needs no introduction to readers of this paper. Those who unfortunately do not know this Institution will certainly not benefit by the information given here. The University is purely a South African concern in spite of its practical and theoretical music examinations conducted by the associated board of the Royal Schools of Music, London.

From last year the University began to appoint South African examiners to conduct its local examinations but candidates for the Licentiate Diploma (U.L.M.) are still to be examined by London experts.

Great changes have been introduced in the music examinations of the University : - (a) Reduction in the technical requirements for the Primary, Elementary and advanced Divisions of Pianoforte Playing. (b) Teachers' Licentiate : an Initiative Test has been introduced, viz : - "playing ornaments similar in scope to those contained in the works of Mozart, Bach and Beethoven". (c) From 1937, candidates for the Teachers' Licentiate will be required to pass the Matriculation Examination or some other examinations accepted by the Joint Matriculation Board as exempting from Matriculation.

SOIL EROSION IN NATIVE RESERVES.

AMONG many other subjects of interest and importance in relation to the future of agriculture in the Union which were discussed at the last session of Parliament, that of soil erosion claimed special notice. For many years it has been generally recognised that large and valuable tracts of land in this country are destroyed owing to the effect of heavy rainfall, etc., but until quite recently little or nothing has been done to arrest the

evil.

We have been forcibly reminded of this question by the issuing by the Department of Native Affairs of an informative report dealing with the combating of soil erosion in the Native Reserves, a matter which engaged the earnest attention of the Native Economic Commission, which, it will be remembered, offered some exceedingly valuable comments concerning it. It is recognised that our Reserves include some of the richest land to be found in the Union. In regard to rainfall, on the whole our people have little cause for complaint in comparison with other parts of the country. There are, of course, certain territories where drought conditions are virtually continuous, a c where famine invariably raises its hideous head.

While it is admitted that there has been marked development in most of the Reserves, the necessity for a well planned scheme of improvement cannot be too strongly emphasised. In this connection the Director of Native Agriculture has carried out much useful work, and if his efforts continue to receive that measure of support they deserve, there's no reason why there should not be a marked advance in the material welfare of the Native population. At the first irrigation congress some thirty years ago the importance of water conservation was strongly advocated. Since then it has been shown beyond question that the only way in which South Africa can be saved as a pastoral and agricultural country is by the building of dams. This is the present policy of the Government in respect of land occupied by Europeans, but as far as can be ascertained nothing of a similar character is being attempted in the Native Reserves.

However, it is encouraging to note what is being done in the direction of combating soil erosion, and it would appear from what the Director of Native Agriculture has to say that the efforts of his department are meeting with much success. He reminds that at least a million morgen of Native Areas cover some of the best watersheds and basins of the principal river systems of South Africa in part or as a whole, and this being so, it is obvious that if anti-soil erosion measures are essential in any part of the country, the evil must be combated on a wholesale scale in the Native Areas. That is the objective, but, as the Director rightly observes, the continuance of the work on a large scale depends entirely on the funds available for the purpose. Meanwhile it is encouraging to learn that at long last something is being done to mitigate soil erosion, and in view of the country's sound financial position, it is not too much to hope that the money necessary to carry on the good work that has been so well begun will be forthcoming.

White, Negro Workers Join Hands To Fight South African Nazis

Daily Worker 9-7-34

NEW YORK.—Negro, Jewish and other white workers joined hands in united defense against attacks by Fascists in South Africa, declares a communication received through the mails by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. New York,

An attack on Jews by the fascist "Gray Shirts" took place in Paarl, South Africa, on June 14. Negro workers, and non-Jewish white workers, chiefly tramwaymen, helped beat off the Fascists. N. Y.

The Nazis, armed with loaded sticks and revolvers, wounded a number of workers.

Fascist groups, given the open support of the police, go through the streets shouting, "Hail, Hitler, Hail Weichardt!" Weichardt is a Fascist leader in South Africa. Negro and white workers, despite police, have succeeded in breaking up Fascist meetings and tearing down the swastika.

A New Landmark.

The Ciskei General Council has just published its first book of proceedings for its first session held during the current year.

It is a blue-book of a hundred pages, costing three shillings, amply illustrated with topical pictures, endowed with all the romance associated with a new enterprise for the uplift of humanity. The auspices under which the Council was ushered were of the happiest, and the personalities connected therewith individually popular. The chairman, himself with a long record of excellent service on both sides of the Kei, carries the confidence of the thousands over whom he rules. His commissioners are without exception men who are a credit to the department of Native Affairs, and the first group of councillors are equal to the cream of our population.

Although much is expected, by reason of the vast achievements of the Transkei Council, with which this one is often and inevitably compared, it will be some years before anything spectacular can be exhibited by our Council because its finances of just under two thousand pounds are rather modest, to say the least, when distributed to serve eight councils representing over a hundred thousand people. The strongest member is the Glen Grey district with £702, followed by Tamacha with £245, Middledrift £217, Herschel £187, Keiskama Hoek £146, Peddie £129, East London £115, and Victoria East £108.

Our readers will agree that the present funds have been allocated with wisdom when they learn that the expenditure for the year runs thus:—agricultural shows and competitions £232, grants to hospitals £200, furniture £175, scholarships £123, printing £146, transport £100, health services £30, salaries £66, plantations £88, and then sundry tiny items.

The minutes show that the discussions were marked by exemplary moderation of language and a spirit of generosity and sound sense worthy of the experience of the speakers. This is a good start.

Our public efforts now may well be directed to the roping in of the outstanding districts like Stutterheim, Emgwali which might link itself to Keiskama Hoek; Healdtown, Fort Beaufort with Victoria East; and the Hackney-Kamastone area come in as a new unit. The Emgwali side is willing but is kept back by government red tape. The others are prevented by local prejudice against the council system, but we hope this will wear down with the passage of time, once the General Council proves its sucecess as it has already begun to do.

Race Problem - 1934
Africa

Are the Africans the only Criminals in the Union ?

By P. D. SEGALE.

The recent reported "Native Crime Wave" as a result of the brutal murders of two European women in Johannesburg has provided food for thought to many of us- Africans. While no one wishes to embarass the police in the execution of their somewhat delicate and complicated task to detect the culprit or culprits in each case, one feels that there is much room to discuss here some of the most provoking theories so far advanced in connection with this so-called "Native Crime Wave."

On Saturday early in the morning (September 8, 1934) the city of Johannesburg was horrified when it woke up to read in the bills of the local morning daily: "White woman murdered in the city." It is no exaggeration to state that that particular journal made a roaring business with the issue of that same morning. People at almost every corner of the city rushed for the paper so as to know exactly of what has taken place. The horror referred to above was occasioned by the most brutal murder the city has ever experienced. One old lady Mrs. Rubin aged 65 was mercilessly done to death. The murderer though still at large up to this time of writing proves to be one of the lowest down-right impudent scoundrels. The instrument found to be the one used in perpetrating this diabolical murder was a blunt table knife- a sort of a thing that one would have experienced some difficulty in trying to cut butter with. The agony the poor old lady was called upon to endure can better be imagined rather than one trying to describe here. As in most occosions a black man was suspected the result was that hundreds of Africans were rounded up and could only be released after giving account of their movements. One Johannes- his name is a mystery upto this time as our white plutocratic press has but very little time if anything at all, to find out whether an African has any surname: Johannes, who it is alleged, was employed by the deceased for a day's work was immediately suspected to be the culprit. Details of such cases cannot be given here but fortunately, after a day or two, Johannes was detained by the police squad which was busy investigating into this murder, but after the necessary questionings Johannes was able to prove his innocence and was thereupon released. The search for the culprit started afresh and up to the time of writing the police are still running after any sort of information that may be regarded as clue.

Monday morning the same morning daily journal brought yet another startling news: "Another white woman murdered at Newlands." This being the second murder within a short space of 36 hours the city was set aflame with a spirit of indignation. A fault was to be found with someone; and although in this case the murder proved to be more mysterious than the first it is quite clear that Africans were again suspected or they were to a certain extent connected with this murder as well, for the following day no fewer than 1,300 Africans have had to undergo the terrible ordeal of being arrested and called upon to account for their movements. As these cases are still investigated, it is difficult to go into the details lest one finds himself in more odious circumstances of having treaded where angels dare not!

Having explained briefly what has happened in the city of Johannesburg of late, it is only fair that one can at this stage take the two cases together and briefly touch upon certain outstanding phenomena which are more or less responsible for those concerned to suspect Africans.

Having already explained how very delicate it is to write on these cases while investigations are still being made, I do honestly hope that it will constitute no offence to ask for an explanation from those concerned to tell the whole wide world why should suspicions be cast on Africans whenever anything wrong happens? Are the Africans the outstanding criminals in this country? Are there any **facts available to prove that** Africans are the notorious murderers? Is the South African History without any record of the worst criminal types amongst Europeans? Is it not the fact that the worst crimes in the Union of South Africa were committed by white people-such as, for instance, the notorious Foster gang? What is to be said of that one maniac of a white man who shot no less than 9 persons including himself some seven or eight years ago in Natal? If one was to get the full statistical records of such crimes I am afraid one would fill the whole page with crimes committed by white people in South Africa. Yet at almost any time when something wrong happens somewhere it is a blackman who is to be suspected!

Though these suspicions are a direct insult to us- Africans, it is a sort of comfort to most of us in the knowledge that this kind of investigating crimes will always defeat the ends of justice. Police will nearly always find themselves in difficulty to detect the real crime as long as they will continue to be directed by the white press which to a large extent make the whole work of the police-impossible in publishing rubbish such as "Natives are suspected." There is something remarkably strange with white South African press in that they will publish all sorts of nonsense hured at Africans and yet this very press is so sensetive in that they will not allow any African to say anything against or in protest. More of this will come later.

Race Problem - 1934

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Breeding a New Race.

Experimental Eugenics in Katanga.

East Africa

"What happens when an irresistible force comes up against an immovable object?" asked Mr. J. Merle Davis last week when speaking at Friends' House. "Modern capital and its enterprise are not entirely irresistible, or Native life completely immovable, but the simile is sufficiently appropriate."

11-22-37

He was talking about the development of the great copperbelt in Northern Rhodesia and Katanga, and the resulting disintegration of Native life.

London / England

"This is an enterprise that has shaken the equilibrium of that part of Africa. The discovery of minerals has been momentous for the white man, but it has been still more momentous for the Native, for whom it has opened up a new world, and the black man has already proved there that he can become an intelligent worker. One of the results of this new life is that, after adopting it for some time, the Native is more or less permanently unfitted to return to his old home life, and a new type is therefore being created.

"The factor of wages has made a serious inroad on the economics of the territory, and reacts on the family group with large moral, social and political implications. The experience of fear, which pervades the whole of Native life in its primitive state, is affected by this development. The Native on the copperbelt finds himself in a land of freedom; that there is something which has freed him from his old fears. This is so strong a feeling that it is almost impossible for us to grasp its strength, but the voluntary re-entering of the land of fear is a thing from which the mine *habitué* shrinks. The white man has created a new world for him, and he is proving extraordinarily amenable to it.

"This means shifting the centre of gravity to the black man's allegiances, and bringing in its train many problems, to which the Government, the mining authorities and the missions are paying serious attention, and—what is more—in the solution of which they are co-operating. The importance of this will be realised if you picture the copperbelt as a huge magnet drawing filings from all over the country."

Rhodesian and Congo Practices.

Mr. Davis pointed out the differences in Government attitude towards the mining industry on the two sides of the border. In the Belgian Congo there was very strict rationing as to the number of Natives permitted to leave each area and each village, so that there was not too great a drain on the adult male strength for home requirements. In Northern Rhodesia there were no artificial restrictions of this kind.

The Belgians, too, had been carrying out the most advanced experiments in eugenic breeding of the people: the men on the mines were graded, and the top grade given special leave to go home and select a wife, but the woman chosen had to be subjected to a very close medical inspection for mental as well as physical qualifications before the marriage was sanctioned, and at times a man would bring up three or four girls for examination before one was passed. He and his fellow commissioners were amazed at the quality of the children in the Union Minière works, and there was arising what might be described as a new race of Natives "who have never seen a wild animal, and are accustomed to answer the call of the factory whistle."

In Northern Rhodesia no such experiments were being made, and he was inclined to think that the net result was as good, and far safer.

The missions were undertaking a very difficult task with earnestness and understanding. It was a comparatively easy thing to be a good Christian within the sound of the Church bells on a mission station, but it was much more difficult amid the distractions and attractions of the copperbelt. Prostitution was not common except in villages on the outskirts of the mines, but informal and temporary marriages were common, and tended to affect family life. Some men took their wives to the mines, and the women were anxious enough to go—the attractions of the new life make a big appeal to them—but the tribal authorities generally preferred them to remain at home, and to let the men contract temporary marriages with other women.

Unfortunately there was no time at the end of this lunch-hour talk for the usual questions, which should have proved enlightening.

Native Education Stalemate.

Native Opinion

The following message was sent from the governing councils of Lovedale and Fort Hare to the members of the Cabinet:

"The governing councils of Lovedale and Fort Hare now in session, respectfully beg to call the attention of Ministers to the serious state of arrested development under which Native education has lain for over five years, owing to the inadequacy of the financial provision based upon the Native Development Fund.

"Official estimates state that over 1,000 additional teachers are required for existing schools, and a further 800 schools are awaiting registration when grants are available. The Government is respectfully requested to consider the urgent need of supplementing the Development Fund from general revenue by a special grant until a more equitable basis for financing Native education has been devised."

Natives and Co-operative Societies.

East Africa

"The development of co-operative societies," said the Chief Secretary when addressing the Tanganyika Legislative Council on the budget, "is hampered by lack of a trained registrar, although the necessary funds for the training of an officer have been generously placed at the disposal of Government by the Carnegie Corporation. Unfortunately, the selected officer has been seriously ill, and this has caused delay.

"Co-operation comes naturally to Africans, for in certain directions it is part of their normal existence, and in some parts of the country they are pressing Government for the extension of the co-operative system. I have no doubt that co-operation, properly controlled, will prove of the greatest value in developing further the resources of the Territory, in increasing the wealth of the people, and incidentally, in promoting the prosperity of all whose living is derived, directly or indirectly, from agriculture.

"Apart from this, co-operation should prove a most valuable—and, I believe, the only practicable—force in knitting together Native communities whose social organisation cannot be expected indefinitely to resist the impact of Western civilisation and economics. Traders also stand to gain by the extension of agricultural co-operative societies, for every increase in the prosperity of the people is reflected in improved retail trade."

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Africa

Tobacco in Uganda.

A Rapidly Developing Industry.

UGANDA is very sensibly striving to avoid the risks inherent in a one-crop country. Its coffee production is growing steadily, and the annual report of the Department of Agriculture gives interesting information on experiments with vanilla, vetiver roots, groundnuts, and Asclepias floss—in which the co-operation of the Imperial Institute has once more proved its value. Special notice may legitimately be taken of the rapid increase in the cultivation of tobacco, especially in Bunyoro.

"Here the development of tobacco growing as a Native crop continues to make progress." (There is a considerable reduction in the acreage under tobacco on European estates, the total now being under 150 acres.) "The acreage planted by Natives in Bunyoro was approximately 1,700 acres, from which a total crop of 768,804 lb. of cured leaf was marketed in September-October, 1933. The total export of tobacco (leaf and strips) from Uganda in 1932 was 153,794 lb., and for the first eleven months—the latest figures available at the time of writing this report*—are 406,079 lb."

That is a notable increase. The Tobacco Officer also states:—

"Most of the chiefs in Bunyoro are now taking an increased interest in increasing cultivation of all crops, and with the tobacco crop have been of great assistance in encouraging their people to carry out instructions and endeavour to improve the quality of the crop."

Agricultural Courses for Chiefs.

In this connexion it must be noted that short agricultural courses for chiefs have been inaugurated by the Superintendent of Agricultural Education.

"One of the greatest difficulties experienced," the report continues, "is to get growers to look ahead and have their nurseries, plots and curing sheds ready at the right time. It is with matters of this kind that the chiefs can be of the greatest assistance, and, with a few exceptions, they have given real help.

"Apart from the actual cash value of the crop, the tobacco industry now benefits the district by providing employment for some three hundred people for roughly three months in re-handling the tobacco purchased from the Native growers—work which is becoming increasingly popular with the Banyoro.

"The crop was remarkably free from disease or serious pests. The price to the growers was fixed at 25 cents per lb. for No. 1 grade, and 15 cents for No. 2, a reduction of 2 cents on the previous year.

"The quality of the crop was satisfactory, and, in spite of a fall in prices, growers were fairly well satisfied with the return obtained . . . an average of 19·19 cents per lb.

"Exclusive buying licences for the purchase of tobacco leaf in Bunyoro were issued to four buyers, who were required to pay a cess of 2 cents per lb. on all tobacco purchased. The money so collected is paid into a fund for the development of tobacco growing in Bunyoro.

"The small packing factory erected by Government at Masindi was working for four months, and during that time approximately 77 tons were handled. It is satisfactory to note that brokers and manufacturers have commented upon the improved condition in which Uganda tobacco is arriving in the Home market, and no complaints have been received on any of the leaf which has passed through the Government packing factory.

"Work at the experimental grounds at Bulindi has been confined chiefly to the production of true strains of seed of the different varieties required for blending purposes by local manufacturers, and of the two varieties (Blue Pryor and Western) in most demand for export."

Tobacco in Nyasaland.

MR. F. M. WITHERS, Secretary to the Nyasaland Tobacco Association, has contributed to *Empire Production and Export* a valuable article on the Nyasaland tobacco industry, which furnishes 64% of the country's exports.

Whereas in the last seven years the annual export of tobacco of all types from Nyasaland has been between 10 and 15,000,000 lb., the clearances from bond in the United Kingdom have in the last six years been 6, 6, 9, 10, 11, and 12 millions of pounds.

The number of European tobacco planters in Nyasaland has decreased since 1921 by 116, and "each planter may be regarded as giving employment to a hundred Natives." The Native peasant farmers who grow most of the tobacco, chiefly fire-cured types, receive less from their labours than if employed on an estate under a European planter.

11-29-34

"The position in Nyasaland in 1934 is that there are roughly fifty European planters producing tobacco, which they endeavour to sell locally to the Imperial Tobacco Co., Ltd. This company, the only local buyer of importance, has an up-to-date factory in Limbe, and it pays the producer an economic price for the tobacco that it buys. But, unfortunately, no planter can produce types and grades to order; in producing types and grades suitable for the I.T.C.'s requirements, inevitably he produces other types and grades, not necessarily poor tobacco, that the I.T.C. either does not require or can purchase elsewhere. This is valueless to the planter unless he can dispose of it . . . Steps must be taken to place the tobacco industry on a more substantial basis. . . .

"Efforts must be made to correlate supply and demand. Little can be done in this direction until the relevant facts are known. Producers must be placed in possession of details of the various types and grades exported, sold or selling, and the stocks in hand. Details of export are known; it is necessary, in the same way, to obtain details of clearance from bond and stocks in hand. Nothing of value can be achieved until producers know the types and grades that are selling; and the only way that this can be made known is by the publication of statistics on the lines of the well-known compilation of Frank Watson and Co., Ltd., *with the addition that clearances and stocks should be classified into types.* The more detailed the classification the better.

"Secondly, efforts must be made to secure standardisation of grading and packing. Grades vary from year to year, from district to district, and from estate to estate. If a manufacturer requires a further supply of a certain grade he should be able to obtain that supply, of the same quality, by quoting the grade and the number of bales he requires. In practice, he cannot do so because there is no definite standard for any specific grade. Standards can only be maintained by pooling all available tobacco at some central organisation and by blending the various estate grades as received into certain staple grades or blends that can be maintained from year to year.

"Packing should also be standard. Bales or hogsheads should be always packed in the same way with the correct amount of moisture, and serial numbers, arranged to ensure long runs of any particular grade, should be marked on the bales. This also can only be obtained through a central organisation.

"However desirable a central organisation may be with more or less autocratic powers over the country's tobacco crop, there are arguments against rushing the matter and seeking the necessary legislative authority without due reflection. The tobacco that would be dealt with by the suggested organisation would be the proportion of the crop that remains in the hands of the planter after the requirements of the I.T.C. have been filled—one cannot imagine planters ignoring this ready-money market at their doors. This proportion represents, roughly, the planters' profit.

"In the past certain individual planters have themselves packed and sent home, and secured small markets that have given them returns which, although not covering the actual cost of production, are rather more than the cost of packing and sending home. Some of the planters have considerable sums of money locked up in buildings, plant and machinery. It would not be equitable to compel them to pool their crops and sacrifice their capital. They have acquired vested interests, and it is necessary that they should be protected or compensated in some way.

"The selling end of the industry should be reorganised and rationalised. Without in any way belittling the services now rendered by established brokers and merchants, it is suggested that the existing system is capable of improvement.

"If the Imperial Government be steadfast in its declared intention to increase the consumption of Empire tobaccos, the question of quotas might perhaps receive consideration. In this connexion the producer feels that he is treading on delicate ground and leaves it to the Tobacco Federation to consider and decide whether such a step be practicable.

"It is essential that any effort to assist the Empire tobacco industry should be made by the Empire acting as a whole through the Tobacco Federation. Of the still unconquered field, nearly 80% remains in foreign possession, Empire tobaccos forming only 20% of the total annual consumption in the United Kingdom; hence there is ample space for expansion without fierce internal competition between Empire producers."

The £1 Poll Tax.

11-13-34

The churches in South Africa, with probably one exception, have been disappointingly apathetic in taking up the cudgels on behalf of the Bantu against the iniquitous general tax. It has fallen on the shoulders of European farmers' associations and joint councils to make strong protests in this respect. White farmers, if for no other reason, have objected to the taxing of their poor Native servants, because the outcome of prosecutions and arrests for failure to pay have resulted in the serious dislocation of work on their farms. It is reasonable to expect the churches, on nobler and ethical grounds, to take up a strong attitude for the alleviation of the black man's burden, apart from the knowledge that the general tax is an agency which contributes largely to the impoverishment of the dusky members of their congregations. The pastor who habitually chides his adherents for failing to contribute towards his stipend is grossly inconsistent if he disregards the incidence of a law that robs his congregation of their meagre savings. For the past nine years Africans have been compelled to pay this liability under grave hardships, and the habit of paying regularly has somewhat detracted the attention of most people from

the indisputable fact that the tax in itself is none the less an injustice that would never be tolerated in other civilised countries.

We welcome the strong resolutions of the Bantu Baptist Union Assembly held in Johannesburg recently as a timely resuscitation of the offensive against this unfair and unequal measure. The delegates to the Assembly stressed just what constituted the maximum wickedness in the system of taxing Natives so long as they were black, and irrespective of their economic position. The resolution was passed "asking the Government to reconsider the whole question and to see whether the amount of the tax could not be graded in relation to the means of the individual Native to pay. Failure to alter the present system, it was stated, means undue hardship on a large section of the Native population and the sending to prison to consort with criminals otherwise reputable and respectable Natives, young and old."

In support of the resolution one delegate pungently observed that "the imposition of a flat rate tax on poor and comparatively well-to-do Natives alike was most inequitable. The tax was equivalent to a £10 tax for all Europeans, rich and poor. "I am sure that people would not tolerate such a tax for the white community, nor send the poor whites to prison for failure to pay such a tax." In the case of the poor country Native, many of whom worked on farms for 5/- a month, or just for food alone, was it reasonable to expect such Natives to pay the equivalent of four months' labour in taxation?"

Those who administer the law have powers of discretion, and may relieve certain classes of Natives proved to be genuinely indigent or invalided. Exemptions under such discretion must depend largely on the temperament of the magistrate. What one official may regard as a deserving case for relief may appear otherwise to another. In some districts Natives of 60 years are granted exemption, while in others the privliege is denied so long as the sexagenarian has sons or daughters who supported him. In other words the children are compelled to pay the indigent father's poll tax because they were dutious enough to pay for his maintenance. Another injustice that has crept in with the imposition of the general tax is the method of its collection. This has now been extended to the collection of taxes other than this. A man who fails to pay hut tax is liable to lose a beast by attachment at the dipping tank in the same manner as though he had failed to pay the general tax. The path of justice would certainly be the forfieture of privileges enjoyed under a hut tax receipt, and nothing more. Is there any fairness in dispossessing a Native of his ox for hut tax in addition to the usual penalties provided for such delinquency? It has been brought to our notice also that Native young men who marry are immediately put on the local or hut tax list for what is now commonly known as the "smile tax." The interpretation is given as meaning that the tax is due for having married a wife and not necessarily for the privilege of owning an arable lot or a building site. If the Department of Native Affairs is aware of these facts, the situation surely requires elucidation to clear Native misapprehension.

PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE NATIVE PROBLEM.

It is distinctly encouraging to note the increasing number of thoughtful people who are manifesting an enthusiastic and intelligent interest in the Native question. Time was when comparatively little attention was paid to the many matters which directly affect the future welfare of our people when public opinion for the most part was characterised by an obvious misunderstanding of the essentials and when even the European Press was markedly silent concerning them.

All this is now changed. There is a new interest, a fresh outlook, a desire to face the actualities of the position and to more fully realise what they imply. There can be no doubt that this welcome change is due largely to the efforts of those who have worked unceasingly in the direction of spreading abroad a deeper and fuller understanding of the problems which affect not only the Bantu races, but also the European community. For many years these men and women, actuated by the highest motives, have not spared themselves in this regard, and it redounds to their credit that at long last their efforts are coming to fruition.

Take for example, the question of the Protectorates. Until just recently this tremendously important subject did not attract general attention; it was relegated to the background of national politics, and claimed the interest of a mere handful of thoughtful people who, convinced that at no far-distant date the whole question would come to the forefront, had no hesitation in placing their views before South Africa and the world at large. Today the question of the Protectorates is engaging the earnest attention of the statesmen of both hemispheres, and many of those who formerly showed a disposition to dismiss it in a few perfunctory phrases are now making no secret of their keen interest.

In books and pamphlets, in the Press and at public gatherings, South Africa's problem is being discussed in all its bearings, and information and enlightenment is being disseminated both far and wide. This is as it should be. To fully understand and appreciate the many phases of this great question it is essential that the people of South Africa, both white and black, should be made aware of its importance both from a social and economic point of view. A mere superficial knowledge is not enough. As we have previously pointed out, the future of the Native races in this country is irrevocably linked with the whole trend of white civilisation, and it is only by a full realisation of this fundamental fact that a solution of the problem can be sought.

There are grounds for believing that with the advent of the Native Bills, the people of South Africa will awake to a realisation of what they imply. Whatever the policy outlined in the proposed new legislation, it is certain that it will involve considerations of far-reaching importance to the whole country, and it is therefore not only necessary, but absolutely imperative, that public opinion shall be directed upon lines calculated to assist materially in evolving a policy based upon justice and fairplay. By this means alone will it be possible to hammer out a solution of this vital problem.

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Africa

"POOR WHITES" OF SOUTH AFRICA

(From our South African Correspondent.)

A most interesting and significant National Conference on what is known in South Africa as the "poor white" problem has just been meeting at Kimberley. The choice of meeting-place was in itself striking. Economically Kimberley is to-day a city of the dead, a community appealing to the compassion of the National Government for support. There is no reason to suppose that its world-famous treasures are exhausted, but developments in the markets of the world, changes of fashion, and the chaos of international finance have made them, for a time at any rate, valueless. The people of Kimberley are starving in Aladdin's cave. A similar series of happenings with regard to gold would turn whole areas of the Witwatersrand into hopeless slums. The fate of Kimberley is a solemn warning that beneath the façade of wealth, prosperity, and progress there is bitter poverty among white and black in South Africa. The Carnegie Poor White Committee has maintained that fifty-six per cent of the European population of the Union may be classified as "poor" or "very poor."

At the outset the Conference provided considerable stock-in-trade for the enemies of the Government. Three Ministers were invited. One, Mr. Fourie, the Minister of Labour, attended the Conference, but had to leave shortly after opening it. Neither Mr. Pirow, the Minister of Defence and of Railways and Harbours, nor Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, the Minister of the Interior, Education, and Public Health, could be present. Somewhere, it is clear, there was bad staff work, for Dr. Malan was not only present but took an active part in the proceedings, and made a most eloquent and moving speech which will long be remembered. There is no need whatever to doubt his sincerity in this matter. He, and many others who think with him, are greatly concerned at the position of the less favoured sections of the white community, and although part of their motive-force may be pride of race rather than human compassion there is much genuine striving for social justice among them.

A statesman of the first calibre would think only of the interests of the "poor whites" themselves, and would therefore do all in his power to co-operate with the Government of the day and to assist it to secure the confidence of the depressed communities. It is doubtful whether Dr. Malan's sense of political duty will rise quite as high as that, and it is extremely probable that he will make a good deal of political capital out of what has been undoubtedly a serious error of tactics on the part of the Government.

The Conference itself has, happily, been captured by no one political group. It has served a useful purpose in educating public opinion, and in making clear to the average South African (who reads newspapers but does not read five-volume reports) certain important conclusions already reached by the Carnegie Poor White Committee. The first and most important of these conclusions is that the human beings concerned are in the majority of cases not irreclaimable. Although there are many instances of mental deficiency, the "poor whites" are, as a class, the product of a wrong environment, and a change of environment will therefore do much to help them.

The importance of this conclusion—which seems to have the facts behind it—is very great. Many, perhaps the majority, of well-to-do South Africans have believed that the "poor white" was really incapable of progress. They have not really faced the issue that these hundreds of thousands of human beings if not transformed into an asset to South Africa must inevitably become a liability; that, in short, they could not be merely left out of account. The effect of their attitude has been, therefore, that efforts to help the "poor white" have been half-hearted and largely ineffective; or, alternatively, that real activity on behalf of the "poor whites" has been left to the extremists among Nationalist thinkers, who have tended to produce solutions based on differences of race or colour instead of getting to grips with the economic situation.

This error the Conference has avoided. The refusal to follow the old policy of merely restricting native employment in order to find jobs for needy white men constitutes the second contribution of the Conference to South Africa, and it is a most important one.

A hurried decision, taken by a small majority, in favour of the "repatriation" of urban natives within the next ten years to non-existent reserves was solemnly rescinded after due deliberation and realisation that it was as absurd as it was clearly inequitable.

This is in keeping with a general change in the outlook of the governing classes—a change which is taking place gradually and reluctantly, but which is taking place none the less. The Department of Labour has at last been brought to the point of issuing a definite ruling that the term "civilised labour" may in certain circumstances be held to include Bantu labour. As the whole weight of Governmental influence has been thrown into securing the predominant position of "civilised" labour, this definition has its value; and while in many countries it might be taken for granted that colour in itself should not debar a man from economic progress, the new attitude of the Government is a matter for sober rejoicing in South Africa.

A further indication of the change is to be found in the speeches of Mr. Fourie, hitherto one of the most intransigent members of the Cabinet on questions of colour. Mr. Fourie is now pointing to the needs of non-European labour and suggesting that South Africa's problems will not be solved merely by transferring employment from one section to another.

Mr. Tielman Roos, indeed, still makes economic segregation one of the planks of his party platform, and uses a good deal of eloquence in demonstrating the danger to society of Bantu chauffeurs driving European-owned cars. But Mr. Roos is clearly a spent force, as the by-election at Heilbron, where his candidate secured only about eight per cent of the votes cast, has demonstrated.

Too slowly, all too slowly, South African opinion is changing; but it is changing none the less. In that change lies hope for the "poor white," whose case is likely in the new atmosphere to receive a more balanced, careful, and scientific handling, as new positive policies of education and industrial development replace the old quack remedy of dismissing more natives and hoping for the best.

MATTERS OF MOMENT.

SAMBURU RITUAL MURDERS.

The order of the Government of Kenya that warriors of the Samburu tribe are not to carry weapons was clearly overdue, for the ritual blooding of spears had become far too common a practice. Prohibition of arms was necessary, but it is not enough. Here is a clear occasion for statesmanship of a high order. Merely to repeat: "We do not allow it; we will punish you if you disobey our wishes" will be ineffective, or only partly effective, in Kenya, as elsewhere in the world; witness the evasion of the liquor laws in the U.S.A., and the prevalence of street betting in England. Only the other day His Excellency the Governor visited the Samburu, and spoke sternly to them of their trespasses. They listened with exemplary attention—and the day after his departure a party went forth and killed a man on a white settler's farm. Only the totally blind could fail to see that behind an act so seemingly contemptuous lies something serious

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CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION IMPERATIVE.

This "blooding" rite is part of the custom structure of the tribe. Any reader who doubts the hold which human killing can exercise on a tribe should read Mr Nesbitt's "Desert and Forest," in which splendid book occurs an admirable description of the technique of such killings and the views sincerely held concerning it, among a race—the Danakil—without outside check of any kind. It is, indeed, a revelation. As recently as Monday last, Mr. Thesiger, in a paper read to the Royal Geographical Society, gave the fullest confirmation, and added further illuminating details. For some three decades British rule has prohibited this pleasant rite among the Samburu, but apparently with almost negligible result. It is therefore necessary to look deeper.

Besides, and following, severe retribution, there should be a "round table conference" between one or two capable administrative officers, who should be sound psychologists, and the chiefs and elders—and possibly the witch-doctors. The tribe must be made to understand that the killing has to stop, but its leaders might be asked to help by devising some substitutable, or evolutionary, rite which will be acceptable to the tribe, and the acceptance of which they would be willing to enforce. If some such step is not attempted and, after much patient collaboration, brought to fruition, there is a danger that even the execution of convicted murderers may act in a way that has not been envisaged, by increasing the credit for killing because the risks attendant have been multiplied. Masai blood-lust has been diverted from homicide to the organised spearing of lion. Can something of the kind be achieved among the Samburu?

South Africa and Protectorates.

"The present British Government would not be unmindful of and would not attempt to run away from the promises and obligations they had entered into on behalf of the Natives in this particular question" said Mr J. H. Thomas, Secretary for the Dominions in reply to a reference made by General Smuts what he had rightly said was a matter deeply concerning South Africa, namely the Protectorates, in his speech at a dinner given by the South African Club at the Savoy Hotel. 11-14-34

The reply of the Secretary of State for the Dominions clearly shows the attitude of the present British Government on this question which they desire to be known and clearly understood in England and in South Africa and the earnestness with which Mr Thomas explained this attitude shows the honesty of purpose of the British Government in standing by their promises and obligations to the Natives of the Protectorates.

It will be considered as a further assurance to the inhabitants of the High Commission Territories that Britain is prepared to stand by her word.

This will be a source of gratification to them as they are strongly opposed to the idea of the handing over of the Protectorates to the Union.

Mr Thomas "referred to General Smuts' speech and expressed the opinion that if he kept his silence he might be seriously misunderstood. He had known General Smuts as a brave and wise soldier: they had seen him as gallant opponent, and now they welcomed him as a friend. They had known him as a far-seeing statesman looking well ahead and realising the difficulties they would be compelled to face. In all those phases of his character not only the Empire but the world was indebted to General Smuts because he was a great statesman. But they had seen him in another role that evening. How easy it would be for him (Mr Thomas) to go to South Africa and talk about the difficulties of the world, having no responsibility for them except in a detached way, and telling the rest of the world how to go on with their business. How different it was when General Smuts was talking of South Africa and said frankly to the mining industry: "Thank God you exist. If you did not we would be bust."

He knew General Smuts did not expect him to reply to the reference to what he had rightly said was a matter deeply concerning South Africa, namely the Protectorates. General Smuts was quite right in saying that twenty-five years ago correspondence had passed between Lord Selborne and Lord De Villiers, but he also knew perfectly well that there was not only other correspondence but certain definite promises. And just as he would be the first to say that South Africa would adhere to her pledges and obligations, he (Mr Thomas) wished to say to General Smuts, to Britain, and to South Africa that the present British Government would not be unmindful of and would not attempt to run away from the promises and obligations they had entered into on behalf of the Natives in this particular question. It was not only necessary to say that, but to say less would be not to discharge an obligation one had towards the territories and the Natives. But he would also say that if this difficult and delicate problem were approached in the broad spirit in which General Smuts had approached it, namely with sincere desire to do the right thing, then the real solution would be found in the accommodation of both sides to their obligations and commit-

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There are many inherent impossibilities in the scheme—again with the proviso that we judge only from the cabled report. Leaving aside the well-established white interests in many other areas in this Black Dominion, there is one of the world's major white man's industries in the copper fields of Northern Rhodesia, and Tanganyika seems certain to provide a number of highly important goldfields. Colonel Carbutt is reported as saying that his scheme "would entail sacrifices, but it would be worth them in view of the magnitude of the problem." Who would pay for the sacrifices? On the larger issue, we hold strongly that it would not be for the ultimate good of the Natives to put them in one set of pens and the white men in another. This "zoo" policy would deprive the Africans of the immense benefits of education by example, of the growth of understanding by association, and other forward movements of which there have been such promising signs would be checked or killed. A prompt corollary would be increasing difficulty in finding money for roads, dams, irrigation, and the like in the Black Dominion, so that progress, which is still dependent on white capital and skill, would be arrested. As an ideal local self-government for white and black has much to be said for it, but Colonel Carbutt surely resembles the Chinaman who burnt a house whenever he wanted roast pork.

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Race Problem - 1934

Africa.

The New Pass Regulations in the Union

By P. D. SEGALE

(*Continued.*)

Now and for the sake of space I divert a little from the general passes and turn to the Exemption. What are the conditions laid down for the issue of these somewhat "admirable" exemptions? What qualifications are required for one to be exempted? And from what is one to be exempted? Briefly, conditions: More complcated than ordinary passes. Qualifications: None! From what is one to be exempted: Or to be more fairer one should say the exempted one is being relieved from the multiplicity of passes as Section 14, sub-section one (1) has it; but the same person will be subjected to the same humiliation under the pass laws in that nothing is written on his face to show that he is exempted. He will still undergo the same inconvenience experienced by those carrying ordinary passes by being stopped by any policeman in almost every corner of wherever he may be at the moment.

What is most disgusting with these "new reforms" in the pass laws is that the very exemption which has met with so much praise in certain quarters the holder can never be certain of how long will he be exempted. Section 14 sub-section one (1) paragraphs (a) to (i) show that certain Africans hitherto denied the privilege of this so-called exemption will benefit but so long as they hold those positions they may happen to be employed on at the time of their being exempted. What is going to happen when they leave those dositions of theirs I leave it to you who will read this to come to your own conclusions!

Paragraph (j) of this same section is more provoking than anything that one can think of, it reads as follows: "Any Native of good character and repute who is certified by the Native Commissioner or where there is no Native Commissioner by the Magistrate of the district in which such person resides to be a fit and proper person to be exempted from the provisions of these regulations and is so exempted by the Minister."

From this fine legal phraseologies one can imagine seeing an unprecedented influx of men "of good character and repute," most of whom will be comi g from distances as far as 100 miles and who the Native Commissioner has never seen or heard of in his life-time as a Government official yet invading the office of this Government representative in order to obtain necessary recommendations which will enable them to obtain letters of exemption from a person who knows nothing about them!

As I have already pointed out in the preceding paragrphs I fear I shall have to leave most of the things unsaid for I am afraid no newspaper can justly allow a discussion of this nature to be dealt with broadly in its columns. Before leaving this paragraph, however, I feel that emphasis should be laid on paragraph (b) of the same section which appears to me to be an insult directed towards all races save Europeans Under this paragraph "any Native in the employ of a European master when accompanied by such European master" may be granted a letter of Exemption. What of those Africans employed by other Africans, Asiatics or any other member of the human race here in this "democratic" Union Government of South Africa who are not Europeans? This I, also, leave to the imagination and solution of those interested in the matter.

Leaving many other sections aside which also would provide a lively discussion I only wish to end this letter by mentioning two more sections which, to my mind, are outstanding, Section 18 sub-section one (1) has the following odious words: "No person may employ or take into his service any Native who is not provided with a proper pass..... It is noteworthy that in this case a letter of Exemption has also been referred to as "a proper pass." Now instead of helping any poor Native who for obvious reasons may happen to be without a pass, the law has it that such a person should not be employed. In other words such a person must be left to develop into a criminal since being without a pass an African is treated as a criminal. A person without "a proper pass" rather than being sent to the Office for a pass must risk taking the chances of working without a pass or is ultimately forced to forging and uttering by writing a pass for himself!

Last but not least "the Minister shall have full authority and discretion in any case to order that a pass shall be issued or refused to any Native notwithstanding any prohibition or other provision contained in these regulations." From this it is again clear to everyone but fanatics that despite the fact that the proclamation in question is supposed to be a law, the Minister will override it at any time and twist same towards his own way of liking. There is no legal claim on the part of an African to acquire pass or Exemption either by educational, professional or some sort of qualifications. To those who applaud the Government for the kind and generous step the Government has taken by these "new reforms" in the pass laws and those who say "half a loaf is better than no bread." I say God bless you all- and to see to it that you are not buried alive very shortly.

Blythswood Re-Union.

(From our Correspondent.)

On the evening of Friday, 5th October about a hundred and fifty Former Students of Blythswood were welcomed to their old Institution and a very fine and simple fellowship marked their intercourse with the staff and the present students. The occasion was the reception of the Former Students, who reunited from Friday, 5th to Sunday, 7th October. A very warm welcome on behalf of Blythswood was accorded the Former Students by the Principal (Rev. W. Arnott, M.A.) and the Rev. Robert Godfrey, M.A., who has been Acting Principal since the late Rev. D. D. Stormont went to Scotland where he died in November, 1931. The mouthpieces of the visitors were Mrs. W. Kabane and Messrs. W. R. Ntloko and L. Dambuza. Enthusiasm reigned through the proceedings; at times the large hall of the Institution would resound with cheers or laughter, while at others the audience assumed a silence resembling that of a funeral at the mention of some past sad occasion. Most especially noticeable was this mood when reference was made to the death of the Rev. D. D. Stormont whose name, as one speaker said, was inseparable from that of Blythswood. It was, indeed, very comforting to see amongst her Former Students the face of Mrs. Stormont who had come from Port Elizabeth specially for the occasion. Old Mr. W. Forrest (known by former students as "Gouch") the former woodwork instructor was also there. He had come all the way from Alice where he now lives. There was also the delight of once more seeing the faces and hearing the voices of friends from whom one had parted years ago. Very unfortunately many were unable to attend owing to their having had to attend the General Assembly of the Bantu Presbyterian Church in Johannesburg. From these, letters or messages were received expressing regret at being unable to attend. An apology for absence was also received from Mr. S. E. R. Mqayi, who had been requested to attend as "imbhongi."

The programme of the evening was a very interesting and attractive one, for which Mr. R. W. Plant is very much to be thanked. No sooner were the doors of the hall closed than the walls resounded with the strains of "For all the saints who from their labours rest" after the singing of which the Rev. W. Arnott led a very impressive prayer. After brief but appreciative remarks by the Chairman (the Principal), the Rev. R. Godfrey delivered an eloquent and impressive speech of welcome. In reply for the visitors Mr. W. R. Ntloko said, among other things, that because of the improvements to the Institution he hardly identified it when he saw Blythswood that afternoon, with the Institution of his own student days in 1880. Mrs. W. W. Kabane, in the course of a well delivered speech, related how she had taught her daughters, who had been trained at other schools, to cut and sew as she had been taught at Blythswood, how when they were teachers, other teachers of sewing were advised by the Departmental Instructress to go and get patterns from her daughters and how that a Government official identified those as Blythswood patterns. Mr. L. L. Dambuza, the last speaker excelled. In the course of his speech he said that while Mr. Arnott welcomed the Former Students that evening, which they much appreciated, they, in turn, wished to take that opportunity to welcome him to Blythswood as the new Principal and to congratulate him on his appointment. On behalf of the Former Students he requested the principal to write a letter of condolence to the relatives of the late Mr. James MacLaren, a former principal of Blythswood, whose death had recently occurred at Port Elizabeth.

A Black Dominion.

Colonel Carbutt's Proposals.

The Chief Native Commissioner of Southern Rhodesia, Colonel Carbutt, writing in the journal published annually under the auspices of the Native Affairs Department, suggests as a solution of the problem of white and black development in British South and East Africa, the formation of a Dominion north of the Zambezi, in which the interests of the Native would be paramount. Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika and Uganda are envisaged as this Black Dominion.

Colonel Carbutt says that the creation of such a State must carry with it the corollary that, having provided a State in which Africans have full freedom for development of their civic rights, areas south of the Zambezi in which white men have made homes for themselves must be declared European areas in which the white man's interests are the first consideration. He recognises that the scheme would entail sacrifices, but it would be worth them in view of the magnitude of the problem.

He believes thinking Natives would welcome such a scheme, and declares: "A sound and permanent solution of this great racial problem is of the utmost importance to the British Commonwealth of Nations. It requires urgent attention, because whether European immigration into the territories in which the suggested Native State could be created be encouraged or not, there will be a steady infiltration of Europeans and Asiatics acquiring vested interests and so making the problem of a state in which the African can enjoy complete freedom of development as difficult, and possibly as impossible, of attainment as it is south of the Zambezi or in Kenya."

Press comment suggests that if the scheme is not at present acceptable, it nevertheless might speed up the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland as showing a practicable way in which white and black in the three combined territories could obtain complete freedom of development in the areas allotted to them.

The *Rhodesia Herald* adds that if Colonel Carbutt's scheme is seriously considered it will hasten the arrival of the day, hitherto looked upon as in the far-distant future, when there will come up for decision the question of a federation of British States from the Cape to the headwaters of the Nile—a federation in which the component units would be self-governing as regards purely domestic affairs, but would work as one when dealing with questions common to them all.—*Times* telegram from Salisbury.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa.

DURBAN AND DISTRICT AFRICAN MUSICAL SOCIETY.

It affords me great pleasure to report in your popular paper about the enthusiastic start made by the Durban and District choirs and conductors in connection with musical activities.

On the 30th October last a choir-conductors' meeting was held at the Bantu Social Centre, 63, Victoria Street, Durban. Mr. A. Kumalo opened the meeting and gave an introduction which was somewhat optimistic so far as musical activities are concerned.

Mr. Kumalo pointed out that this was an opportunity for organizing ourselves on musical matters so as to encourage and support all artistes in Native music, i.e. conductors, instrumental artistes, writers and composers of songs and poems and the like. To ancourage and cultivate among the Bantu people love for their own music and also to provide for good entertainments.

Some of the prominent members who attended were Mr. D.L Bopela one of the leaders in African Organizations here in Durban. Mr. L.L. Kumalo one of the teachers of the Taylor Street Government School, an enthusiastic musician, Mrs. F.M. Caluza and Madam E. Msimanga.

The meeting as a whole is grateful to the above members for the indispensable suggestions offered by them outlining the fundamental principles which ought to guide our organisation if we wish to have musical progress.

To sum up, it would appear certain that if a musical organization is formed for the development of musical talent in an African mind which is mostly ignored due to lack of tact and should we also thoroughly accustom man and woman to look to musical organizations on all occasions in schools, churches, musical festivals and homes it might utterly change the face of things musically.

Musical impulse in the person would not run to waste. Intelligent appreciation of good music would advance, brainless ballad concerts would cease. Good singers would sing good songs to the public and the simple truth would dawn upon them that music is the natural and universal language of but two in every thousand human beings. It appeals to our emotions. I have known of people who have been hurt and in pain playfully substitute a scrap of music.

According to the definition of music it is an art of arranging sounds to please the ear. Music is the loveliest recreation, purest social joys, gentlest discipline of our thoughts, discipline of mental building which renders thought orderly and makes it clean and acceptable to your neighbours a veritable part, however, and kingdom of good.

In conclusion I beg to appeal to all those interested in music to offer us suggestions either by articles in Native papers or by sending them to the Secretary.

WILLIAM MSELEKU.
Adams Mission Station,
Amanzimtoti.

NATIVES IN URBAN AREAS.

At a time when there is every likelihood of material progress in the direction of improving the conditions under which Natives are living in Durban and other large towns in the Union it is both informative and interesting to consider some of the points in connection with the problem of Natives in Urban areas.

It is beyond dispute that the main cause of the influx into the towns is the undeveloped state of the Reserves. It is equally certain that our people prefer living in rural rather than in urban areas and that their migration to the towns is attributable largely to the fact that they require money to meet their urgent needs, among which payment of the general tax in one of the most important. Recruiting is another factor of considerable importance.

Competent judges assert that it is useless to attempt a change while these incentives to migrate remain. There can be no doubt that in the vast majority of cases the Native comes to town with the ostensible object of improving his economic position, and that when he gets there he is confronted by difficulties that are almost insurmountable.

Under the Urban Areas Act the Native who comes to town has to comply with restrictions of a most irritating description, not the least of which being that associated with his freedom of movement and action. Life in towns is very different from that to which our people are accustomed and if this fact were more recognised by the authorities there will be much less cause for complaint. This aspect of the question was carefully studied by the Native Economic Commission, which stressed certain essential points well worthy of attention. Recent events have strengthened the view of the Commission that a great deal of the existing difficulty might be removed in regard to the adjusting of the relations between Europeans and Natives in towns if local authorities would co-operate more fully with the Joint Councils and Welfare Societies.

It is admitted that such co-operation would effect much improvement at little cost, particularly in regard to the provision of amenities calculated to assist in educating our people, and thereby providing an opportunity of taking an interest in matters other than those associated with their humdrum every day existence. One of the most serious obstacles in the way of the progress and development of our people is the European idea that the Native is incapable of progress, and that he must for ever remain backward. Those Europeans who hold such a view would do well to remember what has been achieved by members of the Bantu race in the field of education, in medicine and agriculture. By doing so they will realise the capacity of the Native to take advantage of the facilities provided and put them to the best possible use.

There are many ways in which the lives of our people who live in the large towns can be brightened and improved. What is needed is a deeper and fuller conception of what is required and if the various local authorities exercise a broader and more tolerant outlook in relating the whole question, they will find our people only too ready and willing to respond.

Africa

League of Coloured Peoples.

West Africa

The third annual general meeting of the League of Coloured Peoples took place at the Memorial Hall on March 9, when the secretary, Mr. Stephen Thomas, gave an excellent report, saying that membership had quadrupled since the present executive took office at the beginning of the year. Among important matters dealt with had been the Tshekedi case, the Scottsboro boys and lynching in America, and correspondence on Liberia. He also reported on some excellent social functions including the reception by the Mayor of Westcliffe to the League in July last and the co-operation with Hull in the Wilberforce celebrations. 3-17-34

The Treasurer's report was equally encouraging, and showed that whilst last year the League handled only £25, this year it handled £406, although there was a big deficit on the play. Great efforts were being made to recoup the loss, and it was suggested that a West Indian and West African sale should be held in the autumn, the idea being that members and friends overseas should give goods to be sold for the benefit of the League. The report on "The Keys" was also most satisfactory, for only £2 15s. had been lost on the first two issues and the circulation was now 2,000, in Africa, India, West Indies, America and Great Britain.

London, England

A statement by the president regarding Aggrey House was well received, and arrangements are being made to call a meeting to consider the establishment of this house in London. The house is being redecorated and will shortly be available for use as a social centre for Africans and West Indians in London.

In the election of officers, the old Committee was returned, but the consideration of much other business had to be adjourned for a month.

Particulars of the forthcoming conference at High Leigh, March 23 to 25, were announced. The topic of discussion is to be "The Negro in the Changing World Order," and it was suggested that an autumn conference on a larger scale in the centre of London might prove popular, and the matter is to receive further consideration.

The Dignity of Labour

The Comet (Methodist)

It is only yesterday that humanity was groanning under the ravages of depression. By a stroke of the same pen fate shows that both in the midst of depression and plenty "to labour is the lot of man." 2-21-34

A year or two ago many were forced into labour market as a matter of necessity. Now some are compelled by the good times ahead to work even harder than during the depression, not to make odds and ends meet but to gather and garner the fruits of their labour. Truly a happy state born of travail! Masere, Basutoland

The age-old dictum of the dignity of labour has been given a new lease of life. It has been clearly shown that whether out of necessity or as a hobby, there is always something compelling admiration about work. Of course, it is not by any means surprising that there are those who revolt against all work, skilled or unskilled. However, since all humanity must live by "the sweat of his brow," we must work.

Even to man who has lost hope of even doing good in life, a day's work well done leaves behind a sense of self-satisfaction and a feeling that at least something had been done that day.

THE SAVAGE WE AND DECADENCE OF WOMEN.

Umzinto Natal

(By WALLET VILAKAZI.)

I have sometimes thought that were the Europeans to leave Natives just alone and do all they can for them that the Natives may rise without making division lines. I have sometimes thought things would be very smooth, that the Europeans would consider us savages and at some points of law treat us as savages, that would be the right game. My assertion should not here be misleading. The savage according to some school of thought is the purest of human species unhampered by civilised and artificial or scientific developments which others call inventions. These have made Europeans what they are. The trouble is that men without objective knowledge confuse savages and people who have passed the stage of savages. If among civilised men a savage is found this savage is charged as a species without consideration to his attainment in his own sphere of civilisation.

Today among civilised men we meet the most advanced savages who can do all what they want because they have public opinion behind them. The actions of mobs even today in America are identical of the mode of savage who are too clever and educated. Today in South Africa when men are in need of what to shoot it and the thought of it runs mad, the easiest way to get at the game is that they simply walk out gun in hand and point their machines to any black object walking on two legs. When all the accidents in mines and in trains and in the road cuttings happen, nine cases out of ten will be Native since the savage we met the Western civilisation. If the black occupy any position in Africa then the authorities ought to see that our people do not suffer such avoidable losses.

In the shops of all towns in the Union we still suffer great injustice. When you come into a shop you are called by all names, never mind whether you are a lady or a gentleman better even in manners and education than the ordinary shop girl or boy behind the counter. The policy is that you have come to serve even at a place where you ought to be served. Europeans who act in such a way are better savages than we and they claim civilisation of 2 000 years behind them; but that compares very well with a tramp we generally meet in the highroads who claims to have taught the Prince of Wales and dined with their Majesties and received many royal invitations some of which he refused. But today? The question is not what a man has been but what he is today.

Some thinkers advance that European civilisation is bound to suffer before the low Bantu civilisation. That is not the question. The trouble is all over, even overseas. The fall of women especially in Europe is the great attitude to be like men in all outward appearance; their modes of actions and their thoughts and institutions — that alone speaks much for the future of European civilisation. European civilisation has come to a stand-still and will go no further. It is consuming itself whether the Europeans accept it or not they are bound to roll down. Psychologists are nearly all agreed that when a nation has gone far in civilisation its women always like to play men and show themselves in declining to bear children and the home burdens. Then men become tame and their tendencies make for those already lost in women. In the streets today and in the films that are called the best films, when we look at these Native girls who have come into contact with Europeans in towns, you will notice they overwhelm men and their word is uppermost and invincible. Men either say, yes or no. Who will rule a woman who claims the right of possessing as many male friends as she desires? Who will see to the growth and birth of children if women desire no children? If any come then they must be given to a black nurse who will feed them with nutrines and lactogens, etc? What nation can call us savages when such things happen before our eyes?

Last year in Durban a Native was convicted and fined 10s. because his dress was not decent. He was dressed in short trousers and something on his chest. According to this primitive man there was no thing wrong in this and personally I must confess I see nothing wrong.

THE HOUSE TAX AND THE TEMNE RISING OF 1898.

VII.

By C. R. Morrison.

"There's not a sting attuned to mirth,
But has its chord in melancholy,"—(Congrave.)

28th March, 1898.—After the burial of Colonel Bosworth, Major Tarbet of the Frontier Police with a force of seventy-five Frontiers patrolled the road from Karene up to the town of Matete—the scene of the stubborn fighting on the night of the 27th—and destroyed seventeen partly built stockades. One private of his force was severely wounded.

Weekly news

His Excellency the Governor and suite left Port Loko for Freetown at 9 a.m. this day by the Colonial Steamer Countess of Derby escorted

by the gun launch of H.M.S. Alecto as far as Robump. On 30th March, Major Burke, D.S.O., arrived at Port Loko with two companies West India Regiment.

2-24-34

An escort of one hundred and eighty men of the West India Regiment, sixty Frontiers, under command of Major Donovan, A.S.C., with twelve wounded officers and men and about six hundred carriers and five civilians left Karene at 5.30 a.m., for Port Loko. Major Burke with fifty West India Regiment soldiers and sixty non-commissioned officers and men of the Frontier Police preceded this column as advanced guard, as far as the famous Matete. More sharp fighting ensued at this place, and no fewer than five of the enemy's stockades were destroyed at a cost of Lieutenant Jones and four privates of the West Indian Regiment severely wounded, and three Frontiers slightly wounded. These actions cleared the way as far as Mamiliki for Major Donovan's party, which was, immediately after Major Burke's party's return, barred at this place by three formidable stockades. Here a murderous fight took place, and while we lay down for cover, the enemy's bullets sang like fiddle-strings over our heads. Colonel Johnstone received a dangerous wound and to which this gallant officer succumbed two days latter. Several non-commissioned officers and men of the West India Regiment and Frontier Force, including Colour Sergeant-Major Robert George (Frontier Force) were wounded. We, however, succeeded to clear off the enemy; but had they charged us during our attacks on their stockades, or continued their reckless rush, there is not the slightest doubt that we would have fallen their victims. Many carriers were also killed and wounded, owing chiefly to the fact that as soon as we are attacked, and the enemy's slugs began to fly about the air, they lose courage and run about in all directions. Being utterly fagged out, the column reached Kagbantama—(a journey of about 2½ hours from Karene) at 5 p.m., and encamped there for the night. There was very little sleep for anybody the whole night owing to the incessant sniping by the enemy. The column left for Port Loko the next morning via Gbom-banna and Makump, but its march was further delayed by stockades at Konta (Debia chiefdom) although the chief of this town was friendly to the Government.

Encumbered as it was with sick and wounded, to attempt to risk the long row of covert stockades against which a 7-pounder or Maxim has no effect whatever, would simply meant the killing of three fourths at least, of our force; Major Donovan therefore was compelled to have a path cut through the bush with much labour, to avoid the stockades of Mabonkan, the last town to Port Loko on this route. This, however, did not prevent our encountering the ever-watchful enemy again at the stream of the town, which resulted in more wounded on our side. Head-carrier Blackie was dangerously wounded with four others severely wounded. The column marched through the pitchy darkness of the night along the narrow winding paths,—at every end or turning corner of which—the Temne man was posted, hidden in the dense bush—and arrived at Port Loko at 9 p.m., on the 31st March.

The same day, Major Tarbet and a party of Frontiers attacked the village of Robat, two miles from Karene, on the Kambia (Gt. Scarcies) —Karene road and drove the enemy out of three stockades without any casuality.

Lieut-Colonel J. Marshall, arrived at Port Loko by H.M.S. Alecto on 1st April 1898, and assumed command of the Karene Expeditionary Force.

The situation of affairs in the District was now grave. The rebel chief Bai Bure was far from being caught than he was at the beginning of operations, while his war-boys were to be found everywhere. Considering the number of officers and men engaged at the time, the loss on our side in killed and wounded had been high indeed; on the other hand, reckoning the thousands of rounds of ammunition we have expended daily from the 18th February, and as far as we can guess (for we have no means of ascertaining) the loss on Bai Bure's side was trivial. The nerves of everyone connected with the operations were greatly shaken by this very trying mode of warfare; the constant strain of sleepless nights, the incessant fighting, fatigue and severe heat, as well as the thought that we have been actively engaged against an adversary we do not see often but whom we know sees our very movements. On one occasion the enemy's defence was so strong between the towns of Matete and Miliki that it took our force several hours of incessant fighting to advance a little beyond thirty yards. In the Mission house at Port Loko, lay about one hundred and eighty sick and wounded, while the Military and Colonial hospitals in Freetown contained not less than one hundred men, invalided from the scene of action.

The gravity of the rebellion could not be given in details, but from the above the reader would realise what it was and how strenuous the situation was in attempting to arrest Bai Bure. Many gallant actions were—it is only fair to state—performed by the enemy. On one occasion a wounded sub-chief (Fode Barika) was able with one hand to withstand the onslaught of a soldier and even to severely wound him; he was eventually shot in a frantic effort to take the life of another soldier.

On 2nd April, two companies West India Regimemt and a few Frontiers under Major Burke, D.S.O., were sent to destroy the stockades at Mabonkani which had obstructed the march of Major Donovan's column on the night of the 31st March. This was effected with slight loss: three privates West India Regiment, severely wounded and one gunner (European) slightly wounded.

On the morning of the 3rd April, Major Donovan, A.S.C., Captain Morley, West India Regiment and Captain Tyler R.E., left Port Loko with two companies West India Regiment and a convoy of provisions to Romeni, thirteen miles from Port Loko to establish an intermediate post at that place. This was effected with triflings opposition. The sight having been chosen and a laager formed, Major Donovan and Captain Morley with one company West India Regiment returned the next day to Port Loko leaving Captain Tyler, R.E., in charge of Romeni out-post.

The Nest,
Lumley Road, Wilberforce,
20th February, 1934.

HIGH COMMISSIONER AND NATIVE PROBLEM.

Clarence-Fisher

WE have never wearied in urging the need for a broad and tolerant outlook in considering what by popular use has become known as the Native question. Time was when public opinion in this regard was hasty and ill-informed, but during the past decade or so there has been a marked change, until today South Africa's greatest problem is being discussed from an angle which not only permits of an expression of sound views, but the effect of which cannot be otherwise than all to the good.

In this connection it is both interesting and important to read what no less an authority than the High Commissioner in South Africa, Sir Herbert Stanley, stated a few days ago in an address at Capetown. His Excellency, who has lived in this country sufficiently long to understand and appreciate the position of our people, urged the necessity for applying and implementing the teaching of the Apostle Paul when dealing with the Native question. St. Paul emphasised the tremendous importance of "faith, hope and charity," and the greater part of his wonderful life was dedicated to preaching the gospel of peace and goodwill among men.

As the High Commissioner remarked, moral courage is a very essential quality when dealing with any race, whether white or black, and it was particularly necessary in this country when those who tried to handle the Native question had epithets such as "negrophilist" flung at them. Experience has shown that in certain quarters there is a decided tendency to deride the efforts of the many who are honestly and sincerely endeavouring to assist in solving great problems, and in connection with the solution of the Native problem this has been abundantly evident.

His Excellency also had much of interest to say concerning the economic aspect of the question. Many people, he said, held the view that if Natives attained the standard of wages, education and employment now enjoyed by Europeans, it would no longer be possible for the latter to earn a living and bring up their families in the way they should. Sir Herbert recognised the seriousness of the problem of labour competition and low wages, and asked whether the remedy lay in perpetuating the difference in the standard of living or bringing the Native up to a stage where he would require a living wage not very different from that of the European. Given fairly and courageously, the answer was to make it possible for the Native to rise in the social scale and acquire habits and ways of life which would remove the danger of the present competition of people with a very low standard of living. Few will find themselves in disagreement with this view, nor will they differ from the opinion that it is impossible permanently to keep millions of people in a state of complete economic subjection. Sooner or later, observed His Excellency, education would spread, and as the Native workman became more efficient he would oust the skilled workman from his job if the scale of wages remained as low as at present.

Sir Herbert does not number himself among those who suggest complete equality between the two races. In his opinion the Native will not develop on identical lines with the white man, nor will the result be identical. What he does hold, however, is that it is impossible to have a healthy civilisation when the larger portion of the population is repressed, and that civilisation based on slavery crashed because slavery became a canker and destroyed the superstructure. Important factors in dealing with the Native question is the exercise of courtesy and consideration for the feelings of those chiefly concerned, and unless the Native is treated in a proper way, the prospect of maintaining white civilisation will be poor indeed.

Africa

THE NEGRO RACE—ITS PLACE IN CIVILIZATION AND NEED FOR CO-OPERATION.

By Thomas Dosumu-Johnson
President, African International Trading Association.

Weekly News

That the tendency of the League of Nations to insure international good-will and peace is the most laudable undertaking of modern times cannot be denied, yet the Negro is bound to doubt the sincerity of the institution because it has, since its inauguration in 1920, hopelessly failed to protect him against the bigotry and inveterate prejudice of its members. The League is apt to argue that she has not the right to interfere in the domestic relations of member states. Granting that such a prevarication is correct, is the League powerless in treating with those "states" under its direct surveillance? In view of the fact that those states which adhere strongly to colour prejudice are the most conspicious in the administrative affairs of the League of Nations we feel justified in the conclusion that the League is an instrument to perpetuate white supremacy. The coloured and black population of the world by far outnumbers the white. How can any institution honestly think of world peace without first taking steps to ameliorate or abolish the conditions that have made three-fourths of the world's population restive?

The contention that the Negro is easily satisfied and is devoid of the capacity of organized resistance, and as such will long continue to goad under the yoke of Western task-masters is an apothesis of tom-foolery.

The Negro has been relegated his present position owing to the fact that his simplicity and extreme honesty induced him into allowing the big words and diplomacy of alien capitalists to scare him away from the consideration of cold facts as to his origin and ancestry.

To a student of history it is extremely amusing to hear members of the Caucasoid group assert that the African Race has never been anything and will never be anything. The reason would fairly be assigned to either ignorance or gross misrepresentation of facts.

Personally, I do not believe in the word "Race" (the term being employed to satiate the rude interest of heredity mongers), but for the convenience of my readers I shall use it here. Race and Civilization as some infantile and pseudo-biologists would have us believe are innately related, and by it try to prove that some races are higher than others. According to unbiased anthropologists, race is the garment we are born in and is set in our biological and blood inheritance. Civilisation is the garment we learn to wear things acquired through a process of evolution, and depends largely upon our physical and social environment. Therefore, there is no innate connection between the two terms.

In pre-historic times, races were determined by geographical location. Linneaus in his researches found four types of mankind: European-white, Asiatic-yellow, African-black, American-red. Blumerbach gave us one more: Oceanic-brown. In 1873 came the mad rush of race bigots; in this very year we found twelve types. In 1878 Torpinard gave us sixteen; Daniker in 1900 discovered twenty-nine. All these classifications have been found by men who are prejudiced to the core. In view of the fact that we find people not purely Negroid in Africa, not purely white in Europe, and of different shades in Asia, we can assert without fear of contradiction that all classifications other than geographical are false.

The Negro Race belongs to that continent which is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean Sea, on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by the Atlantic and Indian Oceans and on the East by the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. It is known as Africa, the second largest continent in the world. The population is approximately two hundred and fifty millions, with an area of eleven million square miles.

In ancient times we are told, the Negro sailed all over the World; he even knew of America before Columbus dreamed of it, but because of pigmentation he has not been favoured with a place in the history of the Commonwealth. It is highly preposterous to assume that the Negro played only a parasitic pöle in the European countries that he visited in ancient times, for careful analysis of available data reveals the fact that he was active in shaping the political and social institution of his adopted countries. Spain, for example, was once ruled by Africans. Alexander the Medici illegitimate son of Pope Clement and Anne a Negro, ruled over Florence, and married the daughter of the Emperor, Charles V. Among Auguste Comte's 559 great men we found the name of Publicus Terentius Afer who was born in Africa, and was brought to Rome as a slave of Lucanus who afterwards freed him. "In him," says Arthur Brisbane, "you find the origin of the sentence that Francis Bacon was everlastingly repeating; *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.* I am a man; nothing human can be foreign to me." Even Christianity, of which the Caucasoid world boasts so much, would not have become a world religion had not the Africans been instrumental in making it so. The North African Church with its three hundred African bishops, did much towards the permanence of the religion of Christ. Such names as Tertullian, St. Augustine, Origen, Cyprian, and St. Athanasius, fathers of Christianity, were pure Africans. Captain Mortenol was in command of the Air Defence of Paris during the World War. Alexander Dumas was commander of the armies of France in the bloody period of 1793.

A great many writers have tried to prove the Negro uncivilized and inferior to the other races of the world. The proper approach to this absurdity is through the means by which they have tried to prove. These are: First, the brain weight theory, which asserts that an individual's intelligence can be determined by the weight of his brain; second, the Cephalic Index—the Brachycephalic and the Dolichocephalic; third, the Facial angle, which asserts that the Negroes jaws are supposed to be sticking out like those of monkeys; fourth, the Nordic Theory; fifth, Intelligence Tests. Space will not permit a discussion of the fallacies of these theories. Suffice it to say that they may be of interest to men like Stoddard and Madison Grant, but to true and unbiased anthropologists like Haddon of Cambridge University, Herskowits of Northwestern University and Malinowski of London University they have no scientific validity.

"Whatever intelligence tests may show they do not measure capacity to learn, and as far as the criteria of innate racial capabilities are concerned, worthless.

To say that the Negro will never by anything is a pre-occupation which no educated person has a right to assume. It takes the entire history of the race to prove its innate inferiority, and the antecedent improbability is overwhelmingly great.

They further tell us that we have contributed nothing to the civilization of the world, and that we are only imitators. Do we expect men whose minds are set on perpetuating white domination of the world to say that we are the pioneers of this much vaunted civilization? They would rather blaspheme than admit that which they intend to hide from us. They are saying to us as Christ said unto his disciples: "It is left with you to know the mysteries," and we must as a race begin right now to know about ourselves lest "too late! too late! be our cry."

Before the advent of the white man in Africa, our ancestors were enjoying a very brilliant culture. Those of us who are imbued with "white" psychology will say it is all nonsense. If it were true why didn't the first visitors to Africa know about it? In response to that I may say, that they went to Africa not to know about the life of the people, but as Christian nations to plunder and enslave them. They lived on the Coast and consequently knew nothing about the interior.

Along the Zimbabwe, the Africans were civilized seven thousand years before Great Britain and India knew what civilization was. On the junction of the White and Blue Nile is Khartum which is noted for her philosophers and statesmen. The Abyssinians you are asked to believe are not black. If they are anything else, then Abyssinia is not in Africa. The Abyssinians take great delight in talking about the centuries of cultural superiority which they have enjoyed—a supremacy that has worked its way into the pages of Italian history.

Let us for a very brief moment transport you to Timbuctoo, which is situated where the Whiteman has inadvertently called Blackman Africa. The Songhoi Empire lasted one thousand years, during which period three dynasties ruled. The first with thirty kings ruled from 700-1335, the second from 1335-1492; the third from 1492-1591. Puffed up with pride and self-sufficiency, they indulged in the pleasures that invariably followed prosperity, and the Moors a rival empire came upon them and the Songhoi Empire fell. As far back as the thirteenth century the University of Sankoh was in direct communication with the University of Spain, during the sixteenth century Timbuctoo led the world in Science, Medecine, Law, and Literature. The Empires of Sokoto, Gando and Kano in West Africa proper also have illustrious and unsurpassed cultural relics. White historians know our past, and feel that if we were to know about it, we shall according to nature's criteria look for a future; hence his aim to make us see everything commendable in human activity of white origin.

If we must take our place among the great nations of the world, if we must put an end to social and political inequality, we must co-operate; bearing in mind the living fact that Negroes, regardless of insularity, are one by consanguinity, and the further fact that small things increase by concord and great things glide away by discord.

One who reads history critically will not fail to be impressed with the fact that in every race and in some measure every generation of mankind seems to have had some special task, seems to have performed some special function in the development of this world's

civilization. One of the most instructive and cheering testimonies in human annals is the idea of co-operation. The rich and the poor, capital and labour need it, and the Negro Race especially needs it.

Until comparatively recently men cared very little for business: they enter into it because it impelled by the coarse necessities of physical existence, but their hearts on other human activities. Today business epitomizes everything productive of human ingenuity. Spiritual progress, Intellectual progress, Political progress, and Material progress these are the goals of earthly well-being towards which the face of every progressive nation is turned with unquenchable zeal. As a Race we have achieved the spiritual and intellectual good things of life, but what about the political and material? The participation of all the people in the economic good things of life upon a basis of equal opportunity.

To talk of equality we must have money; to have money we must do business on a large scale; to do business on a large scale we must unite the Negroes in the West Indies, Africa and America with a view to their industrial emancipation. The African International Trading Association, with headquarters at 228 West 149th Street, New York, has embarked on this programme and anxiously awaits your co-operation.

The posture of our affairs confirms the fact that good-will association are tired of making provisions for our maintenance. We are now to determine what Negro youths in the various institutions of learning are to do after years of tedious preparation. Talking, Conventions, and Suggestions cannot make adequate provisions for surviving generation. We have to work with acts determined by purely altruistic motives, and make the most of everything committed to our care whether Time, Money, Health, Strength or Opportunity; forever bearing in mind that we are born not for ourselves but for our Race and Country.

THE HOUSE TAX AND THE TEMNE RISING OF 1898.

BY C. R. MORRISON.

ERATUM TO CHAPTER VII.

In first line of Quotation—For "There's not a sting" please read "There's not a string."

For "Major Burke, D.S.O.", read "Major Bourke, D.S.O." 4th paragraph, line 8. For "Mabonkan" read "Mabonkani" last paragraph, line 8, for "sight having been" please read "site having been chosen."

3-3-34

VIII.

On 4th April 1898 according to arrangements that escorts from Port Loko and Romeni should meet at Malal, (a town about five miles from Port Loko) Captain Stevens with his company of West India Regiment left with provisions for Romeni,—the place where a camp had been established by Major Donovan the previous day and with Captain Tyler in charge. They arrived there and exchanged carriers and escort, with slight opposition. On the return journey, Captain Tyler's convoy was, however, attacked at Rogbere. Casuality being two soldiers slightly wounded.

During this period the garrison at Karene was ignorant of what had taken place, as there was no means of communication with Port Loko. It had however under Major Bourke, ably assisted by Major Tarbet of the Frontier Police patrolled daily the Karene-Port Loko road, as far as the town of Mafari. On the 5th April, this patrol met with opposition; Dr. J. Crawford Maxwell, M.D., then Assistant Colonial Surgeon, and two Frontiers with three carriers slightly wounded.

6th April 1898. Captain Stevens' column, as usual, left Port Loko for Malal with provisions etc., handed over and received carriers from Romeni. There was no casuality.

Major Kirk, R.A., arrived at Port Loko this day with detachments of Royal Engineers and Sierra Leone Royal Artillery with several Blue-jackets and Marines landed from the H.M.S. Alecto and Fox.

7th April. This day, the Headquarters at Port Loko consisting of Lt.-Colonel J. W. Marshall, Commanding the Karene Expeditionary Force; Majors Bourke, D.S.O., and Donovan, A.S.O. Officer, and Captain Stanley Sharpe, District Commissioner, Clerk, Court Messengers with two companies of the 1st West India Regiment and about forty rank and file of the Royal Engineers marched unopposed, to Romeni and camped there for the night.

On the 8th April, two columns, intended to act on parallel roads leading to Kagbantama to be followed by a protected convoy with provisions three hours later, under Major Donovan, left Romeni. The column following the main road was directly under command of the Officer Commanding Expeditionary Force, and the other under Major Bourke, D.S.O. On the main road a stubborn fighting took place but the enemy was dislodged from their stockades,—no less than twelve in number and in groups of threes and fours,—without any serious casuality. The guide of Major Donovan's convoy, missing his way in an inexplicable manner and unable to find the parallel road to Kagbantama, returned to the main road and followed that of the Officer Commanding Karene Expeditionary Force. On approaching the village of Rotifunk, a town which from its position, affords easy defence, the enemy opened fire from the bush. Wide deep ravines, with impenetrable bush commanded its approaches; in fact, it was a perfect place for the tactics of a lurking opponent, coupled with stockades on both sides of the road. Surrounded as we were by these formidable structures, it was only by the mercy of Providence and the luck which so often attended the lot of the British Army that our troops were able, by quick sectional volleys which together with the shell of the seven pounded gun, soon scathered them. Five soldiers West India Regiment slightly wounded. The column arrived at Kagbantama at 3 p.m. Major Donovan's column having joined it. Four stockades were destroyed at Kagbantama and a temporary camp established within its ruined walls.

"It is a kingly thing to help the fallen."—NEALE.

Whilst trying to hide themselves in the bush near the town of Bane-loko (a mission station about six miles from Karene Headquarters) the Rev. Allan Elba and two other itinerant preachers of the Church Missionary Society received a message from Bai Bure to go to him for protection and safety. They at first thought it was to get them away from their station to be murdered in cold blood; but when the message was repeated the second and third time they decided that as they were in great difficulty and without provision and could not get a message to and from the Karene garrison, the best thing to do was to face the rebel chief, and with words like those of Esther in their minds ("if we perish, we perish") decided to go. This decision was entirely against the wish of their land-lord, who seeing how persistently they were, demanded a document to show that they left of their own accord and against his will. This the Rev. gentleman gave and they left Bane-loko this day for Mahera, under escort provided by the Chief Bai Bure, and two days' later, on Easter Monday, were ushered before the Chief who received them gladly. They were afterwards escorted to Mange Bure (Bai Inga's Chiefdom) on the Small Scarcies where they took passage in a boat and came down to Freetown.

On April 9th, a strong reconnoitring force under Colonel Marshall took the road to Karene; the march was unopposed and, on approaching the town of Matete, came into touch with Major Bourke's party who had come on patrol from Karene, destroying several stockades without any loss. Both columns then proceeded to Mabanta and halted by the river Mabole at the foot of the town. The colonel with the majority of his troops accompanied Major Bourke and his column back to Karene, where he inspected the force at that station and returned to Kagbantama at about 6 p.m., unopposed.

On the 11th April, the supervision of the lines of communication and the escorting of convoys with provisions were handed over to Major Kirk, R.A., who acted from this day as Staff Officer.

Several attempts were made on the 12th and 13th April to attack the camp at Kagbantama but without success. On the 12th April, on his proceeding to Karene with provision etc., serious opposition was met by Major Donovan and his column. Casualities were one private West India Regiment killed; three privates of the Frontier Police and nine carriers wounded with Captain Tyler slightly wounded. As all the available hammocks were now fully occupied, and there was still the possibility of further casuality, Major Donovan returned to Kagbantama, discharged his laden hammocks and set out again for Karene, where he arrived at about 6.20 p.m., unopposed this time.

14th April, 1898.—

"If all his glorious deeds my song would tell,
The shore's unnumbered stones I might recount as well."

In the afternoon, as the severe heat of the day was just abating, Major Donovan with twenty non-commissioned officers and men of the West India Regiment, ten Frontiers and two Court Messengers left to select a site for a new camp on the little elevation South east of the town bordering the village 'Rogbum' the granary of the town Kagbantama, as it was found out that the ruinous town was for several reasons unsuitable for a camp. The enemy who at this time had collected themselves by this granary,—probably for another night attack—vigorously attacked this small party and within a short space some casualities occurred including the severe wounding of Major Donovan's head-hammock boy, who, after the skirmishing, was found bleeding to death within twelve yards of the bush. On seeing his boy in that condition he at once gallantly ran to his rescue, but before he could get him away, was himself shot down and fell mortally wounded. With the help of one Amara, a Court Messenger, he was brought to Kagbantama but not before totally destroying the enemy's stronghold.

This was the last of the several heroic deeds of this worthy and gallant officer since the date of his arrival on the scene of action. As a leader he was capable and cheerful; one of tireless energy, kind disposition; a pleasant companion to the sick and wounded. He met his death in the execution of an act of bravery and sympathy for an African; in him there was no place for colour distinction; and when it was reported (after the second operation to extract some bullets which were lodging about the spine) that there was little hope for recovery, both soldiers and civilians mourned the loss. The writer passing by his grave once, was compelled to say:—

"O mighty Caesar! dost thou lie so low?
Are all thy conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils,
Shrunk to this little measure?"

SHAKESPEARE.

The Nest, Lumley Road,
Wilberforce,
February 26, 1934.

Race Problem - 1934
Africa

NIGERIA

Population, 20,700,000 ; Capital, Lagos ; Governor, Sir Donald Cameron. Chief Imports, Cotton Goods, Fish, Salt, Oil Fuel, Motors, Tobacco Goods, Apparel, Bags and Sacks, Cabin and other Biscuits, Kerosene, Galvanised Iron, Rice. Chief Exports, Palm Produce, Ground Nuts, Cocoa, Tin, Hides and Skins, Cotton.

Yaba Higher College.

The opening of Yaba Higher College by Sir Donald Cameron on January 19 was an important point in Nigeria's educational history, for the buildings, although they have cost but £40,000, are intended to give to their generation more advanced practical education than Achimota itself is likely to achieve in the near future. First and foremost, the object of the College is to train Africans for posts at present filled by Europeans and so to obtain the services of, say, six medical assistants where only two or three doctors are available at present.

It is ultimately hoped to take the external degree examinations of one of the British universities, but that, Sir Donald says, is hardly possible until the schools from which Yaba will be fed have reached a higher standard than at present. For a start, four courses will be available for students. That in medicine will be for five years—two spent in preliminary science training and three in medical schools and hospitals. This period will enable the student to qualify as a medical assistant, when he will be given a post under Government on engaging to serve for five years, although at the end of two of these he may return to Yaba to qualify fully for registration as a practitioner able, when his period of service expires, to undertake private practice.

In pedagogy there will be a three-year course, enabling the student to specialise as he can do nowhere else in Nigeria at present. The agricultural course will be for four years—two in the College and two in practical work at Ibadan, while in civil engineering three to four years will be the normal period of study, followed by employment in the Public Works Department, with an opportunity, as for doctors, to qualify for a further diploma.

At present 92 students are available, transferred from existing schools, and in the medical school particularly some are already in their fifth year. All are receiving free training, which Sir Donald considers unavoidable at the moment, although matters will be placed on a sounder basis as soon as practicable. The total accommodation of the hostel is 120 boarders.

Local opinion on the College is rather mixed. While all recognise the importance of the step taken there is some disappointment at the present limitation of the course offered, for many hoped that it would lead directly to university degrees. Evidently, when one considers the standard of the feeder-schools this would be out of the question at present, but then, as the critics rightly point out, it is the policy of avoiding external examinations that has kept the feeder-schools on their somewhat lower level. Nevertheless immediate needs are best met by the present arrangement, since the future need of external examinations is to be kept in mind and, we hope, as actively fulfilled as opportunity allows.

The Egba Schools Exhibition.

The annual schools exhibition at Abeokuta, which took place in December, has now been held 18 times, the only break being for a period of five years in the reign of the late Alake. The latest display proved as popular as ever, and the committee and its hardworking secretary, Mr. G. A. Adedayo, were able to report close co-operation, which showed itself in the interest of the public and in the more tangible form of prizes from leading Europeans and Africans.

The Native Administration gave a grant and the exhibition was attended by all who counted in educational affairs throughout Egbaland. In the course of an address at the opening of the exhibition, the Resident, Mr. A. E. F. Murray, described one of the best examples he knew of the true value of education. A young member of an Eastern Province tribe, brought up in an extremely backward environment, was sent to school, and in due course left to fill a fairly prominent position. He wasted no time in useless advice to his people, but established model plantations, freed his domestic slaves—though few of them saw fit to leave so good an employer—became a keen but honest farmer and trader, and an able Chief and judge. He worked hard and died early, but he left as his monument a prosperous people where before there had been decadence. Such records of the Eastern Province are rarely made public, and one would be glad if Mr. Murray would make his memorial complete by adding the name of so deserving a leader.

The Supply Bill.

The expenditure to be provided for in 1934-5 is estimated, according to the Supply Bill, at £4,817,307, exclusive of railway expenditure of £2,131,519, but inclusive of an expected railway deficit of £246,769. The largest items are :—Public debt charges, £751,668 ; pensions and gratuities, £439,461 ; provincial administration, £429,651 ; medical, £401,076 ; Nigeria Regiment, £317,460 ; and marine, £246,319.

The Lagos Library.

The report of the first full year's work at the Lagos Library, made possible by a grant of $6,000 from the Carnegie Fund, has appeared. So far it has not been widely used by Africans, and at the end of the year the membership was 297, of whom only 24 were Africans. Sub-libraries have been formed at Abeokuta, Burutu, and Enugu ; and the number of volumes available has risen to nearly 5,000, apart from the journals in the Reading Room, while the monthly borrowings at the end of the year were over 2,300. The accounts show the library to be in a satisfactory condition financially. A sum of £650, composed largely of unexpended grant, has been placed on fixed deposit, and will form a reserve fund, the general expenditure, some £170, being met from subscriptions and penalties, which will also cover the provision of new books to the amount of about £15 a month.

In the interests of economy no further Annual Supplements of the Laws of Nigeria will be prepared pending the issue of a new revised edition of the Laws, but new Ordinances, Regulations, etc., will be bound in annual volumes.

The "Nigerian Event Almanac, 1934," published by Mr. Taiwo Ayanewu, of Ijebu Ode, provides a calendar for 1934 and an almanac of nearly 70 important happenings in Nigeria during 1933. Unlike some of the Coast almanacs, the events recorded cover a wide range, and the list does not degenerate into an obituary of prominent Nigerians. Two portraits are included, those of Dr. Oguntola Sapara and Mr. Akintunde Adeohigbin.

The revenue and expenditure of Sapele township in 1932-3 amounted to £762 and £1,032 respectively, reducing the balance in hand to £1,059. The deficit of £270 for the year is chiefly due to special expenditure of £277 on a town water supply.

A French aeroplane which landed at Lagos on January 17 was carrying a family party on a pleasure trip. They left Algiers on December 4, followed the East Coast route to Cape Town, and were then returning via Duala, Niamey and Gao.

Minutes of the Eigth Conference.

Native Opinion

OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE FARMERS' CONGRESS.

(Imvo Zabantsundu.)

(By D. D. T. Jabavu, Secretary.)

2-13-34

100. Present. The eighth annual conference of the South African Native Farmers' Congress was held at Hackney C.P. on Tuesday Dec. 28th, 1933, there being present Mr. C. K. Sakwe (Idutywa), President; Mr S H Peteni (Keiskama Hoek), Vice President; Mr D D T Jabavu (Fort Hare) Secretary-Treasurer, and the delegates Mr D Balfour, Kentani; Mr D Bulube, Butterworth; Mr J K Finca & Mr J Misha, Idutywa; Mr T S Nongxa, Glen Grey; Mr S H Ntuli, Keiskama Valley; Rev D Sikutshwa, West Pondoland; Mr S G Sigenu, Elliotdale, Bomvanaland; Mr S Magajana; Mr T Mbombela & Chief G Njokweni, Healdtown; Mr Rofu Mdingi & Mr V Ntlabati, Hewu Districts. The meeting was opened with Lizalis' idinga Lako and prayer by Rev L Joboda.

101. Welcome. The Congress was welcomed to Hackney by Mr Mdingi, the local chairman, and thanks expressed by Mr Finca for the Congress.

102. Presidential address. The President, Mr Sakwe, said he was gratified to see delegates who had come vast distances, for agriculture was the object of the meeting and the backbone of African life. All races nowadays worked out their destiny by combined effort. As a Transkeian he wished to inform the meeting about the progress made in farming in his home territory under the General Council through the schools at Tsolo, Teko & Flagstaff, each staffed by a Principal, 3 white lecturers, 2 African lecturers, boarding masters, matrons and secretaries, all black, plus four experimental farms. Other officers

were 3 supervisors, 12 foresters, 97 demonstrators, totalling 130 African & 19 European officers. He explained the work of pupils, the short courses, caravan tours, competitions for maize growing and weed eradication, shows, dams, fencing, etc. Local farmers' associations started in 1921, the village branches under the Transkei Proper now numbering 33, whilst the Idutywa branch has put up a grain store at a cost of £325. The Cooperative Credit Societies begun in 1926 by Fr. Huss now numbered 36 with an aggregate of £25,000 in funds, one of them having £3,000. He concluded by detailing the executive powers recently conferred on the General Council.

The thanks of the listeners to the President for his engrossing address were expressed by Mr Njokweni.

103. Mr Marsberg the magistrate of Whittlesea. Mr Marsberg, officially opened the Congress and observed that his department was largely engaged in agricultural activities. He was glad to see men from Pondoland where he had previously worked and was sure the visitors would do much to widen the local minds. He gave an interesting account of the two wool sorting depots lately put up in the Hewu area in spite of the opposition of vested interests. This step would ensure good value for our Native sellers.

Mr. Nongxa thanked the magistrate in behalf of the meeting.

104. Roll Call. The roll was called, with the result that there were present the delegates named under Minute 100, representing nine associations, namely, Kentani, Butterworth, Idutywa, Glen Grey, Keiskama Valley, West Pondoland, Bomvanaland, Hewu & Healdtown. Two personal wires were recieved (a) from Dr M Mahlangeni regretting failure to attend owing to illness (b) Mr R Nkehli conveying the greetings of the Whittlesea community; two associations (10) Lusikisiki, (11) Herschel, wired their regret being unable to attend, the later having paid its subscription; three branches (12) Willowvale, (13) Nqamakwe, (14) Tsomo had paid their pounds but had sent no delegates; 18 branches (15–26) being the twelve Natal Catholic associations founded by Fr. Huss and (27–32) the six Basotuland groups under Mr L F Wacher the State director of agriculture, had acknowledged our invitation but could not come nor pay; 14 affiliated associations, namely, (33) Xalanga, (34) Umtata, (34) Tsolo, (36) Mt Ayliff, (37) Ama-Ndlambe, (38) Tabankulu, (39) Engcobo, (40) Peddie, (41) St Marks-Cofimvaba, (42) Qonce, (43) Tugela, (44) Shiloh, (45) Umbabane, & (46) Wakkerstroom, had failed to reply to our invitation. West Pondoland reported the existence of 3 village branches, the Transkei Union, 33 local village branches and Hewu, two local wool-growers' societies in their respective areas. Thus existing associations are now seventy-seven. If to these we add the 36 Cooperative Credit Socities, we get 113 bodies organised in the interests of Native farmers. (Cheers).

105. Minutes. The minutes of the 1932 conference were read and adopted. (Proposer, Mr Finca; seconder Mr Ntlabati.)

106. Crop exchange. Arising out of minute 91, the secretary reported he had received no communication from any district anent surplus maize and wheat. Mr Finca reported that Idutywa had sold 75 bags to Xalanga people. After some questions were put by Mr Mdingi & Mr Wisha, it was decided that the scheme of crop exchange be continued. (Proposer, Mr Balfour; seconder, Mr Jabavu.)

107. Titles. The Rev Mr Mnyengeza asked questions about the ownership of land by women and the validity of wills mentioned in minute 97, and Mr Peteni duly explained.

This concluded the business arising out of the minutes.

108. Finance. The treasurers's report for 1933 runs thus :—

Income:—Credit Balance from 1932, £44 18/-; Kentani £2 (for 1932 & 1933); Idutywa £2 (1932, 1933); Willowvale £2 (1932, 1933); Nqamakwe £2 (1929, 1930); Butterworth £2 (1929,1930); Glen Grey £6 (1928, 1930); Herschel £2 (1931, 1932); Tsomo £1 (1929); Keiskama Valley £1 (1933); Enyandeni, West Pondoland £1 (1932); Elliotdale, Bomvanaland £1 (1932); Hackney £1 (1929); Bank interest 10/6. Total £68/8/6.

Expenditure :—Minutes 7/6; commissions 1/6; stamps 6/6; conference notice 7/6; President's travelling expenses £1 18/-; Secretary's trav. exs. £1 13/9; Delegate to Port Elizabeth Non-European Conference £2 12/6; Credit balance £61 1/3; Total £68/8/6.

This means we start the year 1934 with £61 1/3 in hand. Moneys owing to the Congress stand thus :—Butterworth £3; Tsomo £4; Nqamakwe £3; Elliotdale £1; Hackney £4; Ama Ndlambe £2; Enyandeni £1; Tabankulu £2; Xalanga £3; Herschel £1; Peddie £4; Engcobo £4; Healdtown £4; St Marks-Cofimvaba £6; Natal Catholic £5 15/-. Total dues £47 15/-.

PROGRESS IN BASUTOLAND

Ilanga Lase Natal 3-2-34

Ellie Dinlane

ALL too seldom do we hear authentic news concerning what is taking place outside our own borders. This is probably one of the reasons why Natal has earned the reputation of being insular and parochial. It is undoubtedly true that if our mental outlook is limited to what is happening within our own circumscribed circle we cannot resist the cultivation of a wrong perspective, with the result that our views on almost any subject are of no value whatsoever. Hence it is important to glean all the information we can regarding what is taking place not only in other parts of South Africa, but throughout the world.

For the moment, however, we are concerned chiefly with one of our neighbouring Native territories, namely, Basutoland, whose history is full of interesting and important events which have played a large part in the story of the African sub continent. Quite recently we had occasion to take exception to certain criticisms of mission work in South Africa, not because it so happened that these criticisms emanated from a prospective labourer in the mission field, but by reason of the fact that his opinions were based upon a hurried tour through certain parts of the country. A pleasing contrast is provided by an English clergyman who has just completed an extensive journey to most of the mission stations in Basutoland. The Rev. R. M Boys. rector of Great and Little Ellingham, Norfolk, has been relating his experiences in Capetown, and his story is one that will hearten and inspire all labourers in the mission field. He is evidently a man with an unprejudiced mind, has a sense of perspective, and, above all else, he has an abiding faith in the future

Magnificent work is being done in Basutoland, work that is comparatively unknown and unrecognised, but which constitutes one of the finest examples of missionary enterprise and devotion. Those who are familiar with the conditions prevailing in this country will not be surprised to learn that in Basutoland the parishioners think nothing of travelling a distance of fifteen or twenty miles to attend Divine service, and that the missionaries spend days of laborious travel into the mountains for the purpose of tending the sick.

As an example of devotion to the cause to which he has dedicated his whole life, the story of Father Carmichael is an inspiration. For over half a century he has laboured unceasingly at the leper station near Maseru. Coming to South Africa when quite a young man, he had to contend with many trials and difficulties. His first home was in a cave in the mountains, and solid rock provided both a resting place and an altar. This grand old pioneer, who is now well over eighty years of age, has gradually built up a fine mission station which now consists of some 2,000 acres and a big Native congregation. His zeal is undiminished, and his work has heen of incalculable value

It is encouraging to know that the educational mission at Maseru continues to make good progress, but, as in other parts of South Africa "the harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few." Our brethren in Basutolane, in common with those in all the Native territories, are facing a serious position as a result of the recent drought. Though the rains have come, the majority are receiving mealie meal rations of two pounds for a man and one and a half pounds for a woman. This is not given as a dole, but as a reward for labour. Mr. Boys paid a visit to the recruiting station at Maseru, where Natives are recruited for the mines. "It was besieged by Natives wanting to get to the cities," he remarked. "It seemed to me a sad trend, for they are much better off in their own country and at work for which they are best fitted, namely, the cultivation of the land."

Race Problem—1934
Africa

A GREEK PLAY IN WEST AFRICA

Manchester Guardian Weekly 1-19-34 Manchester, England.

Young negroes of St. Nicholas School, Cape Coast, in a performance of the "Antigone," by Sophocles.

Light on Anthropology.

Five New Books by Eminent Writers.

It would be presumption to review in a critical spirit a book by Sir James Frazer, but a welcome must be given to "The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion" (Macmillan, 10s. 6d.), which is a reprint of lectures delivered in Cambridge in 1932-33. East Africa

Sir James uses "primitive" in a relative, not an absolute, sense—as descriptive of backward peoples of to-day. He expressly "disclaims any knowledge whatever of absolutely primitive man and his religion," but, while appreciating this point and the author's honesty, I wish it were not so. Is it not at least possible that parts of the religion, or of the fears, of present-day primitive man are survivals of the beliefs of the old-time primitive men? If Sir James Frazer could answer this, or suggest an answer to it, how interesting it would be. But, as it stands, the book is invaluable for the matter and for the incomparable way in which that matter is presented. It is up to the author's own standard. 1-25-34

I have space for only one brief quotation, concerning the African's belief in immortality, showing clearly that to the African the dead are no mere ghosts, but members of the community. Those who do not appreciate the force of this will never understand the African, or be able to help him solve his problem. Sir James writes:—

"Far more than the ordinary civilised man the African is occupied with thoughts of death and the dead; in the events of his daily life, in good and evil fortune, he traces the handiwork of these awful beings. . . . No wonder that he looks on the spirits of the departed with mingled feelings of hope and fear, of affection and abhorrence. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that in Africa . . . the living exist in perpetual bondage to the spirits of the dead."

* * * *

In "The Werewolf" (Kegan Paul, 15s.) Mr. Montague Summers, the author of "The History of Witchcraft" and other important books on like subjects, presents a most scholarly compendium and reference book on lycanthropy. Although it is a big book, he found the material so voluminous that he had to confine himself to the werewolves of Europe, and could not include werelions, leopards, etc., as he had originally planned.

Although viewed distinctly from the Roman Catholic point of view, the subject is dealt with in a thoroughly comprehensive manner, and the volume is full of valuable data for all who study like subjects in any continent. The book really is a revelation. In view of the persistent belief in lycanthropy in Africa, it is interesting to note that Mr. Summers says: "It would not be at all extraordinary if were-wolfism survived in the lonelier district of Wales even at the present day." The book is illustrated by some fascinating pictures, has a splendid bibliography, and is well indexed.

In "Valenge Women" (published by the Oxford Press at 25s. for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures) Miss E. Dora Earthy gives us one of the first anthropological tribal monographs from the woman's point of view. The tribe dealt with is in Portuguese East Africa, and the book is one of tremendous importance to all East Africans, because we are beginning to grasp the importance of the woman's point of view and our colossal ignorance concerning it. For this reason I very much regret that it was not found possible to produce the book at a lower price. I have no space to go into particulars, but this volume does help one to realise how different is the angle when anthropology is studied by a woman among women. Elsewhere I have said that I am not at all sure we did not start all wrong, especially, but not solely, among matrilineal and matrilocal tribes. This book shows that it is not too late to make a fresh start, and it marks a very definite stage in our acquisition of knowledge and understanding of the African. It is the kind of work that amply justifies the existence of the Institute that sponsors it, but I do hope those responsible will bear the question of price in mind. A book like this needs a wide, not an exclusive, circulation.

Dr. Westermarck gives us in "Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilisation" (Macmillan, 8s. 6d.) the scholarly work to which he has accustomed us, but the particular, as apart from the general, interest in this book is not specially East African, except for the Sudan and a few other localities. Dr. Westermarck is less inclined than some authorities in other parts of Muhammadan Africa to think that Islam gets Africanised, holding rather that the pagan ideas get Islamised. The book is one of real value as being the work of one of the finest of living observers.

Mr. C. H. Walker has done good service in writing "The Abyssinian at Home" (Sheldon Press, 7s. 6d.) because we have so little of value about the inhabitants of this ancient African empire. The book is the result of twenty years' study on the spot—the author was British Consul for Western Ethiopia—and, so far as possible, he lets the Ethiopian speak for himself. I have found it particularly interesting on the religious, social and legal sides.

F. H. M.

Capability of the Native.

Dr. E. B. Worthington's Observations.

East Africa

In a lecture delivered to the Royal Anthropological Institute last week Dr. E. B. Worthington stating that some present-day anthropologists considered it unorthodox to attribute intelligence to the Native, urged a more human attitude towards the Native mind, and illustrated his plea by examples from Native fishermen and boat builders in many parts of East Africa. 3-29-34

The principal tribes mentioned were the Luo and the Ganda of Lake Victoria; the Kenyi and Ruli, who eke out a precarious existence in the swamps of Lake Kioga; the Ankoli and Toro peoples of Lake George; and the Turkana of Lake Rudolf. London, England

Fishing methods described indicate a deep knowledge of natural history on the part of African tribesmen, and since the fish fauna of each lake is quite distinct, the knowledge has evidently been acquired separately by each tribe. The Luo are particularly ingenious in their fishing methods: they have apparatus constructed from local materials, such as reeds, papyrus and saplings, which seemed just as effective as the European fishing methods of seine, trawl and river fish trap.

As an aid to fishing, craft of diverse kinds are fashioned from any material at hand. In particular, the dug-out and plank canoes of Lake Victoria show the evolution of the magnificent Ganda canoe from the dug-out by minor gradations. Many intermediate stages still in use on the lake show how the change can have taken place from simple to complex by many small inventions.

Can Africans Invent?

Whether Natives are capable of inventing things, or merely of picking up ideas from other people by a process of diffusion of culture, is, said Dr. Worthington, of great importance, since on our attitude to this argument must depend our attitude to the whole future of Native races, their administration and education. "Is Native education like pouring water on to sand, or is it like pouring water on to a mixture of sand and cement?—in which case, after certain changes, difficult to interpret, have taken place, the result is something concrete to build towers of self-administration and self-education."

Contact between different civilisations could be regarded as crossing between different races of animals or plants in which case variation resulted and a new stimulus was given to the process of evolution. The most startling piece of evolution going on at present was, in the opinion of the lecturer, that of man's brain. The European brain was ahead of the Native's, but he saw no reason to suppose the evolution of the Native brain was at a standstill. Until our knowledge had advanced much further the evolution of man's brain could be interpreted by its capacity or structure, but only by what it produced. Methods of fishing and of boat-building were an index of what the brain produced, and suggested that the Native's evolution was progressing rapidly. Fishing was primarily a struggle between the brains of pursuer and the pursued, whereas hunting was a struggle of physique, therefore, invention was best displayed among fishermen.

In the work on the African Research Survey now in progress, the problem of nutrition stood out prominently: Native diet was often deficient in substances which could be supplied by fish, and the lake and sea fisheries of Africa offered a remarkable opportunity for development through the agency of the shore-dwelling tribes.

Dr. Henry Balfour gave examples to show how the opposing view of culture diffusion had had its effect on fishing methods. He admitted that in certain cases independent invention had evidently played its part.

Dr. L. S. B. Leakey mentioned among other things how certain tribes, such as the Kikuyu, had religious objections to eating fish, and seemed incapable of digesting such food.

Race Problem — 1934
Africa

The African Child In Proverb, Folk-Lore, And Fact

R. S. RATTRAY.

(Continued from our last issue.)

THE Akan-speaking tribes again have a delightful story to illustrate a precept—to parents, not to children—to the effect that little children should not be left alone in the house. A small boy, the son of a hunter, was left thus, surrounded by all the trophies of the chase which had been shot from time to time by his father, when who should appear but a leopard, 'the white-spotted-one,' as he is euphemistically called. This leopard, in a process of long drawn-out torture, made the child arrange all the heads in a long row, placing at the end of the line the skull of his brother which had fallen to the hunter's gun. He then commenced to ask the child the name of each. The infant, with great presence of mind, procrastinates and dawdles over the name of each in hopes his father will return. To the leopard's stern query: 'What kind of beast is this?' the child replies not only with a recitation of the animal's name, but he also gives all the *sobriquets* of each kind of animal; for example, he says: 'This is *Otwe*, the little duyker, the little duyker, the little duyker, whose title is "If-ever-unhappy-the-fault-lies-with the hunter;" father killed this duyker; when his gun went off, pomm! I shouted, "Alas!"' And so on through a score of heads until the leopard comes to the skull of his brother. Then the leopard said, drawing nearer to his intended victim, 'And this one, eh?' and the child answered, 'Let father come first before I name it, for it is fearful.' To cut a long story short, the infant's presence of mind saves a very unpleasant situation, and the moral of the story points not at the child, but at his careless parent for his neglect.

The elders rather get their own back in another story the title of which is 'A girl should marry him to whom she is given in marriage.' This story relates how a certain maiden called Kwaboaso refused to marry a very worthy and eligible hunter with whom her parents wished to mate her, on what seemed to them totally inadequate grounds. 'Ugh!' she said, 'this man has ticks on him, I don't want him.' But this same hunter was to save Kwaboaso when she fell into the hands of the fairies, who were pinching her to death. So grateful was she that after due reflection she sent messengers to the hunter to say she would now wed him, but he, very much on his dignity, declined and sent back a message saying that was quite impossible, as the ticks were still there. This story, we feel, was certainly invented by some grown-up person.

There is one story which I feel must thrill every child of spirit what ever its colour. It bears the rousing and stirring title, 'How it came about that children were first whipped.' This title is seemingly a sure guarantee that its author was some irate adult, but a perusal of the narrative shows that if this were the case then the elders were not afraid to have a dig at their own foibles, for it is 'father' who first earns a good hiding, which his cupidity and duplicity well deserve. Only at the end of the story does the youngest child whose 'cuteness,' as the Americans would say, had been the means, of showing up father, come in for a good whipping. The whip used, which in the story is personified, is then cut into little pieces and scattered all over the earth. That is how it came into such general use.

'How it came about that children first learned to play by moonlight' might, I fear, be taken as a text by pedants or cranks who would use it to advocate early bed-time hours for the little ones, instead of dancing and singing half the night through on the cool tropic nights when the moon is full; so over this story I shall draw a discreet veil.

There is another charming tale about girl twin sisters, to illustrate another maxim, 'When some one spoils something of yours accidentally, don't demand payment for it.' One of the twins, accidentally, lost the other twin's beads. The owner, very angry, demanded in their stead 'a leaf from a tree that bears but a single leaf; the nest of the little Asrewa Bird; water gurgling pon-pon-pon ponsa; the claw of father leopard; the tail of the Queen Mother of all the elephants off by the root.' This unfair demand led to the death of the elder twin.

There is the story of the fool of the family which illustrates how Africans seem well aware that it is not always the apparently most showy or cleverest children who will turn out the most practical or fullest of common sense in the long run. Here the food and butt of parents and brothers and sisters, whose sad little refrain runs:

> Mother bore me a foolish child,
> Hurutun!
> Father begat me a foolish child
> Hurutun!

saved a wellnigh distracted family from the enchantments and machinations of a bad fairy. The story ends: 'That is why, if you have children, open your eyes wide, and look equally well after them all, for you do not know but that at some future time, in the day of trouble, the fool of the family may not come and save you.'

There are dozens of stories all centred round the childless woman who longs for a child. I suppose 90 per cent. of the prayers offered up to pagan gods by African girls solicit the blessing of children. I do not believe that this ardent desire is one whit in excess of their capability of bringing them up if these prayers are answered.

Children show great independence and never seem to lack resource and initiative in these tales. There is the story of the nagging mother of—be it confessed—a rather disobedient child. The mother was always threatening her child with the somewhat cryptic 'Wait there and you will see.' The child, at last thoroughly exasperated, retorted: 'I am sick and tired of being told "Wait there and you will see," so instead of waiting for it, I am going off in search of it that I may see it.' She met her death in this quest, but very strikingly, I think, the moral of that tragedy is not that children should be more obedient, but that parents should never threaten children with vague undefined punishments which worry their young immature minds.

Again, in these tales the youngest and somewhat kept-under child is constantly coming to the rescue of elder brothers and sisters.

There is another charming tale of how the interplay of friendship first came into the world. An infant, unknown to any one, had made friends with the child of a leopard. They grew up to boyhood and leopard hood respectively. But the

leopard was accidentally shot by the human child's neighbours, and the human child could not survive in the grief. He shot himself and the two were buried side by side. From what I know of Africans and African fauna, this could easily be a story founded upon fact.

These are just a few extracts from tales chosen almost at random. These stories and scores more like them are known to every African child from the time he or she first learns to walk and talk. They give to us Westernets, I think, answers to many of our questionings regarding the position and status of children *vis-à-vis* their grown-ups. Not one of all these tales exhibit any bad precepts which we need be concerned to eradicate; rather do they show an understanding of child nature which may well often excite our admiration. Such things more than counteract, in my opinion, mistakes and even occasional foolishness, which are due not so much to lack of common sense as to lack of the common opportunities which are now our birthright.

So much then for the African child in proverb and in fiction. Let us now glance at him or her in real life, under the conditions and in the environment with which we are here concerned.

I propose to draw from two distinct areas of Africa for more precise details as to how the African child is brought up in actual practice. The first of these is the country known as the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. This territory forms part of the Gold Coast Colony proper. It is inhabited by a primitive people, primitive, that is in the sense that they still go about naked or dressed only in leaves or skins. The second area is to the south of this and is the better known protectorate of Ashanti. Here culture has for long been in that state which might be designated as barbaric.

The people of the Northern Territories are an extraordinarily likeable race. Its sons supply the fighting material which comprises the R. W. A. F.F. Their record for valour in the Great War was second to none. You will perhaps have guessed that I place courage as the most lovely of the virtues, and these people are fearless and courageous to a high degree. And yet it is in this very region, with its almost unadulterated native beliefs and superstitions, that most of those evils which our western civilization would rightly wish to eradicate may still be found—witchcraft, incision ceremonies, blind faith in, and fear of, the power of ancestral spirits, but withal a firm belief in a High God. The data which I shall now lay before you are the actual answers to questions put to the parents as to what constitutes their principles in bringing up children,. I shall give you the actual words of my informants: 'About eight years of age when a girl can work and use reason, her mother is always showing her how to sweep out the rooms and yard, and how to wash plates and calabashes. The girl herself will also learn little things from her companions—how to twist *kenkase* grass bangles, how to wear her leaves properly; she will at first only wear leaves behind, *vokapela, kenkalega nyea,* and *lua* leaves. When she nears puberty and "strikes" having breasts, she learns how to weave and wear *visi* in place of always wearing leaves. If her mother is a potteress or a basket-maker, the girl will sit and watch her mother at work and the mother will also instruct her a little. She will follow her mother in the rainy-season time, when the shea-butter trees bear fruit, and learn how to collect the nuts and make shea-butter oil. She learns how to grind corn and fetch water; the making of grain foods, and how to make soup and stews, in order to know how to do all these things in the future. Her mother shows her how a girl should sleep on a mat with a boy who is not her husband. The mother teachers her daughter thus, and if she follows her advice, people will say, "So and so has a good daughter." She advises her not to run after the boys, telling her that if a girl always run after boys, she will be called a *bon barega* (a worthless thing). She says, "Do not be of a flighty character, such conduct causes the good in a person to be wasted. When you and your companions are together somewhere don't let your mouth rise higher than theirs, that is how a person gets a bad character given her and how bad characters are formed. You do not want people to say that you are not a good girl. That will "pour you out" and cause the loss of your things and of ours. If you are talking with a person let sense live in what you say, that will keep your head high, and you will be able to live with your husband and enjoy your things. Do not laugh at old men or old women, or if you see a person with part of his body crooked. When you laugh at such people, they will "do" you, and not say that you are some one's good daughter." When she learns dancing with her companions the mother says, "Beware of wildness in dancing, and of dancing new steps on your own, that will only bring you the reputation of being a light head; conduct such as that pours everything away." When she follows her companions to attend the incision ceremony, her mother instructs her how to behave in a strange town, so that a bad report of her may not be brought back among the compounds. Her mother says, "Be gentle that my heart may not be sick." If a girl has sense, she will follow this advice. Her mother will buy her wrist bangles, elephant teeth bangles, beads, waist strings, and everything a girl needs.'

And again, still dealing with these Northern Territory tribes: 'They perform all these small customs until an infant is grown, until it is able to fetch a thing, and has learned to work for itself. A male child will learn how to herd live stock, to follow sheep, and after learning how to do that—cattle. A girl must learn to work in the house, learn how to grind flour, sweep up refuse get grass for mats, and do other women's work. When a boy has followed the sheep and next the cattle and learned how to do work other than the following of animals, he will turn to farming with his father. He will have his own small plot for grain crops his own ground nut plot, his own plot for potatoes. He will also learn hunting with his neighbours.'

League of Coloured Peoples in Conference.

The second Annual Conference of the League of Coloured Peoples was held at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, from Friday to Sunday, when over 50 representatives of Great Britain, U.S.A., Italy, Ceylon, South Africa, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Barbados, British Guiana, British Honduras and several British West African Colonies discussed the problems of the Coloured races in a changing world.

On Friday, Dr. Harold Moody, President of the League, welcomed the guests, and Mr. S. Sanmugathan (Ceylon) gave an address on "The Ancient Civilisation of Africa." This was followed by a social, and on Saturday two papers were read. Professor Hall (U.S.A.) spoke on "Art and Colour Prejudice in America," while the latter part of the forenoon was given over to a profound study of "New Ideals in African Education," by Dr. J. H. Oldham. Both papers provoked lively discussions, as did also Mr. Fred Degazon's discourse on "West Indian Problems" in the afternoon. Sports were held after tea, and a concert enabled an appreciative audience to hear Negro spirituals and specimens of African music.

Sunday began with a service conducted by the Rev. E. Massey (Jamaica), at which an address was given by Mr. Garland Anderson, the American playwright. Afterwards Miss Nina Boyle, the well-known feminist gave a stirring plea for the emancipation of African women, who, she said, were still practically in a state of slavery. The afternoon session was given over to Mr. Harry Roberts's account of the events in Liberia threatening to subordinate that country's independence to the European and American advisers.

The final address, given by the President, summed up the League's activities during the past year, and urged the necessity for closer co-operation between coloured peoples everywhere.

Race Problem — 1934

Africa.

Chromosomes of the Negro.

East Africa 12-6-34

To the Editor of "East Africa."

SIR,—With reference to Mr. L. S. Norman's inquiry in your issue of November 8, the number of chromosomes, according to Dr. C. C. Hurst, is the same in the Negro as in the white race, *viz.* 48, but the form is different. Their relative appearance may be seen in Hurst's book "The Mechanism of Creative Evolution" (1932). Dr. R. Ruggles Gates in "Heredity in Man" (1929) also gives information on chromosomes.

Yours faithfully,

Worthing. F. W. H. MIGEOD.

Sir Herbert Stanley on Pride of Race.

East Africa 12-6-34

"ANY decent man who possesses pride of race can only view the intermixing of Natives and Europeans with detestation. Natives of the best type do the same." So said Sir Herbert Stanley, Governor-designate of Southern Rhodesia, when addressing the Pretoria Rotarians. He continued that mutual self-respect was needed:—

"The real remedy is to raise the standard of self-respect of the Native people . . . not to depress the Native, but to raise his standard of living, the effect of which would be increased prosperity. . . . The difference in mentality is one of degree rather than of kind.

"I believe that the Native is developing rapidly, and is not incapable of developing to a higher level. What has been possible in America is also possible in South Africa, and may occur, whether we like it or not. I believe that the three cardinal signposts which will show us the way are considerateness, kindness, and courtesy."

Native Progress in Kenya

Archdeacon W. E. Owen provoked a ripple of amused sympathy in his audience at Friends' House on Tuesday when he said, impatiently, "that cry of sedition is a perfect bugbear." He was speaking not of England but of Kenya, where at one time he said the prohibition of native meetings drove discontent underground, so that weddings and other innocent occasions were made the cloak for illegal gatherings. Happily the right of association is pretty well established now in Kavirondo at least, though not everywhere in Kenya.

He contrasted the progress of native development in Kenya with its much greater progress in Uganda, and traced the difference to the fact that a civilised currency was introduced into Uganda by way of payment for native crops, but into Kenya as payment for native labour.

His general conclusions, however, were encouraging. He traced the gradual progress of native rights in Kenya, the abolition of forced labour, the fight for the right to grow economic crops, and summed it all up by saying, "The battle for the right of the African to sell or withhold his labour has been won. The fight for the right to grow the crop that will pay him best has been almost won."

Archdeacon Owen's Views

On the Kenya Land Report.

IN *The Church Overseas* Archdeacon W. E. Owen of Kavirondo writes at length on the Kenya Land Commission Report.

"What has this report done?" he asks. Having conceded that it has done "many excellent things," and that it is "a notable achievement" he proceeds to criticise, saying:

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"I have listened to representative Kikuyu and Kavirondo in a Native Council, in political associations, and in conference with Europeans, and they are unanimous that the report does not help them as they hoped. They are profoundly disappointed. They contend that we have favoured ourselves, and have not satisfactorily redressed their wrongs. The question arises what weight we ought to attach to their reactions to the report. Are they not prejudiced in their own favour? What right does their own code of conduct, tribe against tribe, give them to protest?

"The African equivalent of the Elizabethan code existed among them. They killed men to right for the land that they now possess. The strong ousted the weak and took their lands. It would appear that, judged by their own tribal code, they have no cause for complaint but on the contrary we have treated them with great generosity, such as no strong tribe would have accorded to a weak one. At first this seems true, but, and it really is a big but, in pre-British days the ousted tribe could *always* trek and find empty or nearly empty areas on which to settle. We have ended all that, and taken away these contiguous tribal hinterlands, and given them to men of our own race.

"Another big but. In tribal land-grabbing it was always possible for numbers of the ousted tribe to remain behind, or to return. By intermarriage with the victors, as our forefathers intermarried with the Normans, they established relations which in a few generations resulted in their merging themselves with the victors with all their rights and privileges. This expedient can no longer operate. We cannot get away from it. We must keep our blood pure, but we must admit that, judged even by their own tribal code, we are harsher than they.*

"There is the contention that we have given decisions which are in our own favour. What of it? It was inevitable that we should have been elected judges in our own cause. . . . There were suggestions that an African should be a member of the Commission. Despite our maxim that no man should be a judge of his own cause, we elected otherwise. Africans state we gave a decision unjustly in our own favour. Are they right? On the whole, I think they are. Had the Africans known as much as Europeans know about presenting a case and legal argument, the report would have been vastly different."

The above has been somewhat condensed.

"The mining recommendations for Native Reserve land are excellent. . . . Africans want to have an African representing them on the Central Land Trust Board. The Commission's proposal that the Board sit in London, made with the best intentions, would make this impossible. Therefore the African wants this in Kenya, where sooner or later he hopes to see an African on the Board. In my opinion there are one or two now who could give useful service.

"The £50,000 *ex gratia* grants from the Imperial Treasury to implement the recommendations of the report is felt by the African to have belonged to them all along. It can in no sense be an adequate recompense for the wrongs we have done them. About 50,000 Kenya Natives conscribed for the War, never returned. We shall be deceiving ourselves if we think that this money is going to draw out the gratitude of the Natives. We have it in us to bind them to us in affectionate esteem. But if we accept the recommendations of this report with regard to the privileged area our task will be well-nigh impossible. The old Elizabethan code has triumphed and trusteeship has gone to the wall."

[* We comment editorially on this article, but, to avoid confusing the issues, we take up here the sentence that "judged even by their own tribal code, we are harder than they." We deny that members, especially the female members, of an ousted tribe remained behind voluntarily to mingle by intermarriage with the victors. This is a misstatement of fact. When the menfolk were killed, the women, especially the young and attractive, were kept by their captors, and, doubtless, after a while submitted to it. They had no alternative but death.—*Ed.* "*E.A.*"]

Educating Africans at Home

Undergraduates and Post-Graduates.

East Africa 12-6-34

To the Editor of "East Africa."

SIR,—I have been glad to see recently a number of references in your editorial notes to the importance of securing facilities for higher education for the African in his own country.

Certain steps have been taken in London and in some other British university cities to give that friendly help to African and other Colonial students in Great Britain which has shown such admirable results in the case of Dominion students.

A great opportunity has been lost by—among others—Empire Societies in London in neglecting the needs of these students, not a few of whom have gone back to their territories disillusioned and embittered and not likely to become helpful to local Administrations. It is to be hoped that developments now in progress will soon remove at least some part of this reproach.

It is also important to point out that it has been found in the case of all oversea students—Dominion and Colonial—that post-graduates are much better able to face the different and difficult conditions of life here than are undergraduates. They are older and have more knowledge of life, and are already familiar, by reading and hearsay, with the kind of hindrances and temptations which confront young men and women in a university city. Post-graduate students almost invariably do well, academically and otherwise.

It is, therefore, most desirable that, as soon as

it can be achieved, degrees in Arts, Science, Medicine, etc., should be able to be taken by our Colonial African students in their own country. In Achimota and Makerere we possess two admirable higher education centres which could within a measureable time give us a West and an East African university.

There are those who would object to such a development because they do not wish to encourage Africans to aim at university education. Without putting the unanswerable case for full educational opportunity, it is sufficient to point out that Africans are obtaining university education and will continue to demand it, and that what has to be considered is the best way for it to be given.

Undergraduate training in Africa and post-graduate study in Great Britain seems the most desirable method of producing the future leaders of the African people, not only in local government and in further development of constitutional progress, but also in cultural and scientific subjects, including agriculture and industry.

Beckenham,
Kent.

Yours faithfully,
T. DRUMMOND SHIELS,
(Chairman, Joint Standing Committee on Education of Empire Societies in London.)

Black and White.

It is not long ago that an ex-Cabinet Minister in our Parliament, speaking on black and white matters, declared his principle to be "self-preservation is the first law of nature." Pressed to its logical conclusion, this dictum leads the world to the law of the jungle, where there is no consideration for any person or creature except self. It is a confession by a professing Christian that his religion to him at least, is impracticable. Recent publications, however, show that there is a growing number of thinkers who, looking ahead, realise that this law of the jungle must be abandoned, if civilization is to persist. South Africa, we are thankful to note, is by no means behind in this quest for a better way, the Christian way.

The latest treatise on questions concerning the adjustment of race relationships is that of Dr. Edgar H. Brookes, M.A., D.Litt., *"The Colour Problems of South Africa,"* published by the Lovedale Press at the remarkably modest price of five shillings, post free. This is a book of 240 pages in handsome cloth binding; and it examines the question of "Christianity and Colour" in a stimulating and arresting manner from such attractive angles as "Nationalism," "Liberalism," "Segregation," "Anthropology" and so on. The topics may be familiar, but the treatment is fresh, vivacious and courageous. Many readers will be thankful for the appendices of (a) an exhaustive catalogue of statutes specially or differentially affecting Natives, enacted between 1910 and 1932; (b) a complete list, published for the first time, of the 312 existing Native separatist churches and (c) the actual text of the vexatious Native Administration Act, No. 38 of 1927, revised to date.

A summary review of this wonderful book is impossible in our limited space; but the salient features will be further noticed from time to time.

In a general way we gratefully note that this book has proved a unique occasion for a South African scholar of first rank, and a layman at that, to take his courage in both hands in advocating a Native policy founded unequivocally on Christian standards, recommending justice without reserve:—

"There are three sides to South African life–Bantu, Boer and Briton-and against all temptations to the contrary we must grasp firmly all three if South Africa is to be well served."

"Our aim ought to be to create in our land a Christian civilisation in which men can live without fear of poverty, social ostracism, or insult on account of what they cannot alter-the colour of their skin."

There is no air of lofty or distant detachment about this book. It is a hot gospel of direct and fervent appeal to the conscience, demanding conviction, conversion and activity. The author throughout is engaged in a daring and impressive venture for which the Bantu owe him infinite gratitude.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Incarceration for Rent.

Native Opinion 1934

The chairman of the King William's Town Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu in outlining the current year's programme of his council last week made denunciatory remarks about the present system of imprisoning location residents for arrear rent. He averred that no such law existed for Europeans, and that its enforcement in the case of non-Europeans was tantamount to a gross travesty of justice. He warned the members of his council to bear in mind the seriousness of the position, and to be ready with tangible suggestions when the discussion came up on the agenda during the year.

We heartily endorse the strong comments ventilated in the local Joint Council. The location regulation by virtue of which the "King" municipality administers its locations are of the model adopted by local authorities throughout the Union. The regulations are promulgated in the Provincial Gazette after being sanctioned by the Minister of Native Affairs, under a section of the Natives' Urban Areas Act, (No. 21 of 1923.) It is however laid down in the act that the regulations must in the first instance be framed in consultation with the Location Native Advisory Board, and in the case of King William's Town we happen to know that no such consultation has taken place. It is conceded that the location advisory board has been established as recently as two months ago, while the regulations have been in force for the last six years. The belated introduction of the location advisory board for the "King" municipal locations in our opinion, does not connote that the procedure of consultation with the board can be dispensed with for that reason. We therefore maintain that the first duty of the newly-established board is to discuss the regulations in consultation with the Council's representatives, thereby carrying out the terms of the act. Any omission in this respect is liable to place the "King" municipality in the invidious position that its sister town (East London) found itself not so long ago, when Kadalie successfully appealed against a conviction under regulations subsequently found to be *ultra vires*.

Regulation 19 which deals with rents reads: "Any person failing or refusing to pay any sum for which he is liable under these regulations within one month from the date upon which it becomes due and payable shall be guilty of an offence, and upon conviction shall be ordered by the Court to pay the amount which is found to be owing by him within such period as the order shall be liable to be imprisoned, with or without hard labour, for a period not exceeding one month, provided that no imprisonment undergone shall have the effect of cancelling the liability or barring any action for the recovery of the amount due by such person, and provided that no person shall be sentenced to a second term of imprisonment in respect of failure to pay the same debt."

We desire to emphasise the obnoxious aspect of imprisonment for a debt. It is clear that a tenant may be summoned for a debt at the end of one month after incurring his liability. It has come to our knowledge that certain individuals in the Lieghtonville Location have accumulated indebtedness to the tune of £17. If ever there was a system that ensured law-abiding and respectable people the gruesome experience of prison life and its rigours there is none so thorough as that which allows a tenant to incur a huge debt with no hope of ever being able to pay. It is heart-rending to see a well-known Coloured man, the father of a large and respectable family marched to gaol to serve a month's imprisonment with hard labour for the "crime" of failing to pay rent. This is a common spectacle in the streets of our town and it occurs despite the new law that has abolished civil imprisonment for debt. With unemployment so rife, the men are at their wits ends to find money to feed, clothe and to pay their doctor's bills, let alone rent. While we do not encourage defaulters, we certainly make a strong appeal to the officials of the Council and the bench to temper their administration with mercy.

At the present time very few houses in Leightonville and Ginsberg locations are untenanted, partially through the "big drive" prosecuted by the Council in the Ridsdel Location. Quite a number of families have removed from the latter place owing to the threatened demolition of their old houses without compensation. If these fugitives take shelter in any of the municipal locations it is cold comfort for them to know that they are potential inmates of the local prison on the first occasion of failing to pay their rent. The houses they have filled will be vacated before long, and another combing out of the town of so-called undesirable Natives will be taken in hand by the officials to re-tenant the empty cottages. And so the vicious circle repeats itself. In most towns one never hears of imprisonment for arrear rent, even though the weapon of the law is at the hands of officials. Experience has taught them that this method does not produce the money, which after all is what the Council wants. It produces the aftermath of an unenviable reputation of Council's mal-administration of its Bantu inhabitants ending in an atmosphere of distrust.

MR. C. R. PRANCE AND THE LIKE.

Ilanga Lase Natal 3-9-34

(B. WALLET VILAKAZI)

Mr. C. R. Prance knows very well that the articles he writes in the "Natal Mercury" must appear on Saturday when men have lazy hours through Sunday to read his thoughts and theories with reflection. He knows again that he writes to stir the thoughts of the brighter and darker sides of men who are presentty engaged in social sciences and political problems that have never been met with since the history of men was entered on record. He knows still further that other men will take him at his word and wish he could only aspire to prime-ministership of the Union and then—what then? He would show the world what mighty ideas he has and what a great man he is for achieving them. Yes, there are men who pray stars should rain down on earth such "homines sapientissimi" to satify the happy libido of darkened minds and whitened skins of our time in South Africa. But because God moves most mysteriously in allowing everything to rush itself to confusion and thus dissolve itself into vapour— then the writings of men like Mr. Prance do not sting. Why we even write here and mention him is because some of us may be misled and because we have little or no knowledge of things Mr. Prance writes about. We may be disillusioned and ensnared. Thefore we want to hold courage, but unlike Tennyson's lotos-eaters we shall not steer to the land of afternoon, where Mr. Prance wants us to go: we shall shake the seas to find a way out. for in South Africa and the world over already there are men of his blood and who are pioneers of ideas too venomous for our Mr. Prance.

Under the topics of the day Mr. Prance wrote in August 19, 1933 about The Trag-Comedy of Native Education. He accused The Welfare Societies of misleading him and his group: "we have fallen between two stools encouraging the town Native to adopt civic standards of housing, clothing, recreation and so forth, while denying him civi rights ..... The cheap Bantu hut, easily disinfected by burning down with its inducement to pass life in open air, is the best for Bantu needs, especially in a town now that the spread of tuberculosis is so menacing". On Saturday February 17, 1934 he has again written glaringly on Two Schools on Native Problems driving his burning nails still further ahead.

He condemns both school and church for admitting Native children dressed in clothes other than Native garb. "There is no intrinsic connection of scholarship of Christianity with European clothes". Mr. Prance revels in the theory of Dr. H. L. Gordon of Nairobi who advanced that a Native brain showed quantitative deficiency and contained cells smaller and less well formed and arranged than the European brain. Mr. Prance is so good as not to tell us the other side of the eminent scientists who rebuked Dr. Gordon and exposed the hollowness of his findings.

What Mr Prance again quotes as instance from Dr. Sampson may be turned back to him as mere fabricated hypothesis. Men like Dr. Sampson have in the past found much to say about the Prehistoric man—Pithecanthropus or the Ape-man of Java. They had come upon the top part of the skull, two teeth and leg bone. The convolutions of the brain and other features of the skull showed that the brain was much more advanced than that of an ordinary ape. Pithecanthropus walked in a more upright position than the ape judging from the position of the foramen-magnum. These men began to cry aloud that they had opened the magic casements leading to the origin of men from apes. The simple minded believed and many educated men still believe that all men have evolved from apes. Europeans believed themselves to have evolved from monkeys so that I can see Dr. Gordon's, Dr. Sampson's and Mr. Prance's great-great-ancestors following after the example of Pithecanthropus Archaeologieal findings are funny and inviting for they refute and baffle the minds of men. Now that Mr. Prance has found black men in South Africa he thinks he can transfer these ideas over to us, and that we should bear the brunt of the tale handed to him by his forefathers. He will be satisfied when we have been shown our place as "proof of fundamental and irradicable difference between white and black".

In all his writings about Natives Mr. Prance is actuated by the deep fear that (to use his own words) "a permanent and increasing class of urbanised Bantu, striving after European standards among and alongside Europeans, cannot for ever be denied all share in the machinery of municipal and national government— nor for long be fobbed-off with second rate substitutes for polical equality". In this he is true and his children's children will have to face the fact with our children's daughters and sons one day.

Mr. Prance reminds me of what Professor J. Huxley wrote after travelling through East Africa in 1930. The renowned Professor said that "Let the Natives develop on their own lines also in religion. Do not spoil them with Christianity which is a foregn element to them". He was not left unheeded, for his views were soon questioned by a Native Prince who wrote inter alia, in the Uganda News : "Is Christianity a European Custom ? Mr. Huxley with all his professional responsibilities dare profane Christianity by treating it as a tribal or national custom and thus trying to mislead his readers when he declares : The old fashioned missionary, brought up in the comfortable certitude of faith is totally unaware that the system of belief which he is inculcating may seem to others as retrograde and wrong as do the heathen beliefs to him. By this statement the Professor deliberately intends to deceive Africans that Christianity, instead of being a universal, divinely inspired revelation is merely and solely a European custom. I do not believe that African Natives are fools enough in this twentieth century to follow such annihilations and if they do it, it is only in the way of hypocrisy".

Again, like Mr. Prance Prof. Huxley's fears were roused intensely : 'It was very striking (says Mr. Huxley) to see boys (at Makerere College) whose parents have lived in the immemorial tribal life, dissecting caderer, to hear them give quite intelligent answers in good English, to my questions about the functions of the liver or the nature of a reflex action. Makerere will one day become the University of East Africa. (East Africa 27-3 30 p 920) The dear old black prince ended his comment with the following words which, of course, would be understood were Mr. Prance a professor in the Velmscott University, Port St. Johns : — "Heathen Africa rising up from the idolatrous primitive life, does not want to follow heathen professors and doctors as her instructors". I may add here that the Young White South Africa of today look at Mr. Prance as a specimen of the past, a historical figure only.

Turning back to my people, I shal conclude my article of today by saying that we have all the wealth of legend and natural poetry which is the glory of our primitive Bantu, and delight of childhood. This wealth has been preserved in language, and language is the earthly growth reasoning and forms the germ of accurate thought. We now know that our forefathers the Makaranga did actually build what is now known as the Ruins of Zimbabwe with the utmost accuracy and solidity, though they had no books and Mr. Prance advanced that they are peculiar for their mental quantitative deficiency. But they had their languages. Through language they could theorise. So practice precedes theory but cannot advance to its greater triumphs until strengthened and enlightened by theory. And it is in language that reason which gives the theory, grows and finds its necessary expression. We have also begun where other nations began, our present progress differs widely in that we trod on trodden ground and we move most rapidly to awaken men in their slumber who now find us— as Prance does—right ahead and now they cannot cut our onward march.

KENYA AFRICANS

Statement of Their Grievances

The committee representing the Kikuyu community in Kenya has sent a memorandum to the Secretary of State for the Colonies setting forth the grievances which it was desired to represent by deputation when Sir P. Cunliffe-Lister was in Kenya. Extracts are here given from the memorandum:

The Kenya Africans have been refused direct representation on the Kenya Legislative Council and several central official bodies such as the Nairobi Municipal Council, the Central Native Lands Trust Board, Educational Advisory Committee, &c. The only people who are directly represented on these official bodies are immigrant communities, the Europeans, and Indians. This misrepresentation has caused numerous laws affecting the Kenya African people to be enacted without their knowledge though they are subjects of the Crown. Some of these laws restrict the liberty of the Kenya Africans. We pray you to put into effect the recommendation of the Joint Select Parliamentary Committee on Closer Union in East Africa that the Kenya Africans be allowed to send their own representatives to the Kenya Legislative Council.

The Kikuyu people desire to be ruled by an educated and elected paramount chief with a central council composed of the chiefs and representatives of the people directly elected all over the Kikuyu Province. We suggest that the election of a paramount chief be instituted, and the membership of the council consist of 100 persons. We, therefore, request you to please recommend the Kenya Government to allow the Kikuyu people to have a constitutional paramount chief.

We pray that the educational system of Kenya be revised so as to give African children an opportunity of obtaining similar education to that given to European and Indian children. At present the standard of education for Kenya African children is very low. We, therefore, wish a college or secondary education for African children in Kikuyu country so that they may have the educational facilities enjoyed by their fellow subjects in the Empire. We suggest that these facilities can be successfully obtained if the Kenya Government is willing to give scholarships to African children in order to go overseas for higher education.

We request that restriction for African children from learning English in elementary schools be removed. At present the Kiswahili language is imposed upon the people in spite of the fact that it is not the official language of the country.

We demand an agreement between the Imperial Government and the Kikuyu people that the Government shall never take away again lands from the Kikuyu and hand them over to white settlers as it did in the past. The Native Lands Trust Ordinance of 1930, which gave the Kenya Africans a pledge that their lands shall never be alienated to Europeans was broken when the gold rush began at Kakamega.

We demand that hut taxes be abolished at once and poll tax be retained. The hut tax has caused demoralisation among many widows of the Kenya Africans as those widows have been forced to go to work far away from their homes in order to find money for taxes. Consequently all sorts of diseases are brought to the African Community.

Every Kenya African is forced to carry a registration certificate on his person. His finger-prints are taken as though he were a criminal. We demand that native registration certificates be entirely abolished. A labourer cannot leave his master unless his registration certificate is signed by his employer. This system has made many Kenya Africans unhappy as it has caused them to be always chased by the police as though they were criminals or foreigners.

We strongly demand that all Kenya African farmers be allowed to grow coffee where they would like to grow this exportable crop. The Africans of Uganda and Tanganyika have been encouraged by their Government to grow coffee, while the Kenya Africans are still being prevented from growing it. It seems that the policy of the Kenya Government is to allow white settlers to monopolise the coffee industry.

Our Joint Select Committee is strongly opposed to the Kenya white settlers' demand that Kenya should be given self-government. We do not desire self-government, as it would bring us into slavery, but we demand the continuation of Home Government as it is to-day.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Amazing African Magic.

An astonishing account of magical performances in Central Africa has been contributed to *The Times* by an anonymous correspondent, who, however, has disclosed his identity to us, since he has been a frequent contributor to our own columns. The writer, who has lived for many years in East and Central Africa, says:

East Africa

"Maluka strode into the clearing. He wore a grass mask and his body was striped with whitewash, which gave him a zebra-like appearance. He was followed by two boys, one bearing a crate containing half a dozen live fowls, the other a large bundle of dry bamboos. The fuel-carrier immediately made a bonfire, upon which—when it was in full blast—he placed the crateful of fowls. It may have been my fancy or hallucination, but I could have sworn I smelled the pungent aroma of burning feathers.

"I was about to rush in to rescue the chickens, when the chief stayed my hand. 'The chickens will not come to any harm,' he said quickly. Within a few minutes the crate was reduced to ashes. 'Now go and examine the crate,' said Noguru.

"I did so, and found it intact with the fowls inside, very much alive. There were no traces whatsoever of a fire.

"A tall Native, his hands manacled, and with a rope, fastened by a slip-knot, around his neck, was then dragged into the centre of the arena. The chief told the assembly that the man was under sentence of death, and was about to be executed by Maluka. Not only would he be killed, but after being dead long enough to see the error of his ways, he would be brought to life again by the agency of Maluka.

"This awe-inspiring speech made a profound impression. In deathly silence, Maluka, still masked and whitewashed, walked into the circle bearing a 4 ft. sword, whose edge he tested with the thumb of his disengaged hand, at the same time uttering a gibberish that none could understand. Then he went up to within a few feet of the condemned man, and proved his distance, as a cavalryman would, with the sword. He then brought the weapon well over his left shoulder, after the manner of a golfer terminating his stroke, and, with a mighty back-hand stroke to the right, severed the head from the body as easily as if it had been stuck on with putty! The head immediately fell to the ground and rolled away a few feet. The trunk remained upright for some seconds, and then slumped to the ground, blood spurting from the neck like a fountain.

"I was horrified and tongue-tied. I wanted to protest aloud at a cold-blooded murder, for there, not twenty yards away, lay the head, and, a few feet from it, the decapitated body.

"While I was staring fascinated or mesmerised, the whole scene changed. Maluka vanished. So did the head and the body. I pressed my hands over my eyes to assure myself that I was not dreaming. No, it was real enough; for when I looked again there was the same crowd, including Noguru, the chief. But Maluka and his victim had dissolved into thin air.

"Suddenly a deep-throated murmur went round, and, at the same time, Maluka—minus his mask and paint—walked into the arena, leading by the hand the man he had beheaded—the latter grinning all over his face as if he had much enjoyed the performance."

African Ancestor Worship.

In a paper read to the International Anthropological Congress on "The Secular Aspect of Ancestor Worship in Africa," Mr. J. H. Driberg said that our interpretation of the African attitude towards the dead has been so coloured by the preconceived ideas conveyed by such terms as "worship," "sacrifice," "prayers," and "shrine" that we have erroneously attributed a religious concept to the Africans which is completely alien to their philosophy of life.

East Africa

Their regard for their dead does not, he emphasised, imply a religious cult, but the relation between the living and the dead is an entirely secular one, as the Natives do not make our distinction between life and death. There is ample evidence that for two generations after death the dead continue to function within what we, who look upon death as an end rather than as a transition of status, would call the living organisation of the tribe without any substantial change in social estimation. Reincarnation in the fifth generation, which is the most widely accepted doctrine—though in some societies, particularly those in which matrilineal institutions prevail, reincarnation in the third generation is the accepted tenet—makes a religious cult impossible, and makes the apparent neglect of "shrines" and places of "worship" intelligible. A soul that is reborn obviously cannot be expected to regard its previous incarnation with any degree of veneration.

The so-called cult of ancestors was no more than a projection of the normal social organisation beyond the grave. Our misinterpretation has affected our correct appreciation of the political, legal and economic structure of African societies. This misconception had undoubtedly contributed to the difficulties of our dealing with the new problems and situations which arise as a result of European contact, and it was important for future development that we should correct our misunderstanding of the African attitude.

The Incorporation Of Basutoland

"The Government has fed us, but time has arrived for it to allow us to grow so that we may be able to face the future as grown up people so that even if protection ceases. We must be like a young bird that has learned to fly.

It is high time that the Government should do away with the policy of non-interference in our domestic affairs as we have proved incapable of making any appreciable progress, but have on the contrary remained stationary while the surrounding Natives are advancing and leaving us behind.

These are the views of Rev. L. Mabille of the P.E.M.S. mission in Basutoland, at present stationed in Johannesburg, in his third portion of a series of articles appearing in "*Leselinyana*" a missionary paper printed in the vernacular, on the subject of the transference of Basutoland into the Union after which he asks the question how this could be done? His answer to this question is very important from the Native point of view and it is in the form of suggestions which we have translated and reproduce here He says:

"First the National Council. Notwithstanding its name this Council is not national in the true sense of the word. It is a council of chiefs. The government could assist the territory by making it a council of both the chiefs and the people. There are educated and intellectual men among the people who could do a lot of public good. In the past the people expressed their views in the National Pitsos, to day they are not afforded an opportunify to express their views. There are other tribes outside the territory who are making a definite advance as they have a General Council and district councils. I am referring to the Bunga. Let the Govt. establish a similar Council and its powers to be increased in conformity with the growth of the people. It

Editorial notes. 2

must be free to discuss all matters and to have a budget of its own.

To meet the grievances of the people an attempt was made by the Government to reform the Native courts. Concrete proposals were placed before the chiefs by the R.C. but the chiefs rejected them. The Govt. should not give up hope but should insist on its purpose as we are still children.

(3) On many occasions the High Commissioner has brought to the notice of the chiefs in matter of soil erosion resulting chiefly from overstocking and advised a gradual reduction of inferior stock by selling them and buying a fewof good breed. But this advice has not been taken need of. This is another matter in which the Govt. should persist not only by word of mouth but by example, by making practical demonstrations of how scrub stock could be exchanged for better breeds. In the Transkei steps have been taken to reduce scrub stock without any harmful results. Let there be stock limits to each individual and the excess to be taxed.

That would be the right procedure. It would pave the way to taxing the people proportionately and doing away with the present bad system of taxing the rich and poor alike.

The govt. should also encourage afforestation not only on the lowlands but even on the mountains and river sources. We are witnesses of the fact that the territory is gradually drying up for there are many places in mountains which formerly were wet and marshy but today they are dry.

(4) There is a cry among the Basuto that lucrative posts in the Govt. service are the preserves of the Europeans, but the Govt. could disprove this by training the Basuto for all kinds of work. Let the Basuto be given building contracts, and roads construction and be trained to keep books in the Government offices and Post offices. They will be bound to make mistakes at first but let the mistakes be corrected in good spirit. Let them be trained as medical doctors and nurses. No child can walk without falling and sustaining bruises. It must be given an opportunity to exert itself under guidance and encouragement until it is able walk with ease.

The Govt. has protected us from outside enemies which could have easily subdued or annihilated us and we owe a debt of gratitude. Time has arrived for Govt. to protect us from an enemy from within, namely indolence, lassitude and inertia. Let it assist us to grow, and train us to manage our own affairs so that so we may be able to hold our own in future when time comes for it to be relieved of its obligation.

The Native villages in the camps could be made models of what a progressive Native village should be. They should not be allowed to be haunts for beer brewers and loose women but should be made decent and up-to-date villages. There should be village committees consisting of well chosen men to look after the interests of the village, to keep it clean, quiet and free from disturbances and vice.

We are looking up to the Govt. to do more for us than was done heretofore."

Rev. Mabille who is a son of a former missionary and has worked in Basutoland

(See foot Column 3)

as a missionary is, no doubt, well versed in Native customs and the history of the growth of the Basuto. He has ably stated the case of the intelligent and progressive Basuto, who we are sure, will all support him in his views and suggestions. He has suggested nothing new, his suggestions having been matter for public controversy on different occasions in this and other papers of Basutoland Progressive Association and some of them were discussed by the Basutoland Progressive Associaton. By collecting what seemed like stray views and bringing them before the Government notice in a more compact and orderly fofm and he has done the Basuto a great service and has convinced them that they have a spokesman in him. His position as the oldest of the present missionaries of the P.E.M.S. in Basutoland throws some weight in what he says.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

At an Executive Committee Meeting held on Thursday the 16th the two Vice-Presidents, the Hon. Dr Bankole-Bright, and the Hon. Mr. Beoku Betts, M.B.E. Urban Members, were adopted as Congress Candidates for the coming Legislative Council Election; and the President, A. E. Tubuku Metzger, Esq., M.B.E., as Rural Candidate. 8-18-34

The Headmen of Colony Villages will be notified in due course and arrangements made for a deputation to wait on them.

At a previous meeting a resolution of condolence was passed, on behalf of the Sierra Leone Community, in connection with the sad loss sustained by the Gold Coast Delegation and people in the death of Mr. Mercer, and the joint Secretaries were instructed to convey an expression of sympathy through Dr. Danquah, Secretary to the Delegation.

NOTICE OF EXTRAORDINARY CONFERENCE, OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

All Africans are hereby requested to take notice that the African National Congress will hold a Special General Conference in the Inchcape Hall, Eloff Street Extension, Johannesburg from 11 a.m. on the 3rd of August 1934 to the 7th. All Chiefs, Native Organized Bodies and Branches of the African National Congress are hereby requested to send Delegates.

The Subject for consideration shall be the following:-

1. The effect of the Status Bill upon the Africans in the Union and in the Protectorates.
2. The Natives' Land Act of 1913 and other Anti-Native Legislation in the Union.
3. The Depressing Economic conditions and Native Labour.
4. The Native Policy under the Union Government (We propose to ask a Representative of the Government to come and address the Conference upon this subject.)
5. Other urgencies.

NKOSI SIKELELA
P. ka I. SEME
President General.
ELAJAH MDOLOMBA
General Secretary.
MOSES MPAHLELA
Secretary for Chiefs.

THE PARADOX ANALYSED.

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(By SELBY D. NGCOBO)

(Continued from last week.)

Soon the Natives were drawn into the main stream of European Colonisation: They worked in the farms, in the villages, and townships. Large reserves were created and the land was given

Race Problem - 1934
Africa

THE BAROLONG TRIBE HAS LOST ALL HOPE

AFRICANS LOSE THEIR LANDS AT THABA'NCHU

No Use Made Of Chiefs And In Consequence Tribal Life Of Moroka's People Is Being Disorganised

Bantu World 1-27-34

Land Sold To Whites Only?

Johannesburg South Africa

THAT THE BAROLONG TRIBAL SYSTEM AT THABA'NCHU IS BREAKING DOWN BECAUSE NO USE IS MADE OF THE CHIEFS, AND THAT THE BAROLONGARE LOSING THEIR LAND IS THE CONSIDERED OPINION OF THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION.

Mr. F. A. W. Lucas in his addendum reveals a state of affairs which should not be allowed to continue. This is what he says:

"The Thaba-Nchu reserve is occupied by the Barolong tribe.

"They had always been a tribe friendly to Eurepeans. Their territory was annexed to the Orange Free State in 1884 and the Reserve which they now have was allocated to them with the understanding that besides Thaba'Nchu such other locations as might be necessary should be set apart from time to time for the Natives. Notwithstanding this undertaking, such further land has not been set aside for them. Several Commissions have inquired into their conditions. A considerable number of farms were regarded as being in the private ownership of Natives who had been sub-chiefs or councillors and certain ground was given to sub-chiefs, and councillors in freehold as compensation for their loss of position and power. No Native was to be allowed to alienate, without the consent of the Government, and Natives were to be allowed to sell only to white persons. Mr. Justice Gregorowski made two Reports in respect of the newly annexed territory in 1885. In the first he expressed the opinion that farms granted by the Barolong Chief, through headmen and councillors, "must be considered as having been given for the people and as being subject to a servitude in their favour," and consequently inalienable by the grantees. In his later Report he somewhat modified his views on this point, but there can be little doubt that with the Barolong, as with Native tribes generally, the right of alienation of land from the tribe was not legally possible. In 1887 the Government defined the rights of Native owners and occupiers of farms in the Moroka District.

Europeans Lease Farms

"On page 82 of the 1884 Commission's Report, the Commission states that in the annexed territory there were 2,120 men who possessed 5,073 horses, 24,058 head of cattle, 107.543 sheep. It recommended that in addition to the Location at Thaba'Nchu there should be four more locations beaconed off, each 8,000 morgen in extent, on such farms as the Executive Council might decide and fix, and as far as possible from the Basutoland border.

"Unlike the Natives owning land in freehold in other parts of the Union, many of the Native landowners in the Thaba'Nchu district have not retained their land. They have got into debt recklessly and given bonds over their farms, which in the course of time have been foreclosed because the payments could not be met. There are at present 43 farms leased by Europeans from Natives.

Landless Families

"After the Land Act of 1913, a number of people went from the district to Bechuanaland where they had been told they could acquire land on which to settle. They were not able to purchase the land and had to return to Thaba'Nchu. Under the local regulations, if a man stays away over ten years, unless he pays 10s. a year, he loses his right to live in the Reserve. It was argued by Dr. Moroka that even if they were not able to get enough land in the Reserve they might, by being allowed to return, have a resting place from which they could go out to work.

"In the township of Thaba'Nchu there are no resident Natives; those that work there go in from outside. The Natives in this district have lost hope and they live in fear of being deprived of the little land they have got. They believe that it is not the intention of the Government to help the Natives in any way, and the land is passing out of the hands of the Natives into those of Europeans.

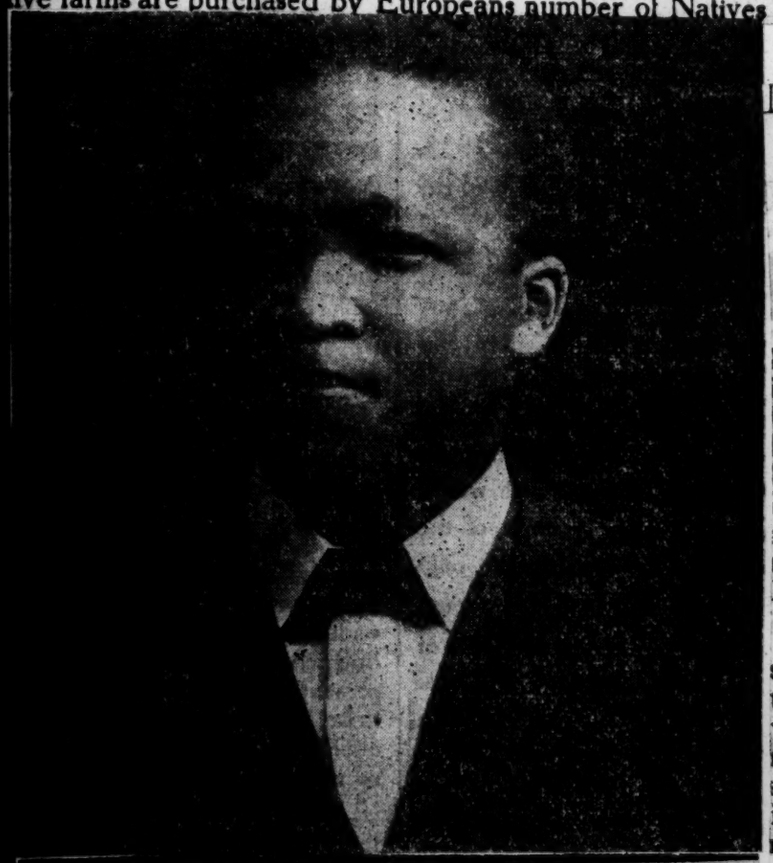
"Thaba'Nchu Natives want to live in Thaba'Nchu, not in Natal. The number of landless Natives in the district is alarming and the land would be inadequate even if the production were increased. Twenty years ago the Natives asked for an agricultural college, but it was given

to the whites instead.

"The Barolong tribal system is breaking down rapidly; no use is being made of the Chiefs. To a great extent the marriages are by Christian rites. Co-habitation without marriage is rife and is to a great extent under-mining the moral and physical stamina of the people. The lobolo system is dying out. The number of lobolo cattle given is from 3 to 8. Substitutes for cattle are sheep, horses, goats, and occasionally a cart. Overstocking is mainly caused by overpopulation.

DR. J. S. MOROKA OF THABA'NCHU

The only restriction on overstocking is that a certain number of stock are allowed free, while a small charge is made for any stock in excess of that number. The Natives will not part with their stock except for lobolo. Very few of the Natives manure the soil and they plant the same lands year after year. Vegetation is becoming scanty and the bush is being destroyed which is causing enormus soil erosion. All Natives possessing landed property prefer to make wills, and to follow the European law of succession. Large numbers of Basuto and ama-Xosa have drifted into the distirct from time to time and have remained working on the farms. Individual holding of land in this district has been a failure as the Natives are not sufficiently educated to farm scientifically. They are cheated by unscrupulous Europeans. When Native farms are purchased by Europeans number of Natives are evicted.



Dr. S. M. Molema of Mafeking.

The Evolution of African Music.

The lecture on African—or rather, as he was careful to say, Yoruba—music by Mr. T. K. Ekundayo Phillips, the organist of Lagos Cathedral, at Church Missionary House on Thursday evening showed in an extremely interesting way how old Yoruba airs, and words, are being adapted to modern and Christian use. Mr. Phillips traced connections between English music of the sixteenth century and that of African folk-songs, and then gave a recital illustrating, first, the rendering of English music by African choirs, and afterwards pure African music, sung both by English and Africans, compositions of his own based on Yoruba folk-songs, a dirge, and songs of praise, and finally took his hearers through the musical parts of a Lagos Cathedral service, illustrating the extent to which African music could be adapted to present-day needs. Incidentally, the service was rendered by an English choir, but the quality of their vowel sounds showed careful training in the pronunciation of the Yoruba words.

As Mr. Phillips showed, Yoruba airs, which are saved from mere monotonous repetition by change of key, of voice, or by hummed accompaniment, lend themselves specially to the development of fugues and of rondos, and that without the evolution of instruments based on new scales. That the present stage of Yoruba music is by no means the limit of its evolution was patent to all his listeners, to many of whom, in spite of their personal experience of the Coast, his exposition of modern musical progress proved matter for astonishment. It was comforting, too, to hear in Mr. Phillips's reproductions promise of a development on far more musical lines than those of the so called Negroid music to which modern European ears are becoming hardened.

Managers & Mission Schools.

(By Danile.)

Giving evidence before the Provincial Finance Commission in November last year Mr. G. H. Welsh said among other things: He did not think sufficient reasons had been suggested to justify a complete change in the system and the placing of Native education under the Native Affairs Department.

Dealing with mission schools Mr. Welsh observed that there was no doubt the teachers would greatly prefer the Government to take over these mission schools. There was an increasing spirit of suspicion towards missions and missionaries and particularly so since Native managers have increased.

Speaking of these managers Mr. A. E. Nazo of St. Marks wrote a caustic letter to the Imvo of the 1st of January 1934. He alleged certain irregularities in connection with vacancies occuring in mission schools.

Although these irregularities have become public property not one manager dared defend or refute the allegations.

Many more hideous things are happening under the cloak of mission school work andof these the managers stand condemned as these practices are neither Christian nor legal.

The two gentlemen quoted above speak with the inside knowledge of the working of this system. The leader of the Imvo of 28th. November was "replete with serious matter for consideration." "Some managers would seem to have gambled their consciences away," as Mr. Nazo says.

He is quite right too, for. Mr. Editor can you tell me of any other two cases showing crass ignorance and lamentable indiscretion than the two cuttings I am enclosing—cases of real torture and reprehensible conduct on the part of a school manager who preferred drunken teachers to sober men of irreproachable character.

Does this not suggest that the low morals we sometimes unfortunately come across in mission schools may be the result of a scheme—yes, a nefarious scheme, of which these managers may be abettors and accomplices?

Take the case brought before the Native Commissioner at Uitenhage last year.

Observe the caustic remarks of the magistrate. Mr Nazo in closing his letter pertinently asks: Is the Government dead?

Personally I would like to know whether the C.A.T.A. is dead when its members are shamefacedly tortured as in these cases. Should the C.A.T.A. not take up the cudgels and make representations on behalf of their members and demand the removal of such managers on the score of incompetence as laid down in Section 28 (a) of Ordinance No. 17 of 1930?

[The two court cases referred to above appeared in the "E.P. Herald" of Port Elizabeth during February. They are actions brought by a Bantu school manager against teachers in his employ. The school manager lost both actions with costs. We regret space does not allow of publishing the reports, but they are available to those who require them. Editor Imvo.]

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

THE ADMINISTRATION OF URBAN LOCATIONS

ASSISTANCE OF AFRICANS SHOULD NOT BE IGNORED

Bantu World 2-3-34

Johannesburg South Africa

If Advisory Boards Are Properly Used They Can Be Of Immense Value In Improving Location Conditions

Need For Constructive Thought

"THE ADMINISTRATION OF URBAN LOCATIONS," WRITES A CORRESPONDENT OF "THE BANTU WORLD," "AS SHOWN BY THE RECENT REVELASIONS AT BENONI AND BRAKPAN CONSTITUTES A GRAVE PROBLEM WHICH REQUIRES SERIOUS CONSIDERATION. THE BENONI LOCATION HAS BEEN CONDEMNED AS "A HUGE LIQUOR DEN" AND "A HOT-BED OF VICE AND CRIME." THE BRAKPAN LOCATION HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS A PLACE WHERE "ILLICIT LIQUOR DEALING, CRIME AND PROSTITUTION ARE RAMPANT."

"To deal with this appalling state of affairs, the authorities at both Benoni and Brakpan, have decided to take drastic steps. At Benoni it is proposed to introduce the permit system and at Brakpan the location is to be fenced, and not only that. The superintendent of the Brakpan location, it is reported, wants more power to control the location. "My greatest difficulty," says he, "is to get regulations under which I can prosecute and continue to prosecute."

"While no sane man can object to the improvement of conditions which are not conducive to health in these locations, nevertheless it is difficult to understand how the tightening up of regulations can really provide the remedy. To my mind drastic steps will not improve matters; instead they will embitter the residents and render the administration of the locations more difficult. What is required is not "to get more regulations in order to prosecute and continue to prosecute" but to secure the goodwill and co-operation of the leading men of these locations in the administration of their affairs. In support of my contention let me quote the opinion of men who were appointed by the Government to investigate these matters. The Economic Commission says:

Passions Easily Stirred

"The Urban Areas Act in its social implications can be of very great benefit both to the European and the Native inhabitants of the Union. With regard to the latter, however, it is essential to secure their interest and co-operation in the order and well-being of the locations. The problem of race relations is different in towns from what it is either in the Reserves or on farms. Generally speaking, in the latter the Native comes into contact with Europeans, with whom his relationship is largely determined by the occupation of the former. In the Reserves he meets with officials, missionaries, and traders; on the farms with the owner, his family and his neighbours. In the towns, however, he meets Europeans of all classes, with a large number of whom definite standards of conduct are not a reciprocal rule. If a farmer is insulting to a Native his conduct involves certain definite effects on himself. If a European in town is insulting to a Native, who casually displeases him in the street, the effects are laid at the door of the white community. Passions are more easily stirred where people are congregated in large numbers, and these frequently give rise to hard and bitter words. The problem resulting from the concentration of large numbers of different races in close proximity is one which can only be solved by goodwill and cold constructive thought, and in it there is no room for explosive passion.

Useful Approach

"The most useful approach to the question would be that of giving the Native in the urban area a sphere in which he can be happy, a sphere to the improvement of which he can devote his best energies, a position which is not galling to his feelings. By nature the Native is a dignified person. This is a quality which the Europeans have every interest in preserving. If the Natives are given a reasonable and recognized position in the management of the affairs of their own urban village or location, much will be done to give an outlet for their social energies, to make them interested in the order and good of the urban Native generally, and to develop civic pride among them. The Urban Areas Act makes provision for the appointment of a Native Advisory Board in each location; but members of these Boards complain, frequently with justice, that they serve no useful purpose and that no notice is taken of their representations. In many instances no members of the urban local authority ever sees or hears the mem-

bers of the Advisory Board. And yet if these bodies are properly used they can be of immense value in enlisting the aid of the other Natives in improving location conditions.

Bantu World 2-3-34 South African

Bloemfontein Example

"The administration of Bloemfontein has derived great benefit from a system by which they enlist services of the inhabitants themselves in maintaining order in the location. The location is divided into twelve blocks. Each block elects annually what is called a "Blockman." Immediately after his election, he calls a meeting of the residents of his block and they choose, by show of hands, a committee of ten to assist him in the general administration of the affairs of the block. The twelve blockmen, together with the Superintendent of the Location, constitute the Advisory Board The blockman and his committee take upon themselves most of the work of maintaining law and order, and of settling disputes in their block. The committee considers any matter affecting its area, which should be brought to the notice of the local authority. The blockman sees to it that these matters are discussed by the Advisory Board and the opinion of the Board is conveyed to the local authority by the chairman. This system has produced excellent results. Your Commission is of opinion that a similar arrangement could profitably be introduced in other urban areas."

Mr. Graham Ballenden, Manager of Native Affairs for the City of Johannesburg, believes in the policy of co-operation and is endeavouring to put it in

West African University (The Dream Of West African Leaders Of Thought.)

By Yaw Kuma.

In recent years the dream of West African Leaders of thought has borne tendency to the establishment of a West African University for the training of West African youths in subjects that will bring enlightenment in the solution of the problem of the development of the abounding resources of Africa and to land us on a developed stage of our social evolution in the matter of our economic emancipation.

In this respect the thought of our Government has given birth to Achimota College to which all eyes are turned in the future to be the West African University a great desideratum in British West Africa. Thinkers from African point of view can well divine that for Achimota to arrive at University stage at the expense of the Government borders on impossibility. A far seeing man can place no doubt on this judging from our environments and the conditions prevailing in our midst. The thought of a West African University should spring from the desire of the people themselves who could appreciate well the beneficial effects of a sound practical education for the development of our fertile land abounding in latent wealth which will enable African benefactors to water the whole the University with this cheerful contributions. "Knowledge is power" but unless this knowledge has been transformed into an actual form fulfilling the needs of the people its powerful effect will nowhere be felt. When we are seeking for a spring fountain to water a West African University both in finance and alumni we have to turn our eyes to the farmer; here then we stand in need of village primary schools to prepare the agricultural population to appreciate the results of European agricultural science for the working of our veritable Eldorado than to train a town bred full of lawyers and politicians. The pupils from these village schools will become imbued with pride of race and love of the soil, whose own small education will lead them to desire better education for their sons. The early generation of educated farmers will found a secondary and agricultural schools for their children and from the same source will come when the time is ripe the endowments and the alumni of a West African University. Now practically by the education ordinance all primary schools in villages are closed and some are reduced to low standards. And the result is the sons and daughters of farmers are sent to town littoral schools where the pupils have the tendency to seek for clerical employment and there the pupils from rural schools get the idea that a clerical calling is the only one worthy of an educated man. Thither they migrate after their school career with certificates and applications stuffed in their pockets in search of career. Thus the soil is still in the hands of an illiterate man who also by reason of his ignorance does not appreciate the value of farming as a profession and induces his son to seek for clerical employment which in the long run brings ruin and disgrace to the home of the poor parents. Thus a spring bidding fair to flourish and water a West African University ceases to flow, and truly had our lamented Casely Hayford said "Government clerical desks and merchant counting houses will not save us as a race. Youths of West Africa I therefore appeal to you the spirit of Self-help in the hope that our dreams may be brought into a full realization, through work, hard-work and sacrifice; for our salvation is not in talk, mere talk only like the building of castles in the air. Turn to the path of the work man and not the loafer who depends upon his neighbour for his bread.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

THE UNION AND THE PROTECTORATES

Ilanga lase Natal 5-4-34

IN the turmoil of the controversy in this country on the Status Bills which now has passed its third reading in the Union Assembly there looms another matter which perhaps is of more importance to those of our people who are still outside the Union. Recently in Parliament General Hertzog made an announcement divulging the intention of the Union Government to incorporate the three Native Territories: The Bechuana land, Basutoland and Swaziland Protectorates. The echo of this momentous announcement has reverberated in Britain. Mr J. H. Thomas, the Dominions Secretary was asked several questions on this matter as to whether the Government (Imperial) had noticed this announcement from the Union and whether the Natives on these territories will be consulted before incorporation took place. The answer was that as Gen. Hertzog's communication was yet on the way the Imperial Government could not state definitely what their attitude would be, but that in 1908 it was stipulated that incorporation would not take place unless the Europeans and Natives on these territories had been consulted but that after such consultation the Imperial Government would trust the Union Government.

Meanwhile the Natives in these territories have expressed their opionion on this matter in no equivocal terms. They being so near the Union and observing the anti-Native policy of the Union Government would naturally not be eager to be a party to this victimisation. Recent Union legislation, the Natives 'Land Act, The Native Service Contract Act and the Colour Bar in industry as well as several other pinpricks must make uneasy those who view these at work so near their own ancestial lands.

The fact that ever since Union the policy has been to accentuate Colour discrimination as against the Natives has not endeared the Union policy to those outside its ambit. This set purpose to repress the Native Africans and hound them down to a level of slavery cannot but estrange those who suffer from or observe it. To lay it down that however one may be upright, educated and industrious, the higher avenues of life are not open for him because of his colour cannot but frighten away those who still have a chance of reacting against such procedure. The Natives do not mean to be social equals of their European rulers but certainly claim recognition of virtue, industry and piety to have full play upon their lives and that they should not be debarred from the exercise of the rights of citizenship where and when they are deserved.

In his speech at Cape Town Sir James Rose-Junes on May 1, has not by any means exaggerated the true position of affairs.

He said, "Since Union the spirit of the North had tended more and more to dominate their Native policy. The key note of that policy must be not liberty but repression. The Natives are under no circumstances to form part of our policy They are to be forever denied. They are to be a people apart, to whom the privileges of citizenship are to be forever denied. They are to be segregated territorially, politically and economically from the remainder of the population whom they number by three to one.

That this policy can be put into full operation is very doubtful: that the result would be disastions to our country is absolutily certain. Yet we are told by an energetic and forceful Minister that it is the hall-mark of the new South African culture and he regards it as necessary to the preservation of a White civilisation.

We are all agreed that in the interest of Black and White alike the civilisations introduced by the White man must prevail in this country but we think that it would best be preserved by including in its privileges and facilities and enlisting in its defence every class of inhabitant, irrespective of race colour or creed."

African National Congress.

[*Continued.*]

The President General of the African National Congress Dr. P. ka Isaka Seme of Farm Sterkfontein 221 Joubert Street, Vrilksrust, Transvaal sends us the following letter of instruction to members of the above organisation through Rev. E. Mdolomba who is the General Secretary; and we commend the exhaustive epistle to the Serious consideration of the members of the African National Congress throughout the Union. Dr. Seme writes:—

To Members and Organanisers of,
The African National Congress.

Ladies and Gentlemen.

CONGRESS AUTOMOBILE CLUB.

I was explaining to a group of Native taxi owners and mechanics the other day that if they would all agree to join the Congress Automobile Club to be established under the control of the African National Congress they would begin to earn a comfortable living in their trade and profession. The national instincts of the African people could be fully aroused through the Congress to support our youngmen and women in this automobile business. The club could be helped to establish a General African Garage for assisting its members to become owners of reliable new or second hand cars. The Congress could help the club to open branches in every larger town in South Africa for the sale of cars and spare parts to its members and generally to supervise and attend to the overhauling and other repairs of cars for its members. The chiefs and the other Native owners of cars would find all their expenses greatly reduced and their cars made more reliable. The African public on the other hand would be given also a good, cheap and reliable motor car service throughout South Africa. The same thing and the same success could be made by the carpenters, cabinet makers, tailors, butchers and store keepers if they agreed to be organised into national association branches of the African National Congress. They all could get supplies through one wholesale broker and connect these associations with the producers or manufacturers.

PLAN OF REORGANISATION OF CONGRESS.

It is intended that every chief and every district in the Union should form a local branch of the African National Congress. Such a local branch to be managed by its own duly elected officers and a district chairman. The latter shall be one of the two delegates to represent the said local branch in the Provincial Conference as well as in the General Conference of the Congress during his term of office.

ISIVIVANE OR ISITHABATHABA.

The African National Congress has no money in its Treasury today with which to begin this work of reconstruction. There is not a single officer of the Congress who is receiving any salary, and at that rate we cannot expect anybody to do much work for the Congress. The Executive Committee of the Congress urgently needs volunteers to come out and offer themselves to organise local branches of the Congress and get officers elected to manage those branches. If the organiser can work himself up so as to get himself elected chairman of the local branch so much the better. These organisers shall have to work under the supervision of the Provincial Presidents who are the Vice Presidents of the African National Congress and shall report to the General Secretary of the African National Congress, who shall authorise payment of their commission by the Secretary of the Treasury Committee.

The organisers of the African National Congress have been duly authorised by the last General Conference to collect from the chiefs and all other members of the African National Congress all monies or special contributions for the National Fund, to be known as "Isivivane or Isithabathaba." Every member of the Congress was requested to make a contribution of at least 5/- plus a further contribution at the rate of 1/- per month until the full amount of one sovereign shall have been paid by such member. The chiefs are respectfully requested to contribute each the sum of £5. All these contributions shall be paid to the chief Secretary to the Treasury Committee of the Congress, Mr. S. B. Macheng, P.O. Box 73 Native Location, Randfontein. What we

urgently desire is the active co-operation between these organisers and the Vice Presidents of the Congress, in charge of their respective Provinces, and both the organisers and the Vice Presidents to render full reports of the work done within their provinces to the General Secretary of the African National Congress for his report to the General Conference. All the Provincial Presidents should have a common policy, in the management of the affairs of the various Provinces. They should work in close consultation with one another, as senior leaders of the Congress and in close consultation and co-operation with the *P*resident General. There is no sense and it is highly unconstitutional for any Provincial President to run his own Province independently of the other Provinces, unity is strength.

[*To be continued*]

Social Service to the Bantu Race.

The first section of the Act of Union reads: "The people of the Union acknowledge the sovereignty and guidance of Almighty God."

It would savour of hypocrisy if the Government of the Union failed to perform a distinguishable deed of social service to its subject Bantu races within a generation. The huge programme of war on tuberculosis embarked upon by the Minister of Public Health, Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, as detailed in his statement in the Assembly, has left the Natives staggered in pleasant amazement. Beneficence on such a collosal scale is seldom heard of in Government circles when it comes to easing the yoke of non-European races. Our people had been accustomed to seeing fabulous sum of Government money pass them by, and spent on assisting white farmers, attacking diseases in cattle and horses, destroying locusts, paying white old age pensions, relieving white unemployment, and subsidising white relief work. They had despaired of the possibility that at the will of the Almighty, mentioned in the Act of Union, the principles of true Christianity were destined to be carried out to the letter by a Coalition Government in 1934.

Civilized nations were recognised as such by their capacity to cater for the needs of all races under their tutelage in the economic, social and spiritual welfare. It is the quintessence of greed to look upon any people as a field of exploitation for selfish motives, and to totally neglect their physical welfare and protection against devastating maladies.

The Government has committed itself to a policy of attacking the roots of a most dreaded disease among the Bantu in South Africa, an affliction that the Bantu regard as a concomitant of civilization. The ignorance of the methods adopted for protection against infection and of the environments most suited for treatment of tuberculosis are among the factors responsible for such a heavy toll of life among the black races. In reality the Government's action is overdue; but the progress of development outlined by Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr is highly appreciated by the Bantu even at this stage. It heralds a future of peace, health and happiness in the home infinitely more sacred to them than the settlement of contentious political problems like the Premier's Native Bills and the reduction of their cattle. If deep-seated diseases were allowed to eat away at the vitality of the black race, the non-European population would dwindle like the red Indians in America until their political significance became a cipher. Not only that. The health conditions in South Africa for the European races would be so menacingly unsafe through the danger of infection that the country might easily become uninhabitable. The Minister of the Interior in behalf of the Government has earned the praise and confidence of the black race in this measure, and this will go a long way to offset much of what is rightly and wrongly considered as unsympathetic legislation towards Natives. Deeds speak louder than words.

We sincerely hope that the administrative work entailed in apportioning these funds will be carried out by local authorities and officials in the same liberal spirit that embued the benefactors. The South African Native College, we think, has received special recognition in being entrusted with the important work of training 200 Native medical aids, towards which Government commits itself to the annual expenditure of £70,000. Additional to this the State has agreed to assist financially (a concession highly valued by Natives) the training of a limited number of selected Natives as Bantu doctors overseas. This arrangement does not seem, in our opinion, to clash with any projected training of medicos at Fort Hare. The work of training medical aids for the present will be of much importance, and will require such concentration that the educational standard of the college may likely be raised. The entrance qualification to Fort Hare could easily be confined to post-matric students, with a good number of Native secondary schools preparing students up to the matric stage.

Government has authorised an initial expenditure of £100,000 for residential and dispensary quarters. The Chamber of Mines, already well-known for their philanthropic tendencies, have donated £75,000 for the medical training of Natives; leaving the disposal of the fund to the Government.

In our sentiments of jubilation we would be guilty of ingratitude if we omitted to mention the generous gift of £51,000 by Mr. Havenga, Minister of Finance. This windfall was directed towards assisting the bankrupt Native Development Fund in restoring the cuts in Native teachers' salaries. For all these tender mercies, may be Coalition Government prosper, and we hope also that the liberality presages an era of peace and contentment among all the races in the Union during its regime.

Mr. Pim Passes.

The passing of Mr. Howard Pim C.B.E. of Johannesburg last week into the great Beyond is deeply mourned by the Bantu of South Africa. Mr. Pim's name was a household word in African homes throughout the Union, the influence of his great services to the black race radiating from his home on the Rand in all directions. Mr. Pim was recognised as a real Christian gentleman of select English stock, who believed in demonstrating ideals more in practice than theory. Without hesitation we assert that the great change of heart among the white race in Johannesburg as observed in the new attitude adopted towards blacks, has come about as a result of the late Mr. Pim's endeavours and a few notable gentlemen of his type. The recreational facilities provided for the Bantu in the Rand, the few social centres and hostels, and lastly the co-operative trading enterprises inaugurated for Bantu social and economic uplift would not have been possible without Mr. Pim's selfless devotion to the great tasks. We thank God for his example in life.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT GENERAL.

Farm Sterkfontein,
221 Jouberts Street,
Volksrust, Transvaal.

26th March, 1934.

To Members and Organisers of,
The African National Congress,
Ladies and Gentlemen.

Greetings. Some members of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress have asked me to make another public statement of my policy as leader of the Congress including a brief outline of how I suggest that The African National Congress should be reorganised under the new Constitution.

The copies of the Draft Amendment of the Consitution are still available and have been printed in a small pamphlet. The price is 1s. per copy. Every member of the Congress should send a postal Order to Mr. Jack Barnard, News Agent and Bookseller, 175a Commissioner Street, Johannesburg. The Old Constitution of the Congress is not repealed by the New Amendment except where the old rules may come into conflict with the new rules. Any Provincial Conference may send to the General Conference written suggestions of new rules or amendments to the present Constitution for consideration and if these amendments are passed by the General Conference they must be respected by every Province as our Constitution.

The African National Congress is a National Assembly for all Africans in South Africa. The membership is open to coloured people as well as to Africans of full blood, men, women and children. Some detribalised Natives have suggested to me that the Chiefs should be left out and not be included within the survey of membership in the African National Congress They even suggest that the leadership of the Congress belongs to the educated classes only.

THE RACE LEADERSHIP.

The African Race has always been led by its hereditary Chiefs from time immemorial. The same thing is true of all other races of mankind in the world. The educated classes all over the world, like the Chiefs and everybody else have to get their mandate from the people—vox populi vox dei. We Africans too must follow the course which other peoples have troden,— our educated classes must try to win the confidence of the masses. You have been taught to despise your uneducated people and that is wrong. The bulk of the people are the Nation and that is where your greatest strength lies and the Chiefs are there with the nation. I feel that it is the duty of every educated African to help his Chief, his tribe and his people. The towns and the schools, it is true are breaking down this spirit of tribalism. We all should certainly be glad that this is so because they all pave the way for the birth of the new African Nation, which is still conceived in the African National Congress to-day. I say, let us be guided by the experience of other Nations and th t of all other races of mankind and carry our Chiefs up along with us, in our conceptions of leadership. They hold the key to all our final success as a nation. They are our princes and kings, and as such they are worshipped by their people as the leaders appointed by them by God. Let the Europeans first destroy their Kings and their own Princes before we can hear them advice us to do away with our own blue blood.

My policy and advice as President of the African National Congress is that the Executive Committees of the Congress in every distirict and in every Province should try and be the best of friends with the Chiefs in their Districts. They should attend all their own tribal Councils wherever such exist and make themselves personally known to their Chiefs and other members of their tribal Councils as officers of this Congress. We can as a Congress show them how to make the better use of their land, their cattle and their Native courts. The officers of the Congress should be able to show them how to become more efficient in their duties as Chiefs and more useful to their people and to the local authority which is placed over them in that District.

No Native Commissioner in charge of a District or Location Superintendent will want to see any leader of the Congress who make it their business to go about stirring up strife and other trouble for the authorities among the Natives The African National Congress must condemn the spirit of sedition in every form. The leaders who preach sedition and insubordination, are a disgrace to the Congress whose noble aims are to lift up the Africans by helping them to build up economic foundations for their support in every tribe or District in South Africa and to win public sympathy in favour of the amelioration of all our economic and political disabilities in this country. This we hope to be able to do by the establishment of National Supply Stores in every Province to meet the special requirements of Native Markets. The African National Congress by working in conjunction with the Chiefs can be able to help our men and women to earn a living among their own people by selling and otherwise distributing the goods and food which they want. All European towns and cities are serving that same purpose and keep their people in good employment. There is certainly no reason why we Natives should not be able to do the same. We can start with white supervision and gradually take over the running of the business ourselves.

CONGRESS AUTOMOBILE CLUB

4-6-34

I was explaining to a group of Native Taxi owners and mechanics the other day that if they would all agree to join the Congress Automobile Club to be established under the control of the African National Congress they would begin to earn a comfortable living in their trade and profession. The National instincts of the African people could be fully aroused through the Congress to support our young men and women in this automobile business. The Club could be helped to establish a General African Garage for assisting its members to become owners of reliable new or second hand cars. The Congress could help the Club to open branches in every large town in South Africa for the sale of cars and spare parts to its members and generally to supervise and attend to the overhauling and other repairs of cars for its members. The Chiefs and the other Native owners of cars would find all their expenses greatly reduced and their cars made more reliable, The African public on the other hand would be given also a good, cheap and reliable motor car service throughout South Africa. The same thing and the same success could be made by the carpenters, cabinet makers, tailors, butchers and storekeepers if they agreed to be organised into national association branches of the African National Congress. They all could get supplies through one wholesale broker and connect these associations with the producers or manufacturers.

PLAN OF REORGANISATION OF CONGRESS.

It is intended that every Chief and every District in the Union should form a Local Branch of the African National Congress. Such a Local Branch to be managed by its own duly elected officers and a District Chairman. The latter shall be one of the two delegates to represent the said Local Branch in the Provincial Conference as well as in the General Conferences of the Congress during his term of office.

ISIVIVANE OR ISITHABATHABA.

The African National Congress has no money in its Treasury today with which to begin this work of reconstruction. There is not a single officer of the Congress who is receiving any salary and at that rate we cannot expect any body to do much work for the Congress. The Executive Committee of the Congress urgently needs volunteers to come out and offer themselves to organise Local Branches of the Congress and get officers elected to manage these branches. If the organiser can so work himself up so as to get himself elected Chairman of the Local Branch so much the better. These organisers shall have to work under the supervision of the Provincial Presidents who are the Vice Presidents of the African National Congress and shall report to the General Secretary of the African National Congress, who shall authorise payment of their commission by the Secretary of the Treasury Committee.

(To be continued).

NEED FOR NATIVE DOCTORS.

ATTENTION has recently been drawn to the desirability of steps being taken in the direction of making provision for the medical needs of the Bantu people. Those interested in the subject have been encouraged by the fact that the Minister of Public Health has admitted that the medical services for Natives in the Union is not entirely creditable to South Africa, particularly when a comparison is made with what is being done in other countries.

For many years this subject has engaged the serious attention of many people, and it is generally admitted that the requirements of our people in regard to medical services have not been met to anything like a satisfactory extent. The question is one that permits of a considerable divergency of thought, and for that reason it is all-important to consider it from a truly practical standpoint. Some years ago the Government appointed a Commission to investigate the question of the medical needs of the Bantu, and after going into the matter thoroughly the Commission reported that in order to provide one doctor for every five thousand Natives, one thousand additional doctors would be required. It is interesting to note in this connection that in Great Britain the ratio is one doctor to every thousand, and

that in the United States of America the ratio is one to every 750.

It would be exceedingly interesting to ascertain what has happened to this report. The fact that nothing has been done in regard to the matter clearly suggests that it has been definitely shelved, and is not likely to see the light of day for some time. This, however, does not remove the urgency and importof the subject. Surely in a country like South Africa, where the Native plays such a large part in the domestic and industrial progress and development of the country, it is essential that something should be done to prevent the spread of disease. It is arged, we think, with considerable justification, that one of the first steps necessary is the provision of Native doctors. A correspondent recently called attention to the fact that the very few Bantu students who have qualified in medicine have had to overcome tremendous obstacles. Refused admission to either of the medical schools in their Native land, they have been obliged to seek their medical instruction overseas. This has involved considerable expense, so much so that it is more than probable that they returned heavily in debt. The question arises: what is the most pracical way out of this difficulty? In seeking an answer it is essential to see things as they are, and not as they ought to be. Theories are useless; we must "get down to brass tacks" as the Americans say. And in this matter we opine that the first desideratum is the establishment in South Africa of a Native medical school or college. Added to this there should be a medical service staffed by Native doctors, together with a properly organised training school for Native Nurses. Given there three things, there is no reason why a tremendous amount of valuable and useful work should not be done not in eradicating sickness and disease, but in spreading abroad a knowledge of the conditions necessary to ensure cleanliness and health.

We are not unmindful that this proposal involves many important considerations, not the least of which is that of finance. We can well imagine the objections that will be raised in certain quarters against anything that is calculated to advance the inprests and increase the knowledge of the Bantu, but this short-sighted policy cannot and will not hold up the onward morch of progress and enlightenment and for that reason we have every confidence in commanding this matter to the earnest attention of all intelligent and right-thinking people.

NATAL NATIVE CONGRESS.

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At the Annual General Meeting of the Natal Native Congress, the Rev. John L. Dube was again re-elected President, and after the usual business the following Resolution were passed:-

To Lieutenant-Colonel His Excellency the Right Honourable the Earl of Clarendon, a Member of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael & Saint George, Governor General and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Union of South Africa.

We, His Majesty's Native Subjects in this his Dominion of Natal, South Africa, desire humbly to submit this Petition to your Excellency as His Representative.

The avowed objects of the Constitutional and Status Bills now before Parliament have greatly alarmed us for we fear that should the proposed alterations of the Constitution be agreed to we shall lose the protection of His Gracious Majesty.

We are loyally attached to the British Crown and we realise that our only hope for the restoration of the Rights of British Subjects to which we are entitled but which have been so seriously infringed since the establishment of Union, lies in the maintenance of the the South Africa Act of 1909 both in the letter and the spirit.

We desire that no alteration whatever shall be made in the Constitution.

We humbly pray Your Excellency to refuse assent to these Bills, and that your Excellency will forward this our petition and affirmation of our Loyalty to His Majesty.

We are, your Excellency's dutiful Servants,

JOHN L. DUBE,
J. G. MNGADI.

On behalf of the Natal Native Congress.

The following are other resolutions passed by the Congress:

THE PRISON VAN.

This Meeting of the Natal Native Congress prays the Authorities to treat Native Female delinquents who have been arrested by the police in outlying stations with greater consideration. It desires to point out that frequently the women so arrested are not in a fit state to walk the long distance from the outlying station to the Magistrate's Court in Durban In some instances this causes serious physical hardship amounting at times to a danger to their health, and it is also undignified. This Meeting would respectfully request that women delinquents in outlying areas should be taken to the Magistrate's Court in the Prison Van.

THE POLL TAX.

The Natal Native Congress desires to draw the attention of the Government to the following facts which the Bantu people feel are both unjust and cause hardship and loss to individuals who are innocent. In explanation of above the Congress would point out that upon the imposition of the Poll Tax it was laid down that each male aged 18 years and upwards should be personally liable and responsible for the payment of that Tax and that the Head of the Kraal should not be responsible for payment of the Tax by the members of his Kraal. Such responsibility therefore does not exist, yet it frequently happens that the cattle owned by the Head of the Kraal are seized and sold because a member of his Kraal has failed to pay the Tax demanded. This proceedure re-imposes responsibility on the Head of the Kraal and is ultra vires.

This Congress desires respectfully to protest against the demand for payment of the Poll Tax by those Bantu people who are out of employment, and would point out that thousands of the Bantu people are daily seeking employment in order to meet this liability, but are unable to find it. Many are on the verge of starvation but recieve no assistance from the Government in the form of relief works such as is accorded to white people placed in similar circumstances.

This Congress wishes further to protest to the Government against the discrimination against the Bantu people now in force in regard to that form of work, the making and mending of roads, which has until lately been regarded as essentially the work of the Bantu people. This particularly applies to roadward in Municipal and rural areas. The Bantu people feel that this discrimination is particulary unjust for thousands of them were formerly employed in this work. The sense of injustice is heightened by the facl that the white people besides being given this work receive much assistance iu other ways while the Bantu receive none and are mercilessly pressed for the payment of the Poll Tax.

Race Problem – 1934

Africa

A BLOT ON CIVILISATION.

Wednesday's debate in the House of Lords on the position in Liberia, while it elicited no new facts of importance, served to recall public attention to the glaring conditions of misrule and misery prevailing in the erstwhile African "Land of Liberty." When writing on the subject in these columns over a year ago, we predicted the course of events only too accurately—the total failure of the League of Nations' efforts to secure reform, and the futility of expecting any tangible improvement in Liberian conditions so long as the Government of that hapless country remained in the hands of those who have proved their incompetence to govern. As Lord Cecil pointed out, the Liberian Government's suggested reservations to the League plan of assistance practically amount to total rejection of the scheme, and by its deliberately obstructive tactics that Government has shown that it has no real intention of instituting reforms. By thus evading her obligations and breaking her covenants, Liberia has forfeited any claims which she may have previously had to the sympathetic consideration of the Great Powers. The conscience of the civilised world will not permit a continuance of the present appalling state of affairs, under which the Black Republic is a danger both to herself and to the whole of West Africa.

THE UNION AND NATIVE RACES.

As foreshadowed by Sir Abe Bailey in his farewell message when leaving South Africa, General Hertzog in reply to a question in the Cape Parliament on Wednesday last, said he believed the time to be ripe for the transference of the native Protectorates—Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland—to the South African Government, adding that the British Government had on previous occasions been informally approached about transference, but seemed indisposed to agree. It may assist in avoiding misunderstanding if the question as viewed here is summarised. These Protectorates have definite treaties guaranteeing their independence, and unless and until the natives themselves are prepared to agree to such transference, there would be a great mass of public opinion adverse to deliberate violation of the terms and spirit of these treaties. Nor must it be overlooked that the problem of native status in the Union has still to be settled. This must be a preliminary to any negotiations, for upon it depends the attitude of the Churches, which rightly regard the spiritual and physical protection of the native populations under the British Flag as a paramount obligation. Unless the Churches are satisfied that such transference would be to the interests of the peoples of these Protectorates, no Government in this country would dare to take the responsibility of tearing up these "scraps of paper."

LEARNING FROM THE "BLACK NORTH."

"Is the development of Africa, as a civilisation, to be defeated by the British Colonial policy?" asks the Hon. L. F. Moore, the Northern Rhodesian elected member of Council. A striking answer was forthcoming at the very time his expression of doubt reached England. We have long felt that the momentous experiment being made by Great Britain between the Zambezi and the Nile might ultimately change the face of South Africa, and show the Union a path to a safe and prosperous future: that, by example, the "Black North" might be called in to redress the balance of the South. We did not, however, dare to expect that this hope would yet issue in action. Mr. Hofmeyer, however, the able Minister for Health in South Africa, who has seen something of East African progress, stated in the House of Assembly the other day that the medical services in Native territories in the Union are "pitifully inadequate," and that the Government has consequently decided to train several hundred Native aids, on a three-year professional course, "to work on a system similar to that in Tanganyika and Uganda under the supervision of district surgeons." Thus while Mr. Moore, turning his eyes away from the north, looks longingly to the south, responsible Ministers in the south are themselves beginning to look north for inspiration and guidance. Having long sought fruitlessly for a way out of their difficulties, they do not despise the value of the experiments made by the Colonial Office

THE FATHERS OF THE NATIVE PRESS AND HELPERS OF WESTERN CULTURE.

.....

(By MABIZO MTEMBU.)

(Continued from March 9)

And more was the need for newspapers realised when education and civilisation increased thereby breaking down those tribal groups which were their means of getting information past and present. Now they required something that would keep them informed about the weddings that took in their homes, about the meeting of the chiefs and their counsellors in the tribe and many other curiosities as they would get in their tribal groupings were they not so scattered about their various occupations brought by civilisation and education. To this need the introduction of these newspapers answered thereby acting as substitute for the primitive tribal groups and as a connecting means between one person and his people far away and public opinion. As a result reading newspapers began. And contributions and subscriptions which had been taboo to the public are now possible. Hence great changes are taking place.

The editor is now editor and other, the compositor a compositor only and many other duties that had been done by one man are now distributed among the staff. There are even correspondents and agents now. Many papers are springing up as a result of these changes. Like all other countries South Africa is experiencing a literary revival similar to that produced by the introduction of "news letters" and later by "news books" when lately after important literary figures like Shakespeare and many others arose. There is hope that the African soil will soon give birth to great literary figures; and that as the press is a means of culture, education and civilisation will be helped faster forwards as in other civilised countries.

For all this Bantu Africa is indebted to these men for their daring spirit in spite of difficulties that would have ended this thing which today forms part of what South Africa may be counted a civilised country. As the press is the mouthpiece of a community Bantu Africa would be still dumb and voiceless. Education and civilisation would not have spread so much without the press. These men are not only the fathers of Bantu newspaperdom and journalism therefore but the helpers in the spread of Western Culture in South Africa.

THE UNHAPPY SITUATION AT THE GOLD COAST.

Weekly News 3-24-34

We cannot afford to be indifferent to the unhappy and strained relationship which has arisen between the Government and people of the Gold Coast, for reasons which are obvious, the most important of which being, because the gravamen of the trouble has had to do with the liberty of the People, involving a policy we had thought had had its innings well enough, and we were getting assured that those holding the responsible position of Legislating for the people had already seen the absolute futility of attempting to drag the soul of a people along by the process of gagging the Press.

In all the Colonies of British West Africa there has arisen at one time or the other, such strained relation between the Government and the People, in which, both parties had grown so nervous and irritable, that that most excellent gift of commonsense had been set aside, and the instinct of force had been substituted; so that, when on the other hand the people begin to give some expression of their feelings or make exposition of what they regard as unlawful or unconstitutional, recourse is had to that demonstration of weakness by which it is

suddenly discovered that the legal instruments already existing had not provided sufficiently to carry out the purpose, and steps are taken to introduce new Legislations to deal with the situation. Invariably, this has always taken the form of that objectionable West African short cut legal policy of a Criminal Code.

We had hoped that the Government of the Gold Coast and its People had been on the platform of strife and dissension long enough that at such critical epoch of world depression they had discovered their best and most salutary interests in transforming the scene of their Legislative Chamber, from the dancing plot of Mars, to a Round Table Conference for devising the best plans to meet their economic problems.

We must confess to some feelings of disappointment that in spite of the long experience which ought to have gone to the assistance of Sir SHENTON THOMAS, having served, first as Colonial Secretary and now as Governor, he therefore would have been sufficiently advised to carry out his policy and steer away from those shoals and sand banks which had in the past brought the Government of that Colony into such serious impasse.

Whilst we admit that we are not competent to judge so as to strike a balance as to how far the people or their Government may be right or wrong, we deem ourselves justified to protest against any policy calculated to interfere with the liberty of the Press, in the particular manner the Governor of the Gold Coast has now elected to do. That should never be countenanced by any people; and it should be their duty to take every constitutional step to restore the *status quo*, the very limited concession the laws of England, as obtains in each Colony, allow them. Our Correspondent SIMPLEX has referred to the subject and pointed out what the people might have done in the direction of the National Congress of British West Africa.

We have noticed that our friends at the Gold Coast have had recourse to the Scottsboro Defence Committee for some assistance. This was how the Congress had purposed to meet such difficulties whenever they arise, to secure the service of members in the House of Parliament to take up matters when that was necessary.

We sincerely hope this rather unfortunate incident at the Gold Coast will stir the good people to revive their interest in the Congress Movement. It is significant that many of the Leaders of the Movement in that progressive Colony have passed away. But we are convinced that there are others who are quite competent to carry the duty of Headquarters, by arranging for the functioning of Congress which, whatever may be said, has been the greatest achievement in any policy of united efforts, West African had ever devised. We extend sympathy with the people of the Gold Coast and trust there will soon be found some way by which good feelings and confidence may be restored between Government and the governed.

In The South.

AFRICA in certain great matters, certainly as to what helps or hinders the progress of its people sprung from the soil, is one. Consequently we are persuaded that issues vital to hundreds of thousands of Africans of the Union will interest Africa of the West. The future of the three Protectorates of South Africa, Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland, is again under discussion. For one thing the Anti-Slavery Society has published a pleasant letter written at the instance of the Secretary for the Dominions, Mr. Thomas, in which Acting Chief Tshekedi, of Bechuanaland, is described as "an upright and straightforward man trying to do the best he could for his people." This is an oblique but not ungracious *amende* for the proceedings some months ago, with accompaniments worthier of the sillier American films than of the administration of British Africa, in which an attempt was made to prejudice the Chief and the Bechuanas in the eyes of the British Government and public.

It was to the chagrin of sections in the Union by no means wholly Dutch-speaking that that incident ended peaceably. Now we have the pontifical assertion by Sir Abe Bailey, a man of vast wealth and varying influence, that "these Native islands, poverty-stricken through the neglect of the British Government, can no longer be tolerated in the midst of the Union." Everybody who knows anything about Union politics knows that for generations the less desirable European elements in South African life have had hungry eyes on the lands of the Protectorates and on their African people as a reservoir of cheap labour. It has to be admitted that Sir Abe is right in holding that the Protectorates are poverty-stricken mainly because of the neglect of various British Governments. The Protectorates left to themselves are much in the position of Liberia. Their cherished independence as to their land is the very factor which prevents their obtaining loans on terms as little harsh as those extended to neighbouring countries of Europeans. The British Government, whose wards they are, might have helped with a modest extension of British credit. Instead their attitude has been that summed up in the ironical couplet:

> Thou shalt not kill; but need'st not strive
> Officiously to keep alive.

The result has been that the Protectorates have stagnated. Sir Abe Bailey, however, has formulated a new accusation against them. Neglected though they are, according to Sir Abe, they contrive to compete against the European farmers of the Union, and therefore he predicts that both Houses of the Union Parliament will soon press for transfer of these territories.

Happily Sir Abe's is not the only voice whose accents need be kept in mind. Mr. Hofmeyr, the Union Minister of Health, bearer of an honoured Dutch-South African name and of university distinctions of exceptional brilliance won in England, has just introduced into the Union Parliament legislative and administrative proposals incomparably ahead of anything done during the Union's existence hitherto, whereby several hundred African "aids" are to be given three years' training for medical service among the Union's Native African people, under the district surgeons, and a selected number of Africans will receive training oversea to be fully qualified doctors. This is real progress, and if the British Government will at long last set its agents in the Protectorates to work in the same spirit we may hope to see far happier and more creditable conditions arise in the Union, which could not be without good effect upon the Protectorates. Until that most desirable state of things comes about it is to be hoped that the British Government will reflect that the view that the Protectorates should be annexed by the Union because of their backwardness, and the view that they should be annexed because their African farmers compete too well with Union farmers of European race, cancel each other, and should both be disregarded.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

System of Native Education.

Native Opinion 7-3-34

(Guy Robertson)

The worlds authorities on educational problems have roundly condemned the system of education prescribed for the Bantu in South Africa. Professor B. Malinowski (London University) discussing African Education at the Witwatersrand University the other day said: "The education given to the Native races in Africa—he would not speak of the Union at all he emphasised—did not enhance their respect for the white man The fault seemed to lie in the fact that that education aimed more at making the educated Native useful, not so much to himself as for the European. There was detribalisation and the disintegration of the Native had set in, but by building on the foundations of Native African indigenous life, the Native's marvellous capacity for development could lead to something worth while for the Native and the present European master, who depended on Native labour and Native good will for very much.

To-day the Europeans were masters, and leaders, and at times, real and honest guides, but the question seemed to be along which lines Native education should be directed. That was an important question to decide, for education was an integral part of statesmanship and one of its most effective tools.

The aim of education had to be clear, and when carried to its logical conclusion, it was evident that the status which education gave should be the status of citizenship allowed to the Native who had reached the standard of education. The education of the African on African lines should not mean merely dressing him as a puppet for the amusement of princes and other notabilities that visit the territory, but ought to mould his character according to his racial ability.

To-day the white man had robbed the Native of his birthright and had turned him into a farm hand, a mere worker or an industrial help and in some cases was rearing him for "gun fodder" to fight the white man's battles in the white man's country. The training which the Native received was a training which aimed, very unfortunately, more to the benefit of the master than that of the trained Native himself.

Many anthropologists argued that there was an inherent racial inferiority in the Native and said he was incapable of higher education. That belief he would explode, said Professor Malinowski. It was, however, beyond the point whether the Native was the mental equal of the European. It had been proved in the United States and in South Africa that the Native could conduct his own higher educational institutions with ability. He had been proved to be a good doctor and lawyer too. But he was compelled in Africa to compete with the European, whose standard of living was higher. That meant, in reality, that the produced more goods at a lower cost.

AFRICAN CULTURE.

European education was not perfect, and the question of Native education resolved itself into the question of whether the mould into which it should be cast ought to be African, European or a mixture of both. There undoubtedly was much in the culture of the African which could be extracted and applied in his education to great advantage to-day. The so-called European education given to the Native to-day was sheer humbug. The Natives had an education which they used to great advantage in the past. It seemed that a purely African education was impossible, however. Moreover, education was not mere teaching. It meant sharing common and family life. In the European's endeavour to teach the Native, this principle was neglected. The civilisation of the white man was merely dangling something fine before the Native but withheld its realities from him. The Native was not allowed to share the European's family life. In other words, he was deprived of what the white man gave to his own child, the nursery environment and mixed social entertainments.

The present temper of a large section of European society made it impossible to say with truth that the Native is being educated on European lines because he was withheld the status that that education gave the white man. It was a system creating a cast, a dangerous schooling.

HAPPY COMPROMISE.

There should be a more or less happy compromise between the African and European cultures, in the new education. An endeavour should be made to take from Native culture what was useful and could be made adaptable. The European was doing just the opposite to-day and undermining the the Native's faith in what was his own and in himself. Even things from the Native's religious beliefs could be extracted and applied to advantage in the faith of the European, as, for instance, the respect for parents revealed in ancestor worship.

It was both logical and desirable to give the Native more elbow room and to go some way back to his pre-detribalised past and take from it what was good for his government and give him back some of his former tribal lands. Indirect rule in certain territories was given to the Native only on paper and then the Native was expected to be a perfect angel. At the same time he was taxed in an iniquitous way. He was forced into greater responsibilities without the opportunities to carry out those responsibilities, being deprived of the necessary power and money. The European cheated the Native and his granting of so-called indirect rule meant that responsibility without benefits was given to the Native."

CISKEIAN GENERAL COUNCIL.

PROMINENT LANDMARK IN NATIVE ADMINISTRATION.

Monday, the twenty-third day of July 1934 will go down in history as a red letter day for marking the progress of Bantu development in self-administration this side of the Kei River. An assembly of 100 notable Europeans and double that number of Natives met at the Native Commissioner's Courtroom, King William's Town punctually at 2.30 p.m. under the chairmanship of Major M. G. Apthorp, Chief Native Commissioner (Ciskei) as personal witnesses of the establishment of the Ciskeian General Council. The relevant acts under whose authority this Bantu parliament has come to being are the Native Affairs Act No. 23 of 1920 and the Native Administration Act No. 38 of 1927. The constituent local and district councils are those of the districts of Glen Grey, Herschel, Tamacha, Keiskama Hoek, Victoria East, Peddie, Middledrift and East London. A full muster of Native local councillors from the several districts, and a considerable number of Native intellectuals from the urban centres were convincing proof of the keen interest taken in the proceedings. Notable among the European well-wishers present were the Mayor of King William's Town (Cr. Bryson) the local representatives in the Legislature Senator F. Ginsberg, A. C. V. Baines, M. P., C. Malcomess Esq. M.P.C. J. Mould Young Esq. Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories with his official consort and suite of four Native councillors from the Transkei; W. T. Welsh Esq., M.P.C. (East London North)., Dr. A. W. Roberts the Bishop of Grahamstown (Bishop Cullen), R. W. Rose Innes Esq., Dr. Wilkie Principal of Lovedale, Mr. J. Darlow Actg. Principal, Fort Hare College, Rev. J. Lennox, Professor Jabavu and many others who travelled long distances to attend.

After the Chairman's reading of prayer, interpreted into Xosa by Mr. Geo. W. Tyamzashe, the singing of the Lord's Prayer in the vernacular enhanced the dignity of the opening ceremony with its appropriateness. A well reasoned and thought-inspiring inaugural speech was delivered by the Chairman, and at 2.54 p.m. he declared the first Ciskeian General Council opened. Letters and telegrams of apologies for inability to attend were read from the Minister of Native Affairs, the Secretary for Native Affairs (Mr. D. L. Smit), the Director of Native Labour, Johannesburg, Chief Native Commissioner (Natal), Director of Native Agriculture and others.

The following gentlemen were then asked to make short speeches in connection with the Bunga opening: Mayor of King William's Town, J. M. Young Esq., Mr. C. K. Sakwe, A. C. V. Baines Esq., M.P. Dr. A. W. Roberts W. T. Welsh Esq. M.P.C., the Bishop of Grahamstown; and Councillor Emmett Mahonga of Glen Grey replied to the speakers in suitable words supported by Councillor Mzimba (Alice). Between the speeches, Major Apthorp made humorous observations about the idiosyncracies of some of the speakers, and a caustic remark about the terrible condition of the roads in the Transkei which he characterised as the worst in the world but were not controlled by the Transkei Bunga. Details of the addresses by individuals are to be found in the Xosa columns of this impression; and herein we content ourselves with giving a full report of the Chairman's opening address which reads:—

The history of our Native councils in this area is, with one exception, not of long standing. The Glen Grey District Council was established under the Glen Grey Act of 22nd January, 1895, and has performed conspicuous service for that district. No further district councils were created under the Glen Grey Act, and it was not until after the passing of the Native Affairs Act of 1920 that local councils were established for the Tamacha and Middle Drift areas in 1926, for the Peddie and Victoria East districts in 1927, for Keiskama Hoek district in 1928, for Herschel in 1930, and for the East London district in 1932.

The benefits of the council system have been very quickly recognised by the Native people of this area. The local councils, under the guidance of the Native Commissioners, have soon developed a sense of responsibility and a very proper desire to serve the interests of the people. The best men have nearly always been chosen as councillors and a great deal of useful work has been accomplished in such matters as the construction and maintenance of roads and stock dams, the improvement of domestic water supply, the fencing of groups of allotments, the construction of dipping tanks and maintenance of dipping, the destruction of noxious weeds and the prevention of soil erosion.

For some time there has been a feeling among the more progressive councillors that the time was ripe for the establishment of a General Council system, which, while preserving the independence of local councils in the purely local services, would admit of the creation of a representative body which would have control of matters of wider and more general importance, such as health and sanitation, afforestation, the advancement of scholastic and medical services.

In addition to these functions it was urged that a general council would provide a means of discussing many important matters of public interest relating to economic, industrial or social conditions of the people, and of considering any proposed legislation or existing law specially affecting the Natives.

Two conferences were held at the end of 1932 and during 1933, and after very careful consideration and consultation with all the local councils a constitution was drafted which was designed to give effect to the wishes of the delegates on the lines which I have just indicated. The draft constitution was accepted unanimously by all the Councils and finally received the sanction of his Excellency the Governor-General on the 9th March, 1934.

The deliberations in these conferences were marked by a spirit of goodwill and generosity on the part of all those who took part in it which augurs well for the future. The original motion for the establishment of the General Council came from the Glen Grey district, which possesses the oldest and most opulent of all our Councils, and it will not be out of place for me to pay tribute to that Council for their breadth of vision, which contributed largely to the successful conclusion of this matter.

Great changes and developments have taken place in Native administration in this area during the last five years. The system of land tenure has been reorganised and despite initial difficulties Native landowners now appreciate the fact that they are able to register transfers, for a nominal fee, in the the Native Deeds Registry established here.

A Native Agricultural School has been built by the Department from Native Development Account funds at Fort Cox, with about 80 students, who receive a thorough training in the different branches of agriculture. When these young men return to their homes it is certain that their influence will be felt in the improvement of agricultural conditions in the locations.

To-day nearly 50 trained Native agricultural demonstrators are working in the locations and their services are greatly appreciated by the people.

The opportunity has now been provided for free discussion on all matters affecting your life, your customs, and your laws. This will be a benefit not only to those who are governed but also to those who govern, and perhaps one of the most valuable features of an institution of this sort is the fact that Magistrates and Native Councillors sit as members of one council. learn from each other, and develop a better mutual understanding.

You may be assured that there are many in this great country who will look with interest and sympathy upon the efforts which you will make to improve the conditions of the people whom you have the honour to represent.

I have every confidence that you will worthily carry out your responsibilities, with proper dignity, and with credit to yourselves and your people.

I now declare the first session of the Ciskeian General Council open

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Status Act Humbug.

Native Opinion

In the Eurafrican newspaper "The Sun," a correspondent, Mr. Matt. J. Fredericks writes as follows:—

"It is certainly amusing to me to see our Parliamentarians posing as great constitutional lawyers, and endeavouring to explain and interpret the Status Act and the Seals Act. 8-7-34

"Knowing the qualifications of most of the members of Parliament for the Western Cape and Eastern Cape constituencies, I make bold to say that only two amongst them can be looked upon as being able to make anything like a decent attempt to exolain the position.

"Some of the members have the unfortunate habit of indulging in personalities. The old saying of: 'When you have a weak case to put to your audience, say as little as possible, but ridicule your opponents,' is pretty well played out in politics. Such tactics can certainly not be employed in connection with the very serious questions before the country and when the masses are seriously thinking over the situation.

"Generally speaking, there is dissatisfaction as the result of the passing op the Status Act and the Seals Act. This will reveal itself in time.

"The representatives of the Native electors in the Cape Province have already met on several occasions to consider the position, and at a recent conference some strongly worded resolutions were adopted against the Act, which made such far-reaching and radical changes in the Act of Union, particularly where it affects the non-Europeans.

"I notice that a highly respected gentleman of high legal standing has just ventured a statement, viz., that in spite of the Status Act and the Seals Act, the position in regard to the safeguard of the non-European has not been altered in the least, and that the clause in the Act of Union, providing for a two-thirds majority to alter the Franchise of the non European, still remain the 'sheet anchor.'

"The 'Cape Times' was quick to use the statement in support of its interpretation of the Acts, and I presume that our members of Parliament felt satisfied with the position, because the 'Cape Times' used the statement as a pretext to launch another of its futile attacks on those who had the courage to express their own interpretation of certain clauses in the Acts.

"Let me predict that the passing of the Status Act is only a preliminary of greater changes that will follow.

"Many of our people have short memories, and it may therefore be necessary for me to remind them of the fact that when General Hertzog decided upon forming a Coalition Government, with the object of eventually bringing about the fusion of parties, he plainly stated at several meetings of Nationalists in the Free State, **that their party could never hope to pass the Native Bills and the Coloured People's Rights Bill** alone, because they were unable to provide the majority of two-thirds. But if there is a 'samesmelting' of the Nationalist and South African Party, then it would be possible to pass the Bills in question.

"'Samesmelting,' or to use the latest term 'fusion,' will become an accomplished fact when the Union Conferences of the two parties meet. Will any Parliamentarians then still maintain that the much vaunted sheet anchor has not been weakened to the extent that it will then be possible for General Hertzog to obtain the two-thirds majority necessary to alter the non-European Franchise?

"When are Coloured leaders of Coloured people going to make a move in the direction of putting the true position to the people, and perhaps decide upon what political action to adopt for the future?"

Native Educational Policy Undefined.

Native Opinion

The system of handling the education of the Bantu races by the State has brought forth strong comment from sources that are regarded as authoritative in this and other countries. The Bishop of Johannesburg (Bishop Geoffrey H. Clayton) recently unwittingly confirmed the opinions expressed by Professor B. Malinowski of the London University in lectures on Native education. The former critic employed simple but telling language about the one-sidedness of the Government's policy, from the political as well as Christian point of view. He said:—

"What is the reason of this starvation of Native education," the Bishop asked. "Is its purpose that the Natives may remain hewers of wood and drawers of water for an aristocratic minority so as to make competition impossible? The teaching of history is that such a policy results in the moral degradation of the so-called aristocratic minority, but as Christians we must put our protest against this policy on higher grounds than self-interest."

Education, Bishop Clayton remarked, was to fit people to make the most of life, but who was to be educated? God was no respecter of persons, but the Government certainly was. "The education of the European is compulsory and free," he continued; "the education of the Native is voluntary and has to be paid for. The Natives pay one million and a quarter pounds in poll tax towards their education. They get back £600,000. No doubt they receive benefits from the State in other ways. I suppose the pick-up van costs something."

TOO FEW TEACHERS.

"It is not only that they are treated in this matter worse than the European. They are far less generously than the Coloured and Asiatic people. The dice are loaded against them all the time."

No sooner had the two authorities above-mentioned relieved themselves of their sound and irrefutable convictions, came a counterblast from a member of the Legislative Assembly, Mr. F. C. Sturrock M.P. In this, an attempt is made to justify the system by drawing the parallel of slow educational development in England 400 years ago; and obviously Mr. Sturrock's advice is to tackle the problem as steadily as circumstances in England necessitated the slow development. After reprobating the learned Bishop for his "rather unbishoplike language" Mr. Sturrock concludes by stating that: "When they were working along these lines and were trying all they could he resented the suggestion that they were "loading the dice against the Natives." **"The Native had to be educated to make himself a useful citizen in a White community.** Whether the Native liked it or not South Africa was going to be a White community and the

Native had to adapt himself to the White because the White was certainly not going to adapt himself to the Native." How strangely true have the opinions of Prof. Malinowski proved to be about the attitude of Europeans in the Union in educating Natives. There is no better reply to Mr. Sturrock's remarks that "whether the Native liked it or not, South Africa was going to be a White community and the Native had to adapt himself to the White because the White was certainly not going to adapt himself to the Native," than this excerpt from Prof. Malinowski's recent lecture: "The present temper of a large section of European society made it impossible to say with truth that the Native is being educated on European lines because he was withheld the status that education gave the White man. It was a system creating a cast, a dangerous schooling."

"The European cheated the Native, and his granting of so-called indirect rule meant that responsibility without benefits was given to the Native."

We would finally suggest in all seriousness that our members of Parliament take heed of the unbiassed advice given by educationists, for a rational policy can only be struck only on their findings rather than that education be made a party political question by opportunists who know precious little about European education itself.

An Urgent Appeal.

(Contributed).

As the result of a disastrous fire which took place recently in its main buildings the University of Stellenbosch suffered a very severe loss. The fire, which was, according to be ief, caused by a short circuit, spread towards the portion of the building used by the Department of African Languages and totally destroyed its research library of precious books. The extent of the loss cannot be estimated with any accuracy, seeing that so many books were original or un-reprinted editions, and cannot be replaced, or, if so, only with considerable expense. The long list includes complete series of periodicals and books, comparative or otherwise, dealing with the philology and phonetics of Native languages, traditions, history and ethnology of tribes, an innumerable number of copies of grammars, handbooks and dictionaries in and connected with the languages and dialects spoken in Africa, and many more. A collection of precious photographic studies of native life was either burnt or destroyed.

The loss suffered by our institution means a severe loss to our country as well. The University kept this library, not for the benefit of specific or one-sided causes, but in the interest of the population as a whole. For the student this library was indispensable, on the one hand because it was one of the great aids towards obtaining a sober and healthy outlook upon our racial problem; on the other hand because he is destined, in his capacity as missionary, lawyer, civil servant, etc., to be in close touch with the Native. The student's perception that a sound scientific and practical training in Native languages is a primary requisite, caused these books to be in continual use.

If there is to be no delay in our work, then it is necessary that educational institutions, the mission, other religious and public bodies,—furthermore, all well-meaning individuals, shall act in union. It is for this reason that we now appeal to the whole of South Africa to support our University with donations of books, and to contribute generously towards our Library Recovery Fund. Missionary societies are further reminded that the Department are anxious to receive letters, documents, old manuscripts, pictures and photographs which have in any way bearing upon the mission. All contributions will be gratefully received and acknowledged by the Secretary, Library Recovery Fund, c/o University, Stellenbosch.

(Sgd.) J. A. ENGELBRECHT.

Stellenbosch,

26th May. 1934.

MORE ABOUT NATIVE WAGES.

In our last article on this subject we referred to the view expressed by the Native Economic Commission concerning the effect of an increase in Native Wages. The Commissioners likewise had much of importance to say regarding the question of the drift to the towns, and in view of the importance of this point as affecting the whole position, it is important to note their observations.

"The Natives are by nature and tradition a rural people." states their report," and the pressure in South Africa because of their love of a rural life has to be much greater to urge them to town than it has to be on Europeans to urge them there. When the policy recommended by your Commission has been carried to a successful issue, Natives in rural conditions will have achieved a standard of living which will appeal and attract them more than their ability in the towns to live on a simple European standard, and any question of accentuating the drift to the towns will cease to be of importance. In the meantime, however, there are the urgent problems in the towns which must be attended to, and these cannot wait for successful application of the policy recommended by your Commission in respect of the Reserves. It would appear that at least one urban authority has not been unmindful of the underlying truth of this statement. A general wage regulation for unskilled workers in Bloemfontein we are told, has not resulted in an increased migration of Natives to that town. On the contrary, the tendency has been in the other direction."

The correspondent to whom we have previously referred says that there appears to be no sound reason why the existing laws relating to the regulation of wages and con ditions of employment should not be made to apply to Natives in industries affected by those laws, but, as the Native Economic Commission points out, due care should be taken not to proceed so rapidly as to prevent trade and industry from being able to adapt themselves to the changes. There will, we believe, be general agreement with the opinion that the Union will not be enriched by keeping the Native poor, and few will combat the assertion that an increased capacity among the Natives to produce wealth cannot impoverish the European. On the contrary it will give the latter greater opportunity. As we emphasised some time ago, one of the chief factors in driving the Natives into the towns is the necessity of paying taxes, which in many cases constitutes a terrible hardship. We know only too well what happens to those who cannot pay. It all results from the lowness of wages.

Our correspondent advances an irrefutable argument when he says that the question of Native wages and spending power is not merely an urban matter. It is of national importance. Under special legislation, farmers in this country are compelled to export huge quantities of butter, maize and sugar, which are sold overseas at ridiculous prices. Yet thousands, if not millions of our people are unable, through lack of money, to purchase the major portion of these very products. This, to our way of thinking, is all wrong. It is beyond cavil that increased wages means not only greater spending power, but greater efficiency. More important still, it would result in the elimination of dissatisfaction and tend to promote a better feeling between employer and employed.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

S.S. SPEAKS TO THE PEOPLE

The Comet (Mochochonono)

8-1-34

Maseru

Basutoland

Ladies and gentlemen -- of course I mean you natives, blinking natives, generation of vampires, thou cursed and God-forsaken members of humanity (including myself of course); you dark skinned untouchables.

Ho! all shut up! what are you grunting for? don't stare at me like that either, look at them black, blue, and khaki faces threatening to swallow me whole! I don't believe you could do it my dear friends, You can't swallow light break fast.

For the first time in my long life, I have lost my temper and cannot find it. I have looked everywhere for it but all in vain — ransacked all my pockets, looked in the cupboards and drawers, under my bedstead, in the pantry and the kitchen, I have looked into bottles and suacepans and all the likely places, but my temper is nowhere to be found. Possibly I lost it in town yesterday afternoon. I therefore appeal to the public for assistance. Whoever shall pick up my temper and restore it to me safe and sound, a reward of £100. is waiting for him.

Many of you will ask themselves — what is the value of this madman's temper that he should offer such a big reward?. My temper is a precious thing to keep and a dangerous thing to lose. Some of you can find their temper as easily and as quickly as they lost it, but when I lose my temper the whole world has to help me to find it.

Look here ladies and gentlemen, I am a man of common sense, I preach common sense and live up to it My temper is always sealed up in me, when ever I burst with it there is big very, very-very-big trouble.

This is the cause of the loss of my temper. I am the pot, the Union Government is the kettle, and the kettle says the pot is black. Do you understand? if you don't go and buy more brains please, and if you have no money, go and steal them or kill some fool and take his

It is floating in the air that the Union Government complains that Basuto of Basutoland go into the Union, thereby exporting from Basutoland and importing into the Union lice by the million, thus inoculating the Union natives with typhus; and as a result of this complaint, the Basutoland Government has made an order that every Mosuto (without any discrimination whatsoever) who goes into the Union, must be examined by a medical officer and certified clean, healthy, and free of vermin. Then he can be provided with a pass to go out of Basutoland.

Now, therefore, with the voice in me larynx, the good brains in me skull (generously and liberally given me by Providence) and the pen in my hand - bought out of my savings - I shall shout me-self hoarse, meditate me-self mad, and write till I don't know what and why I am writing.

First of all is the Union Government playing the game in making such a complaint? If it were on a football field and I were the referee, I should certainly blow up the Union Government for a malicious foul, committed with intent to do grievous bodily harm, and perhaps order them off the field. If it were a court case and I were the judge, I would recommend capital punishment.

If it be true that typhus is caused by lice and lice by squalor, and the latter more or less caused by poverty etc., are all the Union natives well-to-do, clean, and free of lice? - what about the deplorable housing and living conditions of the farm labourers? is it only the Basutoland breed of lice that is capable of causing such a disease? if not, what right has the Union Government to make such a sweeping statement?

Ladies and gentlemen, this has occasioned the loss of my temper. I do think it an insult. What is the difference between a Basutoland louse and Union one? am I right or wrong in presuming that around Basutoland typhus infected louse was arrested in the Union and traced to have come from Basutoland riding on a Basutoland native? if by any chance such is the position, then the right step that the Union Govt. should have taken would have been to parade all the natives in the Union and to ask the louse to identify the native it was riding on. This duly effected, deport the horse and the rider and then lodge a complaint. Such should have been a reasonable procedure.

The Comet (Mochochonono)

Maseru

Basutoland

Now, the Basutoland Govt. Perhaps you are right Sirs in complying with the Union Government's wishes. But, after celebrating 100 years of civilization in this territory, are we all the same? should such an order as you have made be without a clause of discrimination? we have our qualified medical officers in the country and decent well educated Basuto; I suppose being natives, they have to carry certificates proclaiming them clean and free of ice?

Fancy a qualified medical officer carrying such a certificate — it is enough to make one throw stones at his grandmother, enough to make a cat laugh.

If ever I could take a trip to heaven - return of course - what a representation I would make to God! I would also ask for a change of colour if I am asked why, I should say: This cursed black hide hangs like a millstone around my neck and always threatens to drown me in the sea of humanity, please make me as white as snow.

The Comet (Mochochonono)

Native Languages.

Addressing the New Education Fellowship Conference held in Johannesburg recently on the subject of languages Rev. K. T. Motsete, principal of the Tati Training Institution is reported to have said: "A European language is useful as a common medium for Natives of different tribes and languages. It is thus a unifying factor and an eliminator of tribal prejudice. "Mr Motsete is one of the few well educated Africans who are playing the role of the spokesmen for African opinions who can interpret African ideas with more authority than those Europeans who are recognized as authorities on Native languages and customs and his views are rightly entitled to more respect than those of the Europeans.

According to the "*Bantu World*," of the 28th July "European experts on Native Affairs did not agree with Mr Motsete's views. For instance Professor G. P. Lestrade of the University of Pretoria said: 'Our first energies should be bent towards giving the African his own language and what it stands for before attempting to give him other languages. The former is primary and fundamental his make up, the latter secondary and relatively superficial. The African languages are beautiful, expressive and capable of growth and Africans have no reason to be ashamed of them."

It must be admitted that Professor Lestrade has spoken very well of our languages and it is certainly very kind of him to have brought to light the beauty that there is in the African languages and the capability of their growth. As Natives we have never lost sight of this fact but from our point of view there are essential points to be considered and for which we have always insisted that the Natives should consider European languages, especially English as essential in their studies.

It must be remembered that we are a subject race and that English is an official language in South Africa and as such the Africans must need regard it as one of his languages. A few years back in the Union we had Native interpreters in the courts who did their work so well that we had confidence in them. These are being gradually replaced by Europeans who are not giving us satisfaction as they are not efficient in the Native languages and it often occurs that the Native accused suffer punishment though they are innocent of the charge simply because they were misunderstood and cannot express themselves in the official language. That is one important point.

Another point is that Europeans, ever since they came to this continent, have been working hard to convert us to their religion, to educate us and to civilize us. They have been endeavouring to conform us to their own culture and to wean us from our own habits and customs. Their education and culture was given to us in their own language and in their own ways which they understood best and considered best. By accepting their religion we had to throw ours away and regard it with contempt. By accepting their education they encouraged us to look down on our customs and to be ashamed of our forefathers and brothers that had not yet prepared themselves to accept the changing conditions. Everything Native was labelled as savage and heathen and not becoming a christian and an educated person. Religion and western habits and customs were synonymous.

One of the most difficult tasks for a man to do in this world is to break down people's traditions, habits and customs and this fact is proved by the fact that it has taken the Europeans centuries to do this with the Africans. Religion and education alone could have been powerless. They would have taken more time to achieve this. But religion and education had to be assisted by other forces such as commerce and industries and European laws which militated against African customs. All these forces worked with one object of transforming the African from his primitive life into that of his present rulers and leaders.

To-day when they have given in to these influences and are carried away by them the Europeans turn round and taunt them as a foolish people who are ashamed of their customs and languages.

The former educationists had their own objects in formulating their Native educational policies and the present educationists hold different ideas about Native education from their predecessors but all are trying to improve the lot of the Natives.

Times have changed and the Africans are enlightened enough to be able to choose what is best for themselves without having to be told what is best for them by Europeans. Give us education and we shall decide how to deal with our beautiful languages. We can teach the Europeans our languages not that they should teach us our languages. They must give us what we have not and what we ask of them and not that they should attempt to give us what we have already had and which they have not.

The Comet (Machadodorp) 8-1-34

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

THE AFRICAN PROTECTORATES

Parliamentary Committee's Manifesto

The Parliamentary Committee, representative of the three political parties, which was appointed to study the problem involved in the proposed transfer to the Union of South Africa of the Protectorates, has issued a manifesto in which it says that, pending a detailed statement of the views of the Union Government, the Committee is unable to arrive at any conclusion. It offers, however, a statement on the constitutional position which it is hoped will contribute to a satisfactory solution.

The preamble of the South African Act of 1909, says the statement, makes it plain that it was contemplated that eventually the responsibility for the government of Basutoland, or of Bechuanaland, or of Swaziland might be transferred from his Majesty's Government in Great Britain to his Majesty's Government in South Africa. It is important, however, to note carefully the circumstances under which such an eventual transfer was contemplated.

In the first place the transfer is to be to a South African Union under the Crown.

In the second place the time and circumstances of transfer are to be a matter of arrangement between H.M. Government in South Africa and H.M. Government in Great Britain. Each Government has its own responsibility and authority in the matter. This is the case with the South African Government because the matter can only be set in motion by addresses to the Crown from the Houses of Parliament of the Union of South Africa, advised thereto, of course, by the South African Government of the day. But the King cannot accede to the request for transfer except on the advice of the Privy Council at Westminster, that is, except on the advice of his British Ministers; and they, of course, cannot give that advice unless they are assured of the approval and support of Parliament. That is clearly how the present Government at Westminster interpret the Act, for it has been stated* publicly that the assent of Parliament will be necessary to transfer, which means that the definite approval of the House of Commons must be secured.

Original Conditions of Transfer

The schedule to the South Africa Act, 1909, in twenty-five articles, laid down the conditions under which any territory transferred under the terms of section 151 should be governed after transfer. These conditions are very important. Briefly they may be summarised as follows:—

The legislative authority for the Protectorates was to be the Governor General in Council and not the Union Parliament.

The Prime Minister of the Union was charged with the responsibility of administration, advised by a Statutory Commission with an independent status, and governing through Resident Commissioners.

It was made illegal to alienate any land in Basutoland, or any land forming part of the native reserves in Bechuanaland or Swaziland, from the native tribes inhabiting those territories.

The sale of intoxicating liquor to natives was to be prohibited.

The existing native assemblies were to be maintained.

No differential duties or imports were to be levied on the produce of the territories, to which the laws of the Union relating to Customs and Excise were to be applied.

There was to be free intercourse for the inhabitants of the territories with the rest of South Africa subject to the laws, including the pass laws, of the Union.

All revenues derived from the territories were to be expended for and on behalf of these territories.

In addition to these conditions, which laid down the essential principles of government which were to be given effect to after transfer had taken place, there were two other articles, 20 and 25, to which attention should be directed.

Article 20:

The King may disallow any law made by the Governor General in Council by proclamation for any territory within one year from the date of the proclamation, and such disallowance on being made known by the Governor General by proclamation shall annul the law from the day when the disallowance is so made known.

Article 25:

All bills to amend or alter the provisions of this schedule shall be reserved for the signification of his Majesty's pleasure.

The obvious intention of these two articles was to give H.M. Government in Westminster a constitutional opportunity for a friendly exchange of views with H.M. Government in South Africa in respect of the territories after transfer had taken place.

Finally there were certain clauses in the body of the South Africa Act, 1909, the object of which was clearly to give his Majesty's Government at Westminster a status for friendly discussions and negotiations with his Majesty's Government in South Africa if any amendment of the South Africa Act, 1909, was proposed, on which his Majesty's Government at Westminster wished to be heard, and there can be no doubt that all educated natives and their European advisers have attached great importance to these provisions.

The enactment of the Statute of Westminster and of the South African Status Act, 1934, have had a profound effect on all these provisions. Their effect has been to repeal all those sections or articles of the South Africa Act, 1909, which made provision for reservation to, or disallowance by, the King, advised by his Majesty's Government at Westminster. Henceforth the Parliament of the Union of South Africa may repeal or make any amendment it chooses of the sections, and articles of the schedule, of the South Africa Act, 1909, and neither his Majesty's Government nor the Parliament at Westminster will have any constitutional status for expressing any opinion on the subject. But the passage of the Statute of Westminster and of the Status Act, 1934, does not alter the fact that certain basic principles for the future government of the Protectorates after transfer were agreed between the South African Convention and the British Parliament and ratified by the Parliaments of the four South African colonies, and that the time and conditions of transfer were to be settled by agreement between his Majesty's Government in the Union and his Majesty's Government at Westminster.

The Main Question

The Statute of Westminster and the South African Status Act, 1934, however, will certainly be a matter of profound interest to the natives of the Protectorates, whose views have to be taken into account before transfer takes place. For the native inhabitants of the Protectorates can no longer regard the schedule of the South Africa Act, 1909, as their safeguard. Moreover, they cannot fail to consider the attitude of the South African Government and Parliament to those sections of the South Africa Act, 1909, which affect the natives living within the Union and which we have set forth in this memorandum. The question which will fill the minds of the native inhabitants of the Protectorates is this:

> What is going to be the permanent and deliberately adopted policy of the Government and Parliament of the Union of South Africa towards all South African natives, whether at present living within the territories of the Union or within the territories of the Protectorates?

Nothing else will seem as important to them as the answer to this question. At present they do not know, and cannot know, the answer. For this momentous problem was referred several years ago by the Parliament of South Africa to a Select Committee, on which all parties comprised within the South African Parliament are represented, but the committee has not yet reported.

In this connection it is important to note that his Majesty's Government of Great Britain have publicly* pledged themselves not to transfer any of these territories until they have given an opportunity both to the native and European inhabitants of these territories to express their opinion on the proposed transfer. His Majesty's Government of Great Britain have never adopted the position that they will not transfer the territories unless the inhabitants of those territories consent to transfer, but they have definitely promised those inhabitants that they shall be heard on the subject and that any representations they may make shall be duly considered. It does not seem reasonable to ask either the native or the European inhabitants of the territories to express an opinion on the proposed transfer before the report of the Select Committee has been published or before they know the native policy which the South African Government and Parliament have adopted.

"Given to the Union"

In recent discussions in South Africa on the subject of the transfer of the Protectorates the opinion has been expressed that the native territories were actually given to the Union at the time of the passing of the South Africa Act, 1909, and that, if the two Houses of the Union Parliament were to pass an address to the King in the terms of section 151 of that Act, their transfer would, as it were, automatically take place. We suggest that this is a misreading of the Act. By the preamble and section 151 of the South Africa Act, 1909, these native territories were not given to the Union of South Africa in 1909, but the way was prepared for an eventual transfer at a time and under circumstances to be mutually agreed between his Majesty's Government in South Africa and his Majesty's Government at Westminster.

We have set forth in a previous paragraph of this memorandum some reasons for holding this opinion, but we are fortified in it by comparing the words of section 151 of the South Africa Act, 1909, with the words of section 150. As section 151 contemplates the eventual transfer of the native Protectorates to the Union of South Africa, so section 150 contemplates the eventual admission into the Union of the territories at that time administered by the British South Africa Company, that is, of Rhodesia. In the case of the native Protectorates certain conditions were settled beforehand between his Majesty's Government at Westminster and the statesmen of South Africa and were embodied in the schedule. In the case of Rhodesia no terms or conditions were settled in advance and therefore it is provided in section 150 that they will have to be settled when the time for admission comes between his Majesty's Government in South Africa and his Majesty's Government at Westminster. But the opening words of section 150 are identical with those of section 151:

> The King, with the advice of the Privy Council, may, on addresses from the Houses of Parliament of the Union, admit into the Union the territories administered by the British South Africa Company, &c.

In fact, the form of sections 150 and 151 are, mutatis mutandis, identical. It is quite clear that Rhodesia was not given to the Union at the time of the passing of the South Africa Act, 1909. Nor were the Protectorates. In both sections alike the words "with the advice of the Privy Council" provided the constitutional opportunity for the Government and Parliament of Great Britain to consult with the Government and Parliament of South Africa upon the subject.

Mr. Asquith's Statement

Indeed, what Mr. Asquith said when speaking as Prime Minister on the Second Reading of the South Africa Bill in the House of Commons on August 16, 1909, is conclusive.

> As regards the Protectorates . . . we—I assert this most strongly—stand in the position of trustees with regard to these natives (he went on in very forcible language and then continued) but the important point is that you cannot bring any one of these Protectorates or Territories into a state of subordination to the Union Government or Parliament, as clause 151 shows, unless the King with the advice of the Privy Council—that is, of the Cabinet here—agrees. That is a most proper recognition on the part of the South African communities that the Imperial Government has a voice, and the ultimate voice, in relation to this matter. They do not deny our right in the least; on the contrary, on the very face of the Act they admit it and invite us to exercise it.

The manifesto is signed by Lord Selborne, the chairman, and Mr. V. A. Cazalet, Lord Lothian, and Mr. W. Lunn, hon. secretaries.

Race Problem - 1934

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Indeed, what Mr. Asquith said when speaking as Prime Minister on the Second Reading of the South Africa Bill in the House of Commons on August 16, contrary, on the very face of the Act they admit it and invite us to exercise it.

The manifesto is signed by Lord Selborne, the chairman, and Mr. V. A. Cazalet, Lord Lothian, and Mr. W. Lunn, hon. secretaries.

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Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika.

For many years now the Bantu of the Union have made it a practice to sing a stanza of an indigenous hymn at the end of their public gatherings as a substitute for "God Save the King."

The hymn makes no pretensions to being in any way original in conception nor peculiar in its harmonies, but slavishly follows the hackneyed tenor of Sankey's pieces and the usual Native church hymnaries. When members of the Royal family, or the Governor General or any prominent government official holds an indaba with the Africans, the proceedings invariably terminate with the singing of one stanza of "Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika. Just eleven years ago when the first of the now familiar conferences of white and black began, the existence of this hymn was first brought to the attention of Europeans, particularly at the 1930 conference of University Students held at Fort Hare when there followed a demand for the music and words of this attractive Bantu National Anthem which were however, not available. Much conjecture occurred as to its origin until last year a member of the Bantu race made a research investigation into the matter, ascertained the facts and duly had them corroborated by reliable witnesses. The result is that the Lovedale Press has now published this national anthem as a leaflet in both notations along with a photograph of the composer, the late Enoch Sontonga, and a short history by D.D.T. Jabavu of the circumstances under which it came to be written, as well as a translation of the original words and the other stanzas subsequently added by the Xhosa national poet S. E. R. Mqayi, the price being sixpence a copy, postage a penny extra.

From the story given by Professor Jabavu it appears the anthem is already over thirty years of age. It was first used in the Nancefield Location near Johannesburg and then popularised by school choirs and by the African Congresses.

We congratulate the Lovedale Press for meeting this real public demand in a handsome fashion, and feel confident our readers, both black and white, will reciprocate by buying the first impression briskly.

From Africa to America and London.

African women set the fashion in colouring the hand and toe nails. America was the first to follow suit, the first colour to be used on the hands being pink. That was about 25 years ago. Now the colour chart ranges from tomato to oxblood, fire engine red, mahogany, violet, jade green, sapphire blue, platinum, and gold.

With sandals in the forefront of the fashion list, the nails of the feet must match those on the hands. To cope with the demand for this type of beauty treatment, a salon has been opened in London. The manicure and pedicure rooms are comfortably furnished, and all kinds of creams are spread out to tempt the visitors.

A cup of freshly made tea is supplied to each customer. Hairdressers might well adopt this refreshing custom.

DRAIN OF NATIVE LABOUR.

Mining Federation's Protest.

At the annual congress of the Rhodesian Mining Federation held in Salisbury, the following resolution was carried :—" The Federation views with the gravest concern the drain of native labour to the Rand and respectfully requests the Government to take steps to check this as soon as possible."

It was emphasised in the discussion that higher wages on the Rand was causing the drain, which was bad for both farming and mining in Southern Rhodesia.

Mr. Bullock, the Acting Chief Native Commissioner, said that all the native commissioners had been instructed not to issue passes to boys wishing to go to the Union.

Another resolution asked the Government to announce its policy with regard to native labour in view of the decision of the Union Government to remove the embargo on native labour from north of latitude 22 degrees south.

THE MISSION OF THE GOLD COAST DELEGATION TO LONDON.

IX.

If in the judgment of the British Government the time has arrived to grant to the West African Colonies the Franchise, it ought to be a moral obligation that no policy should in any way lead to the irritation of the people as the taking of that particular attitude the use of the "official majority" has invariably done in this Colony and the Gold Coast. It all comes to the obsession of the superiority complex with which some type of Governors are inflicted, that how ever the profession of kindliness and the determination to do justly, there comes a time when they are seized with that germ of political distemper as to let themselves go in the manner which has often caused some bitter experience to the people. It is nothing less than a compromise to the dignity of Government that however cogent and convincing may be the arguments adduced by the people against a certain trend of legislation, the Powers-that-be even though convinced of the weakness of the cause, have felt themselves justified to put on the brake to the intelligence and rational bent of those, who are expected to give every possible assistance by the exercise of their best judgment, but by reason of such a policy, are required to put on such mask of insincerity and unreality just to carry out a given purpose and act against their conscience.

It could be understood that if through imperfect judgment or any other bias indicated by the people, if there may have been clear evidence that the people are disposed to sit on their conscience in order to avert any line of policy, such an expedience may be called into service ; such might be understood as necessary when the times are abnormal ; but it ought not to be in normal times. Criminal Codes and Assessors Ordinance are the products of such an unwarranted stroke of policy ; and the after results have conclusively demonstrated that such course is far from being healthy or successful.

It is not good enough, it is too irrationally expensive ; not simply on the score of finance but it involves the out-put of every possible resources of the people, which might have gone to promote greater unity and harmony between Government and themselves. It should not continue to afford satisfaction to Downing Street that when such a contingency arises the way could always be found for the shift which has caused so much disappointment by the untimely removal of our Governor.

The last two administrations at the Gold Coast, whatever might be said of the ability of the Governors, in other respects, have foundered by the use of the "official majority" against the will of the people, riding rough-shod against their liberty and constitutional rights. Such a contingency ought not to be possible at a time which marks the century of the abolition of that inhuman traffic of slavery and the emancipation of the poor Negroes. In the face of such a reminder which history has afforded, there ought to be found a way by which the present difficulties may be solved other than the use of the "official majority."

Sir Arnold Hodson and his immediate predecessor have usually been able to tide over such difficulties by means of an informal conference with the people's representatives, and since that policy was adopted we in this Colony have been able to effect some amendments, to not only the Assessors Ordinance, but also the establishment of a more reliable Court of Appeal. Even as recently as the occasion of the passing of the V.D. Ordinance, our late Colonial Secretary, Capt. C. E. Cookson C.M.G. adopted such a high stroke of statesmanship by means of an informal conference with representatives of the people, that he was able to ascertain the preponderance of views which has ultimately led to the disapproval by His Majesty the King of the inexpedient legislation.

The Mission of the Gold Coast Delegation will have achieved a measure of its purpose if once and for all, for the benefit of the West African Colonies the question of the use of the Official Majority be strictly limited to quite extreme exigencies if not altogether abolished. The development of the people not only in intelligence but also in the matter of their support to Government by reason of the tax they pay, should justify such a course of administration if British Trusteeship should crystalize into the brilliance and glorious issues for which the British Constitution stands.

We do not accept the immediate turning down of the petition of the Delegates as any cause for dispair. No, not in the least. We read this stroke of policy, as meaning something else. The appointment of Sir Arnold Hodson to the Gold Coast should be an assurance to the Gold Coast People that if with an open mind, they should receive their new Governor, all will eventually be well

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Africa

SENTENCES ON NATIVES.

Natal

In the opinion of competent judges the recent criticisms levelled by Colonel Tatham, an ex-Judge of the Natal Division of the Supreme Court, on the severity of sentences passed on Natives at magistrates' courts, are largely justified. There is undoubtedly a feeling that Natives do not get a fair deal when, for one cause or another, they are brought before the bench.

Well-informed opinion in other parts of the Union outside Natal holds the view that in far too many instances the administration of justice is in the hands of magistrates who do not understand the ways of our people. Added to this is the established fact that in many instances the magistrates are overworked and are therefore unable to give the necessary time and attention to the Native cases. One friend of the Natives, interviewed in Capetown, stated that conditions in the courts are such that the Native, ignorant, undefended and dumb, has no chance of putting forward his side. His silence, bred of a total lack of understanding - in spite of the interpreter - of the meaning of what is happening, and what is expected of him, is taken as an admission of guilt. The size of the fine, based not on the Native's ability to pay, but on the standard of the ordinary European, leaves no option, and the unfortunate Native finds himself in gaol before he realises what has happened. Further, it was emphasised that the fundamental injustice lies in the legal discrimination which makes a criminal offence in the Native what would only be a civil offence in a European.

It is generally acknowledged that our prisons are overcrowded by Natives who, owing to the bad times, have been quite unable to pay their hut tax. Their circumstances are not, apparently, investigated in any way, and they are not allowed time in which to pay. The position is clearly set forth by the gentleman referred to above. "In the country," he says, "magistrates were to be found who were prejudiced in favour of farmers, who were the chief complainants. Many cases of assault brought by Europeans against Natives would upon a thorough investigation, prove to be but self-defence on the part of the Natives under extreme provocation. Even where Europeans were proved to be the aggressors, the fines inflicted upon them were sometimes ridiculously inadequate."

In view of this and other indications of the injustice of the existing practice, lovers of fair play and equity are strongly of opinion that something should be done in the direction of bringing about a change. In this regard it has been suggested that in every large centre there should be a representative of the Native Affairs Department, whose duty it shall be to watch cases brought against Natives in court, and see that they get a fair hearing. It is urged that the very presence of such an official in court would have a salutary effect. It is beyond question that the number of cases in which a Native gets off when defended by an attorney, indicates that more than often it is lack of ability to put forward his case and to stress any extenuating circumstances in connection with the charge that leads to his being convicted. Hence the need for what is known as an official "prisoners' friend is all the greater.

Some three years ago a Judges Conference held in Capetown resolved that all means possible should be adopted for the prevention of the increase of the criminal population, and that to this end the attention of magistrates should be directed to constant endeavour towards keeping persons convicted of petty offences out of gaol by the use of suspended sentences and by inflicting small fines in keeping with the means of the accused. At that time this matter was considered especially in regard to its applicability to the Native population, and as a result there was a marked diminution in gaol admissions, in spite of the fact that the number of criminal cases increased considerably.

Now that this matter has been brought so forcibly to the notice of the Government, it is not too much to expect that there will be a full investigation into the whole question, with a view to preventing those miscarriages of justice which have aroused so much feeling not only among our own people but among the European public.

Justice in European Courts

The Court

Our Leribe correspondent reports that a native was assaulted by a European shop assistant in one of the stores in Leribe Camp because he happened to refer to the European as a white man using the common Sesuto expression for a whiteman namely "lekhooa." The Native brought a charge of assault against the European. After evidence was heard the court found the accused not guilty on the ground that he had been given sufficient provocation to commit the assault or something amounting to that.

If the report of our correspondent is correct it shows how little some of the Government officials know of the Sesuto language and how little they know of the customs of the natives. According to evidence it appears that two native youngmen entered the store for the purpose of buying a blanket. As usual the blankets were taken down from the shelves and placed on the counter for them to pick out what appealed to them most. After handling them and considering the colour and quality they decided on one and the poor Native happened to say: "This will do let the white man wrap it up!" thereupon the accused came up to him and hit him with a clenched fist in the face.

We cannot understand how the court could have considered the expression to be an insult when referred to a European. If the European concerned had resented the use of the expression he could have advised the Native concerned. There is absolutely nothing offensive in the use of this word that a gentleman could be so heated as to hit the poor Native unless there be some offensive adjectives that were used to qualify the word, But according to the report it appears all was going on well until that word "Lekhooa" was used.

The word "lekhooa" means "Lumela lekhooa" meaning "I greet you white-man in the correct sense of the word and proper man;" and why the Europeans of to-day should regard the word as offensive and the law to justify an assault arising out of the use of this word is a matter of great surprise. There is nothing vulgar or derisive about it. When Mr Casalis one of the first missionaries that came to Basuto land arrived at Thaba Bosiu, Moshoeshoe, father of the Basuto nation, in greeting him said: "Very offensive and insulting expressions are commonly used by the Europeans against the Natives such as

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The word "lekhooa" means "lekhooa." There is absolutely a whiteman in the correct sense of the word. There is nothing offensive in the use of this word and proper sense of the word vulgar or offensive. When Mr Casalis came to Basuto and the first mission at Thaba Bosiu, one of the first words he used to the land arrived at Moshoeshoe, father of the Basuto nation, in greeting him said: "Lumela lekhooa." Very offensive and insulting expressions are commonly used by the Europeans against the Natives such as

"boy" "niger" and vulgarisms but the Natives have always swallowed them with remarkable patience and when they had courage to object against them they did it without losing their heads. When they complained to the authorities about the use of these expressions and vulgarisms by Europ ans against them they were told that they didn't mean anything but here is a case in which a harm ess word has been used and a poor Native is assaulted for it and the court justifies the assault on the ground that the accused had been insulted.

This incident may be considered to be of less importance to merit any comment but it must be kept in mind that it is little thin s that grow into big things. It is said a small worm kills a big tree. The British Government is famous for its just and fair treatment towards its just and fair treatment towards its subjects irrespective of class, creed or colour but it is such incidents as these however small they may be that savour of injustice that may undermine the reputation of the whole empire.

It is essentail that the authorities in Basutoland should aim at gaining the confidence of the people in their charge, and it is essential that in administering justice they must try and let the Natives f el and believe that justice is meted out in the European courts without fear or favour. In this particular case the victim of the assault and oth r Natives who know the meaning of the expression used and that it is inoffensive have had their confidence in the justness of the European courts greatly shaken. Already among the Natives of South Africa there is a common saying that European courts may administer justice without fear or favour when there is a case between white and white or between black and black but when there is a case between white and black there is no hope for the poor black and such incidents as above go to strengthen this belief with the result that the respect due to the European courts is lost.

Starvation in Basutoland.

The Cornet

Starvation in B sutoland is getting worse and worse. It has been going on for such a long time that the people are becoming desperate and there seems to be no hope of immediate improvement. The outlook appears to be more serious than most people are aware. Reports of people perishing from starvation in the countryside are becoming more and more common though it had been expected that improvement shall have set in by now.

Disease is also prevalent and hastens the death of those who have already been weakened by shortage of meals. This is not strange considering that starvation is often followed by pestilences in its trail. Lack of nourishment weakens the body and a weak body bec mes an easy prey to d sease. Medical practitioners have often advised people to keep clean because the disease carrying germs flourish well in squalid surroundings or among the dirty people. It follows therefore that starving people who have no means of buying food for consumption cannot afford to buy soap for washing their clothes and must in consequence, be dirty and their bodies exposed to the various kinds of dis ase. For this reason typhus fever which is a disease for dirty and lice-infested people is verulent in the territory and is causing many deaths. The result is that the medical officers are taunting the Basuto by saying that they are a dirty people who say that they live with lice and that lice live on them. So great is the distress of the Basuto people.

When the beneficient rain started in November last we en ertained hopes that we all shall plant mealies and have something to eat before many months were over. The prospect appeared promising. But as they say man proposes and God disposes. In spite of the rains that hav transformed the territory from a desert that it had already turned to be and made it on e more a beautiful and ferti e country with tall grasses and good grazings, yet th crops are not as good as had been expected There was so much rain that the ground became water-logged and the crops suffered as a result.

As the rains had come late for sowing the planting of mealies was not sufficient for the needs of the territory There will not be sufficient harvest for consumption. The stock that escaped from drought was in most cases exchanged for mealies and has been driven into the Union markets. That being the posit on it is evident th people will not have sufficient live-stock to exchange for food as the territory is already impoverished, It is quite obvious therefore that the Government will continue its relief scheme.

As we have already stated there has not been sufficient planting of mealies, and in some places there is every likelyhood of the crops suffering from early frosts, An ther evil with which the people are confronted is the wave of thieving that is going of fresh mealies. It is so bad that in certain places it is reported that some lands are practically cleaned of all the mealies grown. The Government Officials and the chiefs appear to be baffled a d do not know what to do What is feared is that unless some strong measures are taken to check it, it will be so rooted that it will turn into a constant danger to the future progress of t e territory for when the people are driven to such desparation as to band themselves int gangs of robbers and have gone on a career of crime nobody can fathom where this will end. The fact is that if criminals are al owed to t ke it into their heads that they can commit crime with impunity it will be a difficult and expensive business afterwards to sweep the territory clean of crime.

Another danger with which the Basuto are facing is that prolonged starvation is likely to demoralise them and it will take years and years before their country can regain the wealth they had enjoyed before this. There is a dark and onimous cloud hanging over the territory and we are hoping that the authorities are giving the situation their serious attention.

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The South African Protectorates

General Hertzog announces that the South African Government is considering sending a Note to the British Government "urging the immediate "transference of the native protec- "torates of Bechuanaland, Swaziland, "and Basutoland to the Union in "accordance with the provisions of the "South Africa Act." That Act provides that "the King, with the "advice of the Privy Council, may, "on addresses from the Houses of "Parliament of the Union, transfer to "the Government of the Union any "territories . . . . belonging to or "under the protection of his Majesty, "and inhabited wholly or in part by "natives." The proposal indicated is not unexpected, and it will involve an important discussion on the future of the protectorates. But there can be no question of entertaining it without adequate safeguards that the status of the million or so natives affected will in perpetuity be as secure under Union as under British rule. The protectorates were formed and have been maintained for the express purpose of preserving to the natives their land and their tribal customs. Demands for their incorporation in surrounding territory have been made before, by the South Africa Company and by the old republics, and they have rightly been resisted. The coming into being of the Union of South Africa in 1910 in no way altered the position, except in so far as it inspired hopes that the new State might develop a native policy sufficiently liberal to attract the tribes in the protectorates to share in its benefits. The tendency, unfortunately, has been in the reverse direction, and the chiefs have made it amply clear that they would to-day regard the handing over of our trust as a betrayal of our promises no less than at any time in the past. The British Government has given no hint that it considers the time in sight when such a transfer can justly be made. Clearly it must await better assurances of native welfare than are available at present.

A BLOW AT THE COLOUR BAR.

The proposed medical training will be at Fort Hare Native College, and will be financed largely by a grant of £75,000 from the Chamber of Mines, "in recognition of the services rendered by the Native peoples to the gold mining industry"—a step which other mining groups might well follow. The Government, by promising also to assist in training oversea a selected number of fully qualified Native doctors, will be making a wide breach in the battlements of the Colour Bar, and marking a great advance. It will be recognising that, as Professor Westermann points out, it is illogical to permit Native journalists and yet to boggle at Native doctors. This new departure will open a great, and eminently suitable, field for Native progress in a direction in which it is badly needed throughout the continent; and it will provide the Union Government with a bridge between a hitherto repressive Colonial policy—as natural and inevitable in the early days as it is untenable to-day—and the experimental humanity of the Imperial Government. It gives hope for the future, where hitherto there has been no more than a dream, and it opens up a vision of a possible British Africa one day with no dividing line at the Limpopo, Zambezi, Lake Tanganyika, or anywhere else. East Africa has much to learn from South African experience. The South can likewise profit by East African experiments.

Native Education Scandal.

The Native Affairs Commission has reported that the fund from which Native education is financed is bankrupt. What a catastrophe!! The General Tax from which this fund is drawn was imposed as from the year 1926, and it was then calculated to bring in £1,125,000 a year, £900,000 of which was to go into general revenue, the remaining £225,000 to the Native Development Fund. It was agreed that £340,000 should be added to the former amount. An annual increase was projected of 2 per cent which would in a measure meet increasing costs of Native education. From 1931—32 the revenue however dropped from £1,244,000 to £1,135,000; the year 1932—33 showing a further decrease of £1,053,000. On the other hand Native scholars have increased from 182,647 in 1921 to 308,000 in 1932. It now transpires that the education grant should have been increased annually by £27,000; but, says the report, the increase has never been greater in one year than £8,000, and latterly there has been no increase at all.

It is reported on good authority that Government has no intention of providing additional funds for Native education in this year's estimate. This in spite of the fact that for years Native education has been starved and Bantu teachers' emoluments cut to a level that is on the border line of starvation. European and Coloured men in the same profession have had their salaries restored to the pre-cut basis. This onslaught on Bantu educational development takes place in a year of the Government's rich harvest of taxation of the gold mines which yielded a surplus of several million pounds. The irony of the situation is in the fact that the favourable economic position of the mines is due to nothing else but the cheap black labour, where miners, commonly called "boys," are being paid pre-war wages.

We whole-heartedly associate ourselves with the timely resolutions of the Ciskei Missionary Council which met here in King Williams Town last month, on this subject. They read as follows :—

"The Ciskei Missionary Council, representative of the missionary bodies in the Ciskei districts, having knowledge that no additional funds have been allocated to Native education in the estimates for 1934–5, and as a consequence,

(1) long overdue developments are hereby indefinitely postponed;

(2) the cuts in the salaries of the Native teachers, necessitated by the recent depression, cannot be restored, although those of all European teachers and of European and Coloured teachers in Native institutions have already been adjusted,

characterises this as unjustifiable in a year of plenty, and a serious hurt to a national service in the face of representations made by responsible officials and the Native Affairs Commission.

"This failure on the part of the Government to contribute its full share as partner with the missionaries in the national service of Native education prompts the Ciskeian Missionary Council to call upon all men and women of goodwill to bring the matter to the immediate notice of the responsible Ministers and the legislature of the Union."

THE AFRICAN PROTECTORATES

Mr. Thomas's Statement

Mr. J. H. Thomas (Nat. Lab.—Secretary for the Dominions) made a statement in the House of Commons on Monday on the report that the South African Government is considering sending a Note to the British Government asking the transfer of the native protectorates of Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Basutoland to the Union of South Africa.

Mr. Thomas said:

"I have received no communication from the Union Government concerning General Hertzog's statement in the Union Parliament, but in view of the press reports it may be convenient to state the position of his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.)

"When the South Africa Bill was before the House of Commons in 1908 the then Under Secretary of State for the Colonies stated on behalf of the Government that the House would have the fullest opportunity of considering the matter before the transfer of the Protectorates. And, at a later stage in the debate, he stated that 'the wishes of the natives in these territories will be most carefully considered before any transfer takes place.' These assurances were repeated in the House of Commons in November, 1919.

"In February, 1925, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, in reply to a question in the House, stated: 'In accordance with the pledge given when the South Africa Bill was before Parliament, the House will have the fullest opportunity of discussing, and, if they wish, of disapproving, any proposed transfer of these territories to the Union,' and at the same time it was stated in another place on behalf of the Government that it 'will not make any decision until the native population and the White population have had full opportunity of expressing their views, and any representations which either the native population or the White population may make to his Majesty's Government will receive the most careful consideration before the Government come to any final decision in regard to the matter.'

"These pledges were repeated on behalf of the present Government both by myself in this House and also in another place in July last. Copies of them were communicated to General Smuts whilst he was in this country last year."

Mr. Lunn: Have not the natives in the Protectorates up to now been unanimously against being brought into the Union?

Mr. Thomas said that General Hertzog's communication was apparently on the way and it would be unwise of him to make any comment in advance. But having regard to the grave matters in the question he thought it was his duty to the House to leave them in no doubt as to the Government's decision.

Mr. Wedgwood (Lab.—Newcastle-under-Lyme): But there is still some doubt when he states that the native views will receive the fullest consideration from his Majesty's Government. Can we be assured that if the natives are in a large degree against the transfer that view will prevail?

Mr. Thomas: It means that his Majesty's Government would be bound to take into consideration both the native view and the White view. My right hon. friend must trust the Government to do, as they always do, the right thing. (Laughter.)

Mr. Wedgwood: May I ask what he means by White opinion? There is no White opinion in Swaziland, and does he mean White opinion in the Protectorates or outside?

Mr. Thomas: It means both.

CRITICS OF GENERAL HERTZOG'S CLAIM

(From our London Staff.)

FLEET STREET, FRIDAY.

The strongest opposition to General Hertzog's proposal that the British Government should immediately transfer the protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland to the Union Government was expressed to-day to a "Manchester Guardian" representative by the Rev. A. M. Chirgwin, African secretary of the London Missionary Society, and the Rev. George Ayre, who is in charge of the work of the Methodist Missionary Society throughout Africa, though the South African Conference, now controls the missions in the Union.

They were agreed that the proposal would be opposed by every missionary society concerned with Africa. "In fact," said Mr. Chirgwin, "the British Government, in resisting the proposal, will have the support of all right-minded people who are interested in Africa and the African folk. It is the view of the natives that matters. The natives of Bechuanaland are not a conquered people. They came under our protection of their own free will. They came into a bilateral treaty between themselves and the British Government. They are our equals. From their point of view it would be completely immoral to hand them over to the Union without their consent. Khama and Tshekedi took the view that they are a free people with a right to their own country. As the native policy of the Union is about as reactionary as it can be, the Bechuana would consider that by being transferred to the Union they were becoming helots in the land of their fathers. All the best thought in this country on native policy is against it. All that represents careful study of native conditions and administrative policy throughout Africa is against the native policy of the Union of South Africa."

"The best policy is that of indirect rule, which means that chiefs are retained and supported in their positions by the British Government, so that they can build up a strong rule of their own and not become detribalised."

Race Antagonism

Mr. Chirgwin said anyone who knew the feeling in the Union was aware that there was no place in the world where race antagonism was stronger. The mineral wealth in parts of the three Protectorates made them attractive, and it must also be remembered that there was tremendous land-hunger in South Africa. The poverty now manifest in the Protectorates was largely due to lack of proper care Recent reports had shown the results of negligent and futile administration in Bechuanaland. The attention and constructive policy shown in Kenya, Nigeria, and Tanganyika should be put into force in the three southern Protectorates

Mr. Ayre, who spent many years in South Africa, part of the time on the border of Basutoland, said that the Methodist Missionary Society did not operate in the protectorates, but it held strong views about their rights. He thought the statement made by General Hertzog threw a rather strong light on the Tshekedi incident. "Many of us," he said, "have been wondering what policy the Government of the South African Union would propose. I believe a large part of the white population of the Union desire to get hold of these protectorates, and they also want to take over the Rhodesias.

"When Basutoland became a Protectorate it was agreed that no prospectors should be allowed to enter the territory and only traders who held a proper licence. The Basutos are terribly afraid of the land being prospected, and undoubtedly they feel it will be if it comes into the Union.

"The Union refuses natives the right to enter skilled trades. A great number of the colonials, including British people, are anti-native. They do not think natives should be Christianised or educated or granted civil liberties. Their argument is the one that was used in this country before the passing of the Education Act. If you educate the poor, who will do the work? The position created by the anti-black feeling and legislation is very serious. It was bound to lead to a revulsion of feeling on the part of the natives, and that revulsion has been growing. The protectorates do not want to come under a Government that treats its own natives in such a way. Naturally they are asking themselves, 'How will it treat us?'"

Mr. Ayre said the Union had not yet solved its problems regarding its own natives. Its policy was to segregate them, but it could not find enough land for the purpose since all the best land belonged to the white people. He wondered whether one idea behind this desire for extension was to find opportunities for segregation. Some of the protectorates had at least land better than what was left over in the Union, and it would give South Africa wider native areas.

"Probably what is at the back of the mind of the South African Government," he said, "is the hope of being able to deal with this and other of its problems. In the colonies it is now impossible for land to be alienated from the natives, but the natives in Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland are convinced that once the British protection is taken from them they will no longer be secure."

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

AN AFRICAN LOOKS AT AFRICA.

With the best will in the world, the white man must interpret the African from the outside. It is, therefore, good when a cultured African attempts, as Mr. Paul Robeson is now doing, to interpret those who are akin to him in race. In an arresting article in *The Spectator* he explains how he hopes to probe the African's strong religious sense, and how the strong artistic spirit of the race manifests itself. Even now, at the very outset of his quest, he is worthy of attention. The African, he says, "is constantly aware of an external power which guides his destiny. The white man has made a fetish of intellect and worships the God of thought; the Negro feels rather than thinks, experiences emotions directly rather than interprets them by roundabout and devious abstractions, and apprehends the outside world by means of intuitive perception instead of through a carefully built up system of logical analysis. No wonder that the Negro is an intensely religious creature." In those few words Mr. Robeson has gone a long way towards crystallising what many white observers have been trying to say. They are a hopeful augury for the future of Mr. Robeson's search, and the light which it may throw upon Africa—a light that is literally essential if we are to help Africa make good.

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MR. ROBESON SEEKS A PATH.

The following further extract is also stimulating: "Culturally speaking, the African Negro, as well as his American and West Indian brothers, stands at the parting of the ways. The day is past when they were regarded as little less than human and little more than mere savages. Racial tolerance and political equality of status have taken the place of oppression and slavery for the greater part of the Negro race. But the sufferings he has undergone have left an indelible mark on the Negro's soul, and at the present stage he suffers from an inferiority complex which finds its compensation in a desire to imitate the white man: in which direction there is neither fulfilment nor peace. He is too radically different from the white man in mental and emotional structure ever to be more than a spurious and uneasy imitation of him if he persists in following this direction. His soul contains riches which can come to fruition only if he retains the full spate of his emotional awareness, and uses unswervingly the artistic endowments which nature has given him." We rather doubt if, in some parts, the African would be conscious of the sufferings he has undergone in the past if we were not always reminding him of them, and we do not admit that an inferiority complex is inherent in the "raw" Native; but we commend the general trend of thought shown in the article. It is also noteworthy that Mr. Robeson, who is studying African languages at the School of Oriental Studies, speaks in high terms (*pace* Dr. Leakey) of the "flexibility and subtlety of Swahili . . . sufficient to convey the teachings of Confucius." We wish this great African singer success in his five-year programme to start "a movement to inspire confidence in Africans in the value of their past and future."

Christianity and Witchcraft.

The Importance of Science.

To the Editor of "East Africa."

SIR,—It seems to me that one of your correspondents is writing of witch-doctors as if they were beneficent individuals who waged war on the witches. In my experience, about thirty years', of this part of Africa, the person who professes to be able to cure bewitchment also professes to be able to bewitch. I could even tell of a case which came before the Native Tribunal in Toro in 1914, where the accused was convicted of having himself buried the bewitching objects, which afterwards he was employed to discover and remove. I wish that I could tell the tale in full. It has its amusing side. Only last week I spent a long day in an Appeal Court listening to an alleged witchcraft case. But that is another story.

Colonel Shorthose—I think that we were together in 1916 on the column from Mwanza to Tabora, and I am glad to hear of him—writes of expelling witchcraft by Christianity. In my experience of Africa, and in my reading of the history of black magic in Europe, Christianity *quâ* Christianity, rather tends to confirm belief in the magical powers of darkness. The fact that the Witch of Endor's story is recorded without exposure in the Old Testament, as though she really did call up the spirit of the Prophet Samuel, taken together with the references in the Acts of the Apostles to Simon the Magician and others, gives African Christians very good "shot" when arguing with one who, like myself, tries to teach them that these supposed powers belonged to pre-scientific days, before the true causes of diseases were known.

As in Europe, science must come to our assistance, if we in Africa are to undermine the universal belief in the powers of the witch-doctor. No subject is more important in our schools than elementary science, and no subject more neglected in the majority of them.

I understand by the term witch-doctor, not the dealer in simples and herbal cures, not the simple diviner or fortune-teller, but I do mean the person who professes to be able to work cures or to cause evil by magical means.

The rain-maker, I think, stands apart, though even in connexion with them there is much to be condemned. In Toro, in days gone by, the rain-maker who refused to bring the rain, after ample time and presents given him, was captured and spread-eagled, face upwards in the sun, and had his mouth filled with salt. That "larned" him.

P.O. Yala,
Kenya Colony.

Yours faithfully,
W. E. OWEN.
Archdeacon of Kavirondo.
JUNE 14, 1934.

AFRICA

TRAINING AFRICAN MEDICAL-AIDS.

out the line upon which he can work to graft successfully the new scion of medical devotion on the old stock of service to the community. Less disputable are their strictures on African veneer in knowledge, examples being given of Natives answering examination questions about rainfall and manure because they know that that is what is wanted, though firmly disbelieving that destruction of forests can affect rainfall and climate or that manure affects the fertility of the soil. In these directions there is need for years of patient demonstration: a term or two in a college does not suffice. The two writers of the paper are optimistic about the brain capacity of the Native, but raise a good point when they stress the danger of his extraordinary memory, on which he is prone to rely too much.

The momentous step which the Government of the Union of South Africa is to take by training several hundred Native aids for medical work was recently recorded in those columns. That break with precedent lends added interest to certain views expressed at the Dar es Salaam meeting of the British Medical Association by the Hon. the Rev. R. M. Gibbons and Dr. Mary J. Gibbons, a report of whose joint paper has only just reached England. Speaking with particular reference to Tanganyika, they said: "The country needs doctors, but the practitioner most useful and easy to fit into the scheme of things is the dispenser-cum-nurse-cum-jural-dresser-cum-physician-cum-agent-for-sanitation: a man who can live in the district, diagnose simple diseases, perform simple operations, minister to health requirements, look after sanitation, and dispense stock mixtures. Sub-assistant surgeons will be only few and far between for the next ten years or so, but the type named can be trained in large numbers, and perform most useful and essential work." It would seem that the Union Government is definitely thinking on the same practical lines. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia has just announced that his Government intends to start on similar lines in 1935. Are other East African territories of the same mind?

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The thoughtful contribution of Dr. and Mrs. Gibbons touched on many other suggestive and provocative points. For in-

SOME "SNAGS"—REAL AND ILLUSORY.

stance: "The medical profession has a long tradition of devoted service to humanity, the result of 1,500 years of unbroken Christianity, which the English babe imbibes with its mother's milk. Not so the African." This is literally true, but the African has, as his social structure, the same idea—even more strongly developed as a national trait than with us—of service to the community. Thus one direction in which the new school of anthropologists can help the doctors is by pointing

The Year of Emancipation.

Next month is the centenary of the emancipation of the slaves. One hundred years ago the British Parliament decided that every known slave in Britain's Dominions should go free as from midnight on July 31, 1834.

This historic event will be celebrated in London at a Parliamentary luncheon at the Hotel Victoria on July 17.

The Speaker (Capt. the Rt. Hon. E. A. Fitzroy) will preside, and speeches will be made by Sir John Simon (Secretary for Foreign Affairs), Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister (Colonial Secretary), and Sir Bolton Eyres Monsell (First Lord of the Admiralty), representing the Government Departments most concerned in giving effect to the far-reaching nature of the Parliamentary decision of 1833-34.

The luncheon will be attended by a large number of members of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, representatives of foreign Governments, editors, and leaders of Churches.

Many clergy and ministers have already decided to preach sermons during July upon emancipation, its results, and our obligations towards the races concerned.

Any information upon the above can be obtained on application to Sir John Harris, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.1.

An Address on Bishop Crowther.

Mr. J. A. Barbour-James, President of the African Progress Union, addressed the members and friends of the Wood Green Brotherhood recently, when his subject was Bishop Crowther, whose adventurous life lent itself to a most interesting talk.

The speaker said that Bishop Crowther was essentially a man of many parts, at home in the building of a house, in the compiling of a grammar and dictionary, or in lecturing to learned societies in London.

Where was the parallel to such a life? asked the speaker in conclusion. In the annals of West Africa no name stood higher than Crowther's, who did his duty in every situation and never yielded to disappointment. He had a strong appreciation of British rule, and it was therefore fitting that his grandson, Mr. R. Ajayi Crowther-Nicol, of the Gold Coast Bar, in a foreword to the forthcoming "African Patriotic Gift Book" should reflect a similar feeling when he wrote:—"What nation has produced, out of chaos, Black knights, prelates, and judges, and opened her best universities to her Black subjects? What nation has taught her Black subjects that they are self-respecting components of her expansive Empire? It is the British nation—through her missionary societies, backed by Government!

RHODESIAN NATIVE POLICY.

Natal

SOME considerable time has elapsed since there was an attempt on the part of the Southern Rhodesian Government to define its policy on Native Affairs. The advent of Responsible Government has brought many changes, and with the sense of their added responsibilities the people in the land of Rhodes have been endeavouring to hammer out policies calculated to ensure the progress and development of their heritage. Until quite recently, however, little was heard of Rhodesia's ideas in so far as they affect the well-being of its large Native population, and for this reason it is more than ordinarily interesting to read what the present Prime Minister, Dr. Huggins, has to say on the subject.

It is probably more than likely that a consideration of the question of Native policy has been influenced to some extent by the recent pronouncement of the Prime Minister of the Union in regard to the necessity for taking over the Native Territories. Be this as it may, there is a marked similarity between the views expounded by Dr. Huggins and the policy of General Hertzog. In the first place it is important to note that the Southern Rhodesian Premier, in the course of an interview in Capetown, stated that inasmuch as they had the land, it was not too late to make provision for a policy that would safeguard the interests of both Natives and Europeans. He naturally sees difficulties ahead, not the least of which is the development of the Native on economic lines, thereby constituting them a menace to the European community. There is nothing new in this. Dr. Huggins is of the opinion that there is sufficient land in Rhodesia to permit of the Native developing on his own lines amid his own surroundings. He realises that one of the chief obstacles in solving the problem is that unless the energy and output of the Native areas are directed along right lines it is conceivable that with their lower standard of living they may swamp the white people much in the same way as the Japanese are trying swamping western civilisation.

At the same time the Rhodesian Premier thinks that with his lower costs of production, which enable him to dispose of his products at a price which would be unremunerative to the European, it will be possible to make the Native a better citizen and a more valuable member of the community both from an economic and a civic standpoint, provided always that he is allowed to develop his own areas. As to the means of carrying this policy into effect, Dr. Huggins says that it will require differential legislation. He did not indicate the lines upon which such legislation would be based but it would appear that during his impending visit to England he will discuss this and other cognate matters with the Secretary of State. Under the Rhodesian constitution all laws differentiating between Europeans and Natives are reserved for the sanction of the Imperial Government, and Dr Huggins is confident that any proposals put forward by Southern Rhodesia will be quite agreeable to the British Government.

In regard to the urbanised Native, the Rhodesian administration his decided to adopt the Bloemfontein location as its model. What is really aimed at is the running of the Native settlements and other closely settled Native areas on practical lines in the interests, of both races. Dr. Huggins admits that another great difficulty is the smallness of the Native reserves and he evidently anticipated that one of the probable objections to his policy of segragation is the possibility that miners and farmers would be deprived of a very necessary labour supply. He is of opinion, however, that this might be got over by an agreement under which Natives would have the right to enter white areas for semi-skilled and unskilled work on mines and farms.

It will be exceedingly interesting to watch developments in Charterland, where the people for the most part are imbued with a true sense of what is just and right.

We trust the Anti-slavery and aborigines Protection Society will watch the interest of the Natives. Mr. Harris is familiar with conditions in Rhodesia.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

The German Colonies—VI.

The Question of Retention or Whole or Partial Restoration.

[Widespread interest has been aroused by Viscount Rothermere's article in the "Daily Mail" of March 21, in which in the interests of international justice and goodwill he urges the immediate return by Great Britain to the League of Nations of the Mandates over Tanganyika, part of Togoland and part of Cameroon, in order that those areas may be re-established as German Protectorates. In view of the importance of the question raised, West Africa *has arranged with the author, Mr. W. H. Dawson, and the publishers, Messrs. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., of the recently-published work, "Germany Under the Treaty," to reproduce the chapter headed "The German Colonies." This was begun on March 31. The cross-headings have been inserted by us.]*

(Continued from page 443 last week.)

The American traveller, E. A. Forbes, after his experience of various parts of Africa, wrote in 1911: "Of all the lords of Africa the German has the cleanest hands and the best prospects. His African invasion was characterised by the most artful diplomacy, but even his bitterest enemy could scarcely declare that he did not play fair." 5-5-34

The tribute recalls words used by Lord Derby, as Colonial Secretary, at the time the first German Colony, South-West Africa, was acquired. In a letter to Sir Hercules Robinson (December 4, 1884), he wrote that "the Queen of England had no sufficient legal title" to that territory, that the German trading and missionary interests were larger there than the British, and that "Great Britain, which already possesses large tracts of unoccupied territory, could not fairly grudge to a friendly Power a country with regard to which it might have been said that we had never thought it worth acquiring until it seemed to be wanted by our neighbour."

The idea of basing possession of the German Colonies on a treaty accepted under duress in the circumstances explained is fraught with incalculable danger. We have seen what France has done with the Treaty of Frankfort. It took 50 years, but in the end it was torn to pieces. Should we have done differently in the same circumstances? If not, why should it be otherwise with Germany? By what right can we expect that the German people, with their proud spirit of nationality and patriotism, will forget a Colonial history going back well-nigh three centuries, still less the prodigious effort and sacrifice which went to the creation of the imposing empire, nearly the whole of which lay fallow and unregarded before they occupied and developed it, of which they have for the present been deprived?

The Existing Partition.

The existing partition of Imperial and Colonial territory practically amongst seven European Powers—Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Spain, and Portugal—since America's share is insignificant, is condemned by every consideration of equity and justice, by the economic interests of civilised nations generally, and by the interests of the Native populations. It is inconceivable that an apportionment of oversea territory can be permanent which gives to Belgium, with a population of eight millions, an empire of nearly a million square miles; to a stationary country like Portugal, with a population of six millions, an empire of equal extent; and to France, with a population under 41 millions, an empire of four million square miles; while Germany, still the third greatest industrial country in the world, with a prolific population of some 65 millions, is doomed to exclusion from the ranks of Colonial Powers, and it is perilous to stake the peace of the world upon a hypothesis so unreasonable.

In the case of France no possible need for outlets for emigration exists, since its population has long been insufficient for the needs of industry and agriculture, so that foreign labour has to be imported in large volume. Nor can France be said to colonise in any true sense of the term. There are, for example, in Tunis, apart from the Native population, 100,000 Italians and 13,000 other Europeans, compared with only 71,000 French. The great majority of the latter, however, consist of military and civil officers of all kinds and grades, their families, and troops, while the Indians are the real settlers, and it is they who, by their characteristic industry as farmers, have given to the country its prosperity.

Why Does Germany Need Colonies?

But why does Germany need Colonies? Why do we need them—why does France or Belgium? Quite as much as any of the Colonial Powers of Europe, and far more than most of them, Germany, as a nation of expanding population and industry, needs outlets for the former and for the latter, besides markets, an independent supply, under its direct control, of such raw materials as tropical countries alone supply. It would be easy to cite many impartial testimonies on this subject, but I take one only. In a book published on the eve of the War, Sir Harry Johnston stated the issue fairly when, after showing how Germany was losing to other nations its surplus population, he wrote:

> "'You may well be content,' is the German cry addressed to Great Britain, 'for you have occupied or earmarked such an enormous proportion of the earth's surface that you do not need to talk of extension for three centuries to come. We may have provided sufficient elbow room for the next 20 years, but that is not sufficient. Instinctively we must fight for the future, or our memories will be reproached by our children and our children's children.' This may be called 'sentimental nonsense,' because it is uttered by Germans and not by Englishmen. But we are the last of the Powers who should laugh at such a yearning. The German people as a whole are resolved upon Colonial expansion for two reasons. The first is that their country is far from producing naturally the bulk of the raw products required for their industries, and they desire to assure to themselves for the future a special control over, or access to, undeveloped regions in Asia, Africa, and America, where these raw products can be obtained or where they can be cultivated; secondly, they require to be certain, in these days of the growth of empires, that a sufficient portion of the earth's habitable area will remain free and open for the sale of German-manufactured goods or industrial products."

The Present German Position.

Germany's position is to-day, of course, far worse than when these words were written. The most urgent of the needs above specified is unhindered access to and control of tropical products, like palm kernels, rape seed, copra, linseed, earth nuts, etc., essential to some of the country's most important industries, and free markets in which to sell manufactured goods in return. In their reply to the German protests against the seizure of the Colonies, the Allied Powers said that they "considered that the loss of her Colonies would not hinder Germany's normal economic development"—a statement not only irrational, but directly contradicting the earlier declaration of M. Clemenceau, who signed the letter, that the stipulations of the Treaty "must be disastrous to Germany." But if Colonies are unnecessary to one great industrial and mercantile country, they are equally unnecessary to its rivals, and the justification for colonisation and empire upon which at all times emphasis has been most commonly laid is stamped as fallacious.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT GENERAL.

Farm Sterkfontein,
221 Joubert Street,
Volksrust.

5th April 1934.

To Provincial Presidents of the African National Congress, in South Africa.

Ilanga Lase Natal

Dear Sir,

Greetings. I hereby desire to follow up my previous letter to you in order to re-emphasize the points already raised and to give you the addresses of the other Provincial Presidents with whom you are asked to co-operate most surely and with great confidence in all your movements for the re-organisation of The African National Congress, in your Province. My policy is, and should be, to bring all the authority of the African National Congress in support of each and every Provincial President who is working to produce a great and dignified official Organisation for the African people in this country today. The great sections of our Congress should all be alive and in constant touch with one another.

4-28-34

Oliver Schreiner

It may be that you have disliked my methods, but certainly you cannot disapprove of my ideal to make our Congress the Great National Assembly for all Africans in this country. We can do this gradually by adhering to the Amended Constitution of Congress and carrying out the idea of the chairmen of all our branches to watch the interests of their respective branches in the Conferences of the Congress both provincial and national. These Branch Chairmen would in time be like the Members of Parliament who come to represent their constituents in our Conferences of the African National Congress and help to keep Congress alive in the parts which they represent. Our conferences would be richer and more responsible by having such men to attend them, instead of the present irresponsible tendencies sports or silly debating.

THE STATUS BILL.

I certainly would not be surprised if this measure may cause another deputation to go to Europe. The British Government should play the game with us Africans and not leave us in the lurch again as they did at The Treaty of Vereeniging, when they left us without any rights of citizenship in this country, and entirely at the mercy of "White South Africa." Today "White South Africa" is getting sovereign independence from Great Britain and all appeals to Great Britain is to be cut off. I think we should ask them to make it plain to us just where we stand before they enter into this bargain. If this Bill become Law and South Africa becomes a sovereign independent State, we cannot appeal to England or to any other Power even if they wanted to make us slaves. We could even be shifted to Central Africa because we have no rights of residents within the New State. I am not asking you to make much noise as yet about these matters. I realise that we must first organise ourselves into One Strong Body Under One Constitution.

I know there is a great temptation amongst some members of the Congress to pick up a quarrel with the Amended Constitution of the African National Congress. Please help them to overcome the temptation by leaving the constitution alone. The Constitution cannot prevent any one of them from organising the Congress but it can help those who want to organise.

The names and addresses of the Provincial Presidents are as follows :--

THE CAPE PROVINCE.
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
Western Province.
Prof. James Thaele, B. A.,
First Vice President,
162 Caledon Street,
Capetown,

CAPE AFRICAN CONGRESS.
Rev. Elijah Mdolomba, Vice President and General Secretary,
Esikombeni, Manse,
P. O. Confimvaba.

BECHUANALAND AND GRIQUALAND WEST AFRICAN CONGRESS.
Rev. J.S. Likhing, L. Th., Vice President and Senior Chaplain,
339 Claude Street,
Greenpoint,
P.O. Beaconsfield, C.P.

TRANSVAAL AFRICAN CONGRESS.
Mr. S. M. Makgatho, Ex-Pres. Gen. Vice Presidenf and
Private Bag,
Eerste Rust,
Pretoria.

THE NATAL NATIVE CONGRESS.
Rev. J. L. Dube, Ex-President General Vice President and Education.
Ohlange Institute,
P.O. Phoenix,
Natal.

THE ORANGE FREE STATE AFRICAN CONGRESS.
Bloemfontein Branch, Mr. Sam. Leshoai,
419 Tona Street,
Bloemfontein

BASUTOLAND.
Mr. Paulus Mohai,
P. O. Maseru.

In conclusion I wish to say that I have no intention of making this letter longer than it should be, but I am as sincere as I possibly could be when I say that the whole responsibility of making the Congress a great power in this country is upon your shoulders. I trust that you will correspond with one another and also help me with your advice. I always want to be corrected privately by my colleagues but not through the public press.

Yours faithfully,
P. KA I. SEME.
President General.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

L.C.C. Advisory Boards Congress.

(CONTRIBUTED)

[*Continued*]

Mrs. S Mason, described by the President as the grandmother, was the next speaker. She urged the necessity of Natives cultivating the habit of reading, and described the progress they had made in that direction at Langa where they had a reading room and books which they hoped to increase when funds allowed. It was regrettable to notice that there was a falling off in the number of readers. They aimed at the young people and at encouragement of sports and cultivation of gardens. They were anxious to help them to help themselves. Amid loud and continuous applause she ended in Sixosa. "Ndiyavuya ukunibona nonke". (I am glad to see you all.)

Miss C. R. Goodlatte said she realised there was a great deal of practical work to do before them, discussion on things they very much need and some of which it was hard to get, and she hoped that if they asked for anything they would do so decidedly. She did not pretend to know much about the locations, but she would like to ask them in their deliberations to look forward to a South Africa of 50 years hence. Unless every child attended school, unless there was sufficient food and unless the children grew up strong and healthy there was not much in store for them in the future of South Africa. The learning of their language first and then English and Afrikaans was essential in earning a livelihood. It was also essential to teach their children to take care of their bodies. They should remember that it was not easy to make the world a comfortable place to live in, and because we had failed there was trouble all over the world, not because there was shortage of production but because we had yet to learn to distribute according to needs. She referred to various countries in illustration of her arguments on production and distribution and made a declaration which was greatly applauded that colour bars would disappear in the future.

Mr. T. M. Zini, proposing a vote of thanks to those who had welcomed the delegates said that looking at the array of talent they had there and listening to the flow of eloquence and thinking of the depth of contemplation from whence it came, one felt a justifiable optimism about the solution of the Native. He, however, did not minimise the magnitude of their problem, the gravamen of which was in the urban areas. They were grateful to many associations which worked in their interest, and he referred to the difficulties besetting them in urban administration where they did not have the advantages found in the rural areas where the Native social system still operated. In the towns the Natives were cut entirely adrift from such system and unlike the Native headman who had a vast influence over his men in the rural areas, the headman in the cities had to contend with the dagga seller. He also indicated the difficulty of divided administrative authority in towns where a Native could never understand when he is told by a Native Commissioner, for example, that any matter in regard to which he came to see him was within the province of civic authority, the Native being by tradition accustomed to the authority of his Chief who is a maker and administrator of law. He also felt that an appeal should be made to our universities to establish teaching faculties in urban areas administration, and thus assist in the solution of questions confronting the living rather than concentrate on their present speculation about the skulls of those who lived thousands of years ago.

Mr. P. J. Nikiwe in seconding the vote of thanks said he felt a strong urge to say something in connection with the burning question of fusion which he did not think was in the interests of the Native but which he thought would place the Native franchise in danger of being taken away by the constitutional two-thirds majority.

Referring to Langa he said from the point of view of the excellence of its public buildings he regarded it as the model location of the Union. The only defect was that buildings were in block form, a design which did not provide for class differences. There were Natives who made their homes in towns. They felt that it was not fair to herd these in block houses. With regard to Port Elizabeth resolutions he trusted that if adopted, they would attract the educated class of Europeans. Such men would naturally have a vast influence from which location residents would derive great benefit as experience had shown in Port Elizabeth when Mr. Bellairs, an ex-Magistrate, was their Superintendent. I conclusion he eulogised the Langa Superintendent saying that in him they had a fulfilment of the smile of the late Dr. Aggrey a harmony produced by manipulation of white and black piano keys, which was what Mr. Cook was doing at Langa (cheers).

This ended the night's programme, and the delegates dispersed to return the next morning.

Minutes of the Eigth Conference.

OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE FARMERS' CONGRESS.

(By D. D. T. Jabavu, Secretary.)

[*Continued.*]

The Finance report was adopted unanimously (Proposer, Mr. Bulube; seconder, Mr. Peteni) and the Treasurer was specially instructed by the Congress to urge the defaulting associations to pay up their arrears to the mark.

All readers who belong to these defaulting branches are hereby requested to introduce a discussion on the matter at the next meeting of their district association.

The following motions were then dealt with:—

109. Free Education.—The Minister of Agriculture was reported in the daily papers of the 25th November, last to have outlined the Government's scheme for the rehabilitation of farmers, in which it was stated that "the Cabinet will give free training at the agricultural schools for a period of two years to selected youths between the ages of 18 and 21" and that "liberal facilities will be given through the Land Bank for loans for various farming purposes."

In view of this information Mr. Ntuli moved:—"That the Minister of Agriculture be requested by the Congress to arrange parallel facilities for the benefit of Native youths, whose parents are not in a position financially to pay the fees, to enter for a two-year course at the Tsolo, Teko, Fort Cox and Flagstaff schools of Agriculture respectively at Government expense on the lines of the scheme adumbrated for European youths."

Mr. Balfour seconded. Carried.

110. Non-European Conference. It was unanimously decided that the foregoing resolution be moved also at the forthcoming Non-European Conference at Port Elizabeth (January 3-5) and that Mr. Jabavu be appointed the official delegate of this Congress to pilot the resolution at that conference. (Proposer, Mr. Finca; Seconder, Mr. Njokweni.)

111. Wool Sale and Subsidy. The Rev. D. Sikutshwa, seconded by Mr. Ntlabati, moved:—"That this Congress earnestly urges all its branches to adopt joint efforts in selling wool."

4-10-34

The mover stated that much of the money value of Native produced wool goes into the pocket of the middlemen traders who rear no sheep and fails to go into that of the sheep owners. He quoted a case of a trader who actually disorganised the combined effort of certain Native to sells their wool at the harbour and threatened to victimise his creditors if they did not use himself as their middleman. Mr. Jabavu enjoined the farmers to get their government subsidy individually, quoting a certain Native who had communicated direct with the department and secured his subsidy through the weight records at the store of the trader who purchased it, saying the Lusikisiki branch had made enquiries about the rates of the subsidy Mr. Ngaki then gave an interesting report of how the two societies of Hackney district Native wool growers had recently made £2,800 by means of sorting their wool weighing it and selling it at the harbour by a combined effort through the depot established by the government for Native benefit. (Cheers. The motion was passed unanimously.

112. Middlemen. The Rev D. Sikutshwa, seconded by Mr Jabavu, moved:—"That this Congress urges all its branches to sell their wool direct to the harbour agents so that the middleman may be eliminated wherever possible." Agreed.

113. Native Trading. Mr. J. K. Finca moved:—"That this Congress communicate to the Native Affairs Department its firm conviction that in all Native locations the right of Natives to open trading stores among their people should be regarded as an inherent and legitimate privilege to be exercised without obstruction on the part of the vested interests or any other opposition.

It was unfair, he said, for certain Europeans to stand in our path, as some were doing in the Transkei, when we sought to trade among our people in our own areas with the approval of the Prime Minister. Mr. Njokweni seconded and added that similar opposition had been offered by some whites against Native trading in his area, and on appeal to the government the reply was given in the favour of the Natives recently through a communication from Pretoria. (Cheers). The

President further remarked that certain whites looked upon the Native as having been born too late for trading (Laughter) and now claimed all trading as their close preserve and monopoly. "The white standard," he continued, "of trading is too lofty for us. We cannot accept the 5-mile radius limit in our villages any more than it applied for whites in their towns. We are being ousted from employment under the so-called civilised labour policy, and we are therefore determined to trade in our own areas even if that means that every hut will be converted into a shop. (Laughter). We therefore protest against those who oppose our trading by reason of vested interests." The motion was adopted.

114. Fort Hare Show. Mr. S. Ntuli moved that:—"This Congress earnestly requests the Government to arrange for the complete and regularised financing of the Fort Hare Agricultural Show, either through the adjacent Local Councils, or through the Native Development Fund, or otherwise, as a substitute for the present uncertainty whereunder the funds for carrying this Show yearly depend upon the charity of individuals, colleges, and capricious contributions by Local Councils which vary every year and are sometimes discontinued leaving a debt to be defrayed by the Fort Hare College."

Mr. Ntuli explained that all other Native agricultural shows were guaranteed for funds by the General Council or the Native Affairs Department itself, but the Fort Hare Show has often been conducted as a charge on the College, which should not be. Mr. Peteni seconded and all agreed.

115. Office Bearers. Mr. Finca moved that the officers for the next term of two years be:—Mr. Sakwe (President), Mr. Peteni (Vice President), Mr. Jabavu (Secretary-Treasurer), Mr. Mazwai (Vice Secretary). Mr. Wisha seconded. Carried.

116. Next Conference. On the motion of Mr. Nongxa, seconded by Mr. Jabavu, the next conference was fixed to be at Glen Grey, and that of 1935 at Enyandeni. Agreed.

117. Social Evening. After termination of the conference, the Hackney community entertained the delegates with an enjoyable all-night concert and social evening during which excellent music and sketches were rendered and helpful speeches made by several delegates in thanks for the hospitality provided so generously. The visitors returned home on the following day.

Secede From Union:

Native Opinion

The first M.P. to meet his constituents in the Native reserves for consultation on the Status Bill was Mr. A. M. Payn. This meeting took place at Umtata on Wednesday last, and the results of its deliberations can safely be taken as the relation of Native opinion on the Bill to the attitude of their members of parliament in voting for its passage. We admire Mr. Payn's courage of addressing his Bantu audience at Umtata in an air of innocence mixed with veiled reproach—his innocence being epitomised in his mincing the matter of Hertzog's Native Bills (on which he said a Commission has been sitting for seven years) with the Status Bill, and his veiled reproach couched in his statement to the Bunga Councillors that they had a motion at the Bunga, and it was for them to think over the matter, and consider it more temperately than the East London people. The reproach ofcourse is barefaced in that the Natives have erred by following the example of East London. We are of opinion that Mr. Payn for that matter, deserves to be taken to task for emulating the "Cape Times" and his over-zealous colleagues of the South African Party in supporting the Status Bill before ascertaining the views of his constituents. However the Bantu audience would not assimilate Mr. Payn's castigations before satisfying themselves that their interpretation of the Status Bill was a fallacy. A fussilade of questions followed Mr. Payn's speech. The nature of the questions from the Councillors was conspicuous by its disregard of the irrelevant issues raised in the Member's address, despite his legal experience which failed to give the necessary window dressing.

We are rather amazed that Mr. Payn, in replying to Mr. Sakwe, while admitting (though we deny it, and the British Government through Mr. J.H. Thomas also denies it), that it was an Act of the British Government after a conference at which the Dominions were represented that had taken away the protection which the Natives had before, that Mr. Payn in the same breath should assure the Natives that the South African Party had stood by its trust to protect the Native vote. Where was the S. A. Party when, as he says, the British Government took away the protective clause?

On the other hand the member for Tembuland asks his dusky constituents to believe that "even if fusion did come about and the question of the Native franchise did come before a joint sitting of both Houses, the Government would never get that two-thirds majority." Oh! Mr. Payn!! The unanimity with which the Status Bills passed the second reading is a real eye-opener to the incalculable danger a Coalition Government can combine to pass an act of injustice merely for the sake of giving sops to its component parties. Remember, these two parties Nats. and Saps) exist to-day (merely because they averted the danger of probable effacement by going into this unholy matrimony. That is why the members of parliament answer the Leader's crack of the whip even at the expense of being a little discourteous to their constituents' susceptibilities. Natives know for a fact that the Natal members of the S.A. Party would vote for the abolition of the Cape Native vote. Indeed they have placed Gen. Smuts in an invidious position regarding this matter not so long ago. Mr. Payn would rather make us believe that there is no danger lurking ahead. "I have tried to find out in my heart whether there is any threat against our British citizenship, or any menace to Native voters and I have found none, and it is for that reason I support these measures," Mr. Payn says. After stating that it was an Act of the British Government that was responsible for the change, how can Mr. Payn now vote for the ratification of that British Act by the Union Parliament? But Mr. Payn's waterloo came when Cr. Finca questioned him about the Cape seceding from the Union and coming under direct British hegemony.

Answer: "This is a question I don't feel qualified to advise you upon."

This, after advising Natives on all phases of the Status Bill and the general attitude of the Union Government! One indeed should not be asked to advise on a matter of his relegation to the political dungheap, and it would seem that Mr. Finca unconsciously suggested the termination of parliamentary representation of Tembuland in the Union Assembly. But after all the quibbling and mincing of legal words on the Status Bill the best course for the Natives of the Cape and Natal (the latter by way of tradition) to follow in the circumstances would be to send full representations to the Imperial Government through the Governor-General, and ask to be allowed to secede from the Union.

[Written to express the views o. "Imvo Zabantsundu" by A. M. Jabavu Market Square, King William's Town.

Race Problem – 1934

Africa

Black & White in East Africa

A Discussion between SIR EDWARD GRIGG, M.P., and DR. J. H. OLDHAM

Sir Edward Grigg was Governor, Commander-in-Chief and High Commissioner for Transport, Kenya Colony, 1925-31; Dr. Oldham is Administrative Director of the International Institute of African Languages and Culture, and author of 'White and Black in Africa' and 'The Remaking of Man in Africa.'

Continued from our last issue.

E. G: That is quite true, so far as local government is concerned; but it is certain, too, that they will want eventually to have a voice in the central government as well, and when that time comes what will be your alternative to parliamentary institutions?

J. H. O: Well, when people are unable to agree, I can think of only three ways of settling their differences. One is by fighting. It may come to that in Africa if we can't find a right solution to the problems we are discussing. The second is by the vote of a majority. That method, we agree, won't work in East Africa, because it leaves you on the horns of a dilemma. You must either create a constitution in which white will always out-vote black, or one in which black will always out-vote white. The only other means of settling differences that I know of is to refer them to a disinterested outside authority for adjudication. Since government in East Africa cannot, for the reasons we have stated, be based on a local electorate, I should like to see it frankly recognised and accepted on all sides that the principle on which it is based is that of an arbitral authority—that is to say, an independent authority—which will hold the scales even between the claims of the different communities. That, of course, is the present position. The Secretary of State, who is responsible to Parliament, is, in fact, the ultimate arbitral authority. But I am quite convinced that if the present system is to stand the severe strain that will be put upon it, it needs to be adapted and strengthened to meet new conditions. I shall, therefore, be very interested to hear in what ways you think the existing system might be modified to meet the needs of East Africa.

E. G: Let us see where we have got. We agree that dictatorship won't work. In other words, government, while remaining impartial as between the races, must keep closely in touch with local views and feelings—or it will be upset. We also agree that a free parliament won't work because it would soon turn out the impartial government and put some majority—white or black—which would not be impartial, in its place. We have then to find some middle course between dictatorship and free parliamentary government. The only middle course I can think of is this. Don't cut up the country into constituencies which elect members to a single parliament because, if you do, that parliament will overthrow the Government, sooner or later. Try instead to give local opinion its say with the Government by means of Boards which represent its main activities. Have a Board of Agriculture, for instance, to which all the agricultural population send members, to advise the Government on agriculture. Have a Board of Commerce, similarly elected, to advise the Government on commercial affairs. Have similar Boards to advise the Government on its own main activities—that is, a Board of Education, a Board of Health, a Road Board, and so on. And let it be laid down that the Government must consult these Boards, and act, so far as is possible on their advice. Of course, like every conceivable plan, this plan has its difficulties. But in Italy now, such Boards are gathering influence and they are enabling the dictatorship to keep in closer touch with what the public feels and wants. Why not try the plan in Kenya?

I suggest this with all the more confidence because the system was, in some respects, established while I was Governor of Kenya, and seemed to me to work very well. There was, for instance, a Railway Board, in which unofficial opinion had equal representation with the Government. It dealt soley with railway policy and railway rates, but its advice was invaluable, and its working absolutely smooth. There was also established a Board of Agriculture specially fitted to advise the Government on farming interests—but that had a shorter run.

My plan is that all races should find participation in Boards of this kind according to their development and according to their interest in the subject with which each Board dealt. The plan has drawbacks, I admit. What plan has not? But so far as I know, no one has suggested anything else.

J. H. O: There can, of course, be no question that the local communities must all have the opportunity of making the best contribution that they can to the business of government, and I am much attracted by the idea that this can be better achieved through a variety of Boards dealing with specific subjects, than by referring all questions to a single law-making body, which is tempted, in consequence, to think of itself as a young House of Commons. I am not sure, however, that we want to copy too closely the Italian model. If we were deliberately to base government on the principle of an arbitral authority I believe that with our British traditions we could build something much better and much more truly democratic than the Fascist system. This does not, of course, rule out the possibility that some development on the lines you suggest might very well form part of the plan. My chief criticism, however, of what you have said so far, is that you only deal with one half of the problem. The ultimate arbitral authority is not the central government in Kenya, but His Majesty's Government in this country, which is responsible to the British Parliament. If you are really going to base government on the principle of an arbitral authority, it is all-important that the decisions of that authority should have the greatest possible moral weight and force that can be given to them. That is to say, if the local communities, both black and white, are to submit to these decisions, they must be convinced that they have been reached on the basis of adequate knowledge and after every interest of those concerned has been fully understood and weighed. It is at this point that our present machinery seems to me most of all to be in need of improvement. I know from what you said the other day in your Cust Lecture that you think our present parliamentary machinery is scarcely adequate for the discharge of our Imperial responsibilities. What I do want to say as emphatically as I can is that I don't think that any changes in the government of Kenya will accomplish what we want unless the other problem at home is tackled simultaneously. If you agree about that, I should be very glad to see the idea you have put forward made the starting point of a fresh examination of the problems of government in East Africa, because I am convinced that if we go on as at present we shall

only find increasing difficulties.

E. G. You are absolutely right. Parliament here is elected on the issues which chiefly affect our own people—taxation, social services, the means test, and so on. It is, therefore, not at all well fitted to govern remote Dependencies about which, as a rule, it knows very little and understands less. In the last resorting, public opinion here should rule: it has the responsibility of making the governments which govern the Empire, and if we are to remain a free people it cannot throw that responsibility off. But if our system of government is to administer the Empire in this century with success, it must, I think, be reorganised in such a way that the body which deals with the great questions of Imperial and foreign policy, trade and defence, is separately elected on those issues, and free to make them its central task and interest. Without some such reform o u rple on the spot. I think my Board Parliament will lose control of the system may make that possible with dependent Empire long before its out surrender of the ultimate arbi various territories are qualified to tral authority of the Imperial Gov govern themselves. ernment. Let us, at any rate, study

But—and I am glad you agree the idea in closer detail, and get the with me—we must also modify best men we can to study it with Crown Colony Government by some us.

new method of constitutional development, it is to carry out its high duties in sympathetic touch with local sentiment. Don't you think what I may call the "Board system" is worth investigation by men who have this problem at heart?

J. H.O: I do. But, of course, there is always the danger that the conflict of racial interests and the struggle for power will emerge in the Boards, or that it may persist in the Legislative Council. The only way of preventing this is to persuade people that the interests of all communities are safer in the hands of a competent arbitral authority than they are in an assembly where issues are decided by voting, which must tend inevitably to follow racial lines. That is why I regard the general acceptance of the principle of ultimate control by an arbitral authority as fundamental. We have got to go on hammering this principle into people's heads, since it is essential to the successful working of any and every constitutional arrangement.

E.G: Hammer away by all means; but remember that our principles will not allow of dictatorship. Your 'outside arbitral authority' must keep in touch with those it governs. It must be very wise in knowing where to hold, and where to yield. It must show that it understands local feeling, and it must, in some way, identify itself with the life and livelihood of its subjects—or it will go the way of all dictatorships, from the heights of power to the depths of defeat.

I believe with you that we must try to keep the ultimate power of decision in our hands. I believe that it will be to the welfare of all races in Africa, and of the world as a whole. But we can't govern Africa in defiance of educated opinion there: we can only govern if we carry that opinion with us and give it proper weight. In particular, we must govern through and with the best people on the spot.

J. H.O: You cannot repudiate the principle of dictatorship more strongly than I do. I agree with every word you have said about the necessity of understanding local feeling, and having the fullest regard to local opinion—both black and white. And I am equally at one with you in thinking that nothing could be more desirable than that a body of people, both in Parliament and outside, should try by frank discussion to bring some fresh ideas to bear on the problems of East Africa. We are living in a world which is undergoing radical changes.

It is absurd to take for granted that the ideas of the past will be sufficient to see us through. I don't believe that the creative political capacity of the British people is exhausted.

A GREAT STEP FORWARD.

Natal Witness

THE promised statement by the Minister of Public Health relative to the important question of the health needs of our people throughout the Union has given the greatest satisfaction. It was anticipated that in view of what happened some five or six years ago, when a Commision investigated the matter, the Government would tackle this problem in a business-like way.

This question of the health requirements of the Bantu people is of such outstanding interest that it is important to bear in mind the main points disclosed by Mr. Hofmeyr in his striking pronouncement. It would appear that since the advent of coalition which, by the way, continues to function in a manner that cannot fail to give general satisfaction the way has been opened for considering many of the most pressing needs of the country, and the financial result of the past year has been so satisfactory that the Ministry has been able to take a line of policy which hitherto has been impossible. As to the scheme under discussion, it has every promise of fulfilling expectation, and inasmuch as it has the approval of the South African Medical Association, there is every reason to believe that no time will be wasted in making a beginning.

What the scheme implies was clearly indicated in the Minister's statement. In the first place, there is to be a full course of medical training overseas, the College at Fort Hare being utilised for the training of medical aids on much the same lines as those adopted in other parts of the African continent. Necessarily the scheme must be progressive, but there can be no doubt that once it has been started there will be no looking back. It is contemplated that ultimately some two hundred medical aids will be employed at a cost of approximately £70,000 per annum, while the expenditure upon the provision of residential and dispensary quarters will amount to abount £100,000. In regard to the question of cost, the attitude of the mining industry is greatly appreciated. The Chamber of Mines is manifestly desirous that the scheme shall be a success, and as an earnest of its interest it has given a contribution of £75,000. This sum is to be paid to the Council of the South African Native College, but it is stipulated that not more than £5,000 is to be utilised for building purposes, and that the balance will be invested as a permanent fund.

The success of the scheme will depend largely, if not entirely, upon the way in which it is administered, and in this connection we would suggest that the Government might well consider the desirability of appointing an advisory committee the members of which should include representatives of the Native population. This policy has been successfully adopted in connection with other national undertakings, and inasmuch as the welfare of our people is a matter of much vital importance to the country as a whole, we can see no reason why it shoud not operate in regard to what the Minister rightly described as one of the biggest forward steps in Native welfare.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

The Union And The Protectorates.

The Editor of "Mochochonono"

Sir,—It is apparent that the Union Government is fully determined that all Native Protectorates under the Imperil Government be absorbed into the Union. This fact has been more fully brought home by the recent declaration made by the Union Prime Minister, General Hertzog, in the course of the debate in the House of Assembly; who it is stated, asserted that "Time was at hand for the transfer of the Protectorates."

This wild ministerial statement has been echoed and challenged by the South African Bantu and European papers with startling head lines, whose principal bone of contention is that the absorbtion as such, was not at the present moment essential.

It is of paramount importance to mention that the Basutoland leading newspaper the "Comet" (Mochochonono) in a leader states inter alia, "that while the Prime Minister is confident that the protectorates could be handed over to the Union if they insisted in their demands for incorporation but his veiled threat of shutting them out indicates that the Union is not prepared to satisfy the British Government by giving adequate safeguards to the Protectorates.

The Union Natives have also made a very strong protest against this question, and this is gratifying for they are a part of the population who have had a wide experience of the many hardships imposed upon them by the Union Government, and as such have absolutely tangible grounds for making such protest.

I aver the Africans in the Union have good and satisfactory reasons for objecting to this incorporation simply and partly because they are girded on all sides by the many instances forming what is now called the Native problem. This being the case there is every reason to believe that they are the people to rely upon for a thorough and considerate discussion of the matter. Had the Union Government instituted similar measures enjoyed by the Natives under the Imperial control, this question would probably be the reverse. It would be a silly idea for the protectorates to elect to part with the British Government where they live in peace and come under the Union Government where there is so much discontent among the Natives.

Instead of the Minister broadcasting his wishes towards the incorporation, he should at least have expaciated facts as to whether he has satisfied the needs of Africans forming part and parcel of the Union Government. And whether the inequitous and inhumane laws made solely to impoverish, pauperise, and reduce the Natives to slavery have ceased before he made this declaration.

It is sad to think that the Union Parliament has successfully enacted laws which have constituted an open barrier to the Bantu particularly those who welcomed civilisation with its moving pictures. These can be classed as follows: The Colour Bar Act The Urban Areas Act, The mighty Land Act of 1913, the Riotous Assemblies Act, Amendment Bill, 1931, The Pass Laws, and the Native Administration Act 1925. Despite these dirty laws the Premier's declaration still has a backing on the part of his colleagues who think it will conduce to the prosperity of the South African Union Government. Truly the Minister views shamelessly the dawn of the day when all the Black masses of Africa will be suffering under the heavy yoke of Dutch Imperialism.

I would for an instance qoute the saying of the African patriot who in course of the battle waged against his kinsmen said "Some readers may perhaps think that he had taken the Union Parliament rather severely task. But to any reader who holds with Bacon, that "the pencil hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the fecilities of Solomon," he would say; "Do, if we dare make the request, and place yourselves in our shoes. If, after a proper declaration of war, one found his kinsmen driven from pillar to post in the manner th t the South African Natives have been hurried and scurried by the Laws of South Africa one would though aware that it was part of the misfortunes of war, find it difficult to suppr ss the hatred of the enemy."

There is evidence to the effect that those at the head of the affairs have forgotten that Bantu history is being compiled out of these occurrences, and there shan't be any running away from the fact that this shall have grown to a comparative size to the Dooms d y book.

Looking back to history, it will be found that in 1818 the Paramount Chief of Basutoland Moshesh, gathered round him the remnants of various tribes which had been scattered about South Africa by the invasions of the Zu u warriors under Chaka, and thus founded what today has become a Basuto Nation consisting of upwards to 543,000 souls. And later that a series of wars, between the inhabitants of the Free State (namely Boers) and the Basuto necessitated the territory being placed under the British Protection which was effected first through the Cape Government. This was not satisfactory and led to the Gun War which resulted in the transference of the Territory to the Imperial Government in 1884.

Since then the Basutho Nation have remained loyal and faithful to their rulers and are satisfied with the machinery governing them, and will require no foriegn interference in their internal affairs.

Representation in the Bunga.

Native Opinion
(Imvo Zabantsundu)
5-24-34
Kingwilliamstown

(By S. M. Bennet Ncwana.)

It is a strange fact, but nevertheless true, that the Native people living permanently in the urban areas are completely excluded from the Government policy of consolidating Native administration by means of the Bunga system or Native Parliament. Although the Bunga has come to be recognised as a national parliament for Natives, the intelligent element of the Bantu people in the urban areas were exclusively debarred from participating in the administration of their own people. Who could imagine that a Native population of about three quarters of a million could be denied the privilege of taking an active part in the shaping of the destinies of their own race for the mere reason that they were not domiciled in the prescribed Native reserves? Is the Bunga system constituted solely for the Natives in the territories or to serve the interests of the Bantu population as a whole? It would appear that the chief difficulty in the centralisation of Native administration is the failure of the Government to recognise the indisputable fact that educated Natives are the leaders of the millions of the inarticulate masses for whose interest the Bunga is constituted. That it is an irretrievable obligation on the part of the Government not to stand in the way of legitimate progress, but to make every endeavour to encourage, to the fullest possible extent, the development of those aspirations which are within the scope of the present policy accepted by both Houses of the Union Parliament.

PRESENT POLICY UNCONVINCING.

Until the large Native population in the urban areas were ultimately brought within the purview of the Bunga system or Native national chamber, it is not possible for the Government to convince the intelligent element of the Bantu that the Bunga system is anything but a mere political machine, instituted to further the interests of the governing class and not that of Native people generally. It is admitted that the bulk of educated leaders of the Natives are to be found in the urban areas, and that the commonality of the Bantu in these areas have reached such an appreciable standard of progress in religion, commerce, science and education, that their inclusion in the Bantu parliament would undoubtedly make for progress. It cannot be denied that there is an immense amount of internal development work to be done through the Bunga, which at present cannot be undertaken, owing to the low standard of intelligence of the majority of Bantu representatives constituting the Bunga in centres where it is operative. It will be seen, therefore, that the policy of keeping educated Natives out of the Bunga was obviously detrimental to the best interests of the Bantu generally. It is a first class political blunder to place the responsibility of government in the hands of the ignorant masses in order to deprive educated leaders of the Native people the fruits of self government which would enhance their comfort and happiness. Experience is every day proving, in the most glaring manner, that the Government favoured the leadership of heathenism as against the leadership of the progressive element of the Bantu, in order to preserve the superiority of the governing class in the interest of themselves and their generations to come.

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION ACT.

There is a general feeling on the part of the Bantu people in the urban areas, that they should be represented in the national councils established for Natives by the Union Government. And their claim for representation is based on the provisions of the Native Administration Act of 1927, by which law both the detribalised and the kraal Natives have been placed in one category.

The enactment of the Native Affairs Act was rightly regarded by the Bantu people as a starting point of a new development in the national career of the Bantu races of South Africa and it is still assuredly being regarded as an Act marking the beginning of a new era in the biography of Bantu progress. Under this Act the Department of Native Affairs was called upon to take over the administration of urban Natives and one is entitled to know; what is the future of this vast Native population if they are to be debarred from participating in the administration and government of their own people? Is it the wish and desire of the urban Native communities to remain outside the established general and district councils? It is certainly not their wish! And it is not possible to concieve, other than in a world of barbarism, that any progressive community would desire to be placed outside the pale of their fellowmen. It is time that Native public opinion in the urban areas was aroused to counteract and divert the danger that threatens its future and social demoralisation. Is the educated Native prepared to surrender the responsibility of government to a class of its community which has no interest in providing for popular needs, and lightening popular burdens? In one word, there is no hope for the educated Natives to become leaders of their people unless the present constitution of the Ama-Bunga is amended in such a manner that urban Natives will take their full share in the administration of their own people.

Council System and Urban Natives.

Native Opinion
(Imvo Zabantsundu)

In another column of this impression appears an article "Representation in the Bunga" by Mr. S. M. Bennett Ncwana. By Bunga it must be inferred that he alludes to the administration of the Native reserves through the General and Local Council systems. The local council system has been established fairly widely in the Ciskei Native areas as well as in the Transvaal and Natal. In the Transkei, the United Transkeian General Council is the consummation of the Government's policy to allow the Bantu a full and untrammelled scope of self-government. Here, all Native taxpayers are eligible for election to this national parliament, the conditions of land tenure under which the taxes are paid being identical throughout the Transkei.

In the Ciskei we have the anomaly strongly brought to the forefront by Mr. Ncwana in the article we have already drawn attention to. Three quarters of a million Bantu people in the urban areas, he says, are debarred from participating in the administration of their own people and from shaping the destinies of their own race. From what we remember, all Natives were eligible for election to local councils in the Ciskei, till an amendment to the Native Affairs' Act 1920 was introduced by the Government limiting the right of participating in local councils only to Natives who paid the hut or land tax of ten shillings in the crown locations, and also to quitrent payers domiciled in areas specified in the Schedule to the Natives' Land Act of 1913. This stipulation closed the door to all Natives living in urban locations and within the municipalities proper, in relation to Bunga administration.

While there is a large number of intellectual Natives domiciled in the crown locations and quitrent areas who can be relied upon for sound commonsense and ability to steer the ship of self-government; it cannot be disputed that without the co-operation of their educated and progressive brethren in the towns, no local or general council can be regarded as fully representative of Bantu thought and aspiration. Any insistence with local government among Natives on the lines adopted in the Ciskei will only mean a half-hearted enterprise towards Bantu development that would never approximate to the success attained in the Transkei. With the vanguard of Native intellectuals in the towns denied the privilege of co-operation in the upliftment of their people, while living right in their midst, the mockery of perpetuating the absurdity will make itself more evident as time wears on. The only outcome of such a policy would be the creation of parallel institutions of Native development, one in the urban areas where these people will sooner or later demand an equivalent of the Bunga, and the other in the rural areas which are already provided for. It will produce a most undesirable state of affairs, for the segregation would engender rivalry and ultimately work towards obliterating each other. The very fact that urban Natives are compelled by the law as it stands, to alienate their sympathy and interest in an administrative body obviously designed to benefit the race as a whole, spells disaster to the whole cause.

It still rests with the Government to amend the law governing local and general councils in the Ciskei in a manner that will give urban Natives scope to co-operate. It may be necessary to impose a nominal tax on town Natives whose proceeds will find its way to the local council coffers in order to give them the representation. Mr. Ncwana's observations are certainly worth the respect of scrutiny by the Government, if the local council system must be a success.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

HIGHER EDUCATION IN NIGERIA.

Plain Speaking by Director of Education.

Speaking at the annual prize day at Igbobi College, Lagos, on April 28, Mr. E. R. J. Hussey, C.M.G., Nigeria's able and active Director of Education, took occasion to refer to recent criticisms of the new Higher College at Yaba, and to clear away prevalent misunderstandings as to the purposes which such institutions are designed to fulfil.

"I think it may be as well to point out," said Mr. Hussey, "that the establishment of an institution of this sort is not the irresponsible act of an individual, be he Director of Education or anyone else; but is part of a considered plan of educational development in British Africa, envisaged by the Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Dependencies with the approval of the Secretary of State. This committee is composed of men and women of pre-eminent distinction and ability in the sphere of education. It has from the start taken an active interest in this institution and in other institutions for higher education in Africa. And I suggest that those people in Nigeria, who are genuinely anxious to see advance in educational standards and ideals, watch the work of this very competent and disinterested committee, who are concerned with this college, and are at the present moment considering policy for higher education not only of Nigeria but also of the other great African Dependencies. To give fuller opportunities in Nigeria of academic and professional qualifications is a democratic measure, which may not commend itself to those who are swayed by personal motives, but that its results will be appreciated by the vast majority of Nigeria's millions no honest man can doubt.

Opportunity for Nigerian Youths.

"In saying this I want to make it quite clear that we do not in the least wish to discourage in any way those who prefer to go to a British University. It is indeed a matter of surprise to me that Africans have not themselves founded some scholarships for this purpose. British higher education depends very largely on endowment. Very few, if any, Nigerians have yet endowed colleges or scholarships, and I suggest that a beginning be made in this direction, and that those earnest young Lagosians who are apparently so interested in the subject should constitute themselves into a committee for the purpose of collecting an endowment fund. It is pleasing to find them interested, and here is an opportunity to put their keenness to a practical test.

"With the foundation in Africa of colleges of the type of the Yaba Higher College, it will be possible for students of proved industry and ability to proceed from them for post-graduate work at a British University. Not every student is fit for post-graduate work, but there will be some who can derive very great benefit from it, and the advantage of going at this stage is that they know by them on what lines they can best specialise. Universities in England are alive to this possibility, though no definite plans can be made until those colleges have had sufficient time to develop, but I hope that it will not be very long before Nigeria sends regularly specially selected students for post-graduate studies."

New Avenues of Employment.

Referring to the effect of the financial depression upon the students of the college and similar institutions, Mr. Hussey said: "Boys who pass out of Igbobi in these days cannot be sure of employment in what are sometimes called the 'black-coated professions.' There are a far larger number of suitable applicants for these posts than there are posts. . . . Industry in the European sense does not exist in Nigeria to-day. But there is a move on the part of some prominent Africans to develop in the first place minor industries which can be started with moderate capital. I believe that the system of co-operation will be of great assistance in this respect, and that with the arrival of Major Chadwick, who is to be the Co-operative Officer, a beginning will be made, which may be the foundation of serious industrial development."

Mr. A. C. G. Hasting's New Novel for "West Africa."

When some months ago West Africa published the last instalment of Mr. A. C. G. Hastings's fine story of the Coast, "The Proof," a woman correspondent, a hardened reader of novels and, moreover, herself a novelist, wrote to me and unashamedly confessed that she cried over it. Then she asked when readers were to have Mr. Hastings's next story. This month, I hope. It is called "Venom." I have had the pleasure and privilege—words used advisedly—of reading it in manuscript, and I congratulate Mr. Hastings, as I am sure readers in general will congratulate him, upon another remarkable example of his gift for telling a story (the first essential, in any novel), his wonderful versatility and his sure grasp of the facts of West African life and character. This time the scene is laid in Southern Nigeria. The central figures are a priestess of mysterious ancestry, a young English woman, a Scottish trader and his admirably-drawn wife, his sinister partner, and a young English-man explorer and temporary trader; and out of their doings and characters Mr. Hastings has woven a story which holds one's interest for every moment.

West Africa, I am glad to say, has secured the sole right of publication in serial form. The story is to be published in book form by the Eldon Press.

Welsh Miners for the Gold Coast.

Books for African Readers.

Helping Co-operation of Black and White.

The Lord Mayor of London presided on Tuesday at the annual Missionary Breakfast of the Religious Tract Society. Mr. F. H. Melland, one of the four speakers, said, *inter alia*:—

"I have been asked to speak as an 'unprofessional missionary.' That phrase is better than "amateur,' for professional missionaries are also amateurs, in that they work for love. Some missionaries are inclined at times to be limited in horizon. I sympathise with them because a District Officer in a bush district suffers from a like limitation. Not till I moved to developed areas with mines and white settlement could I, to a certain extent break those bounds. Even then I was too close to the trees, and I believe I have been able to see the forest of our African problem more clearly since I retired.

"For a third of a century I have had intimate contact with Africa. . . . I have heard Africans criticise anthropologists for going to Africa to study them. Some express the view that it would be better for African anthropologists to come over here and study us. There is some sense in that, but there are no African anthropologists qualified for the task. So we must do more to explain ourselves by means of books. The African must learn to understand us and our ideals.

"At present his perspective is all wrong. He judges from individuals, though an individual example proves nothing, and, not knowing or appreciating their background, he ignores essentials and fastens on superficials. Superficials with the white man—much more than with the Native—are often artificials, but the African does not grasp that. Few Africans imagine a white man without his cars and trains. He pictures us as a race born, like Mars, fully armed with all our gadgets.

"The African who can read will read anything. . . . The supply rests with us: a grave responsibility—but a magnificent opportunity. We are careful what literature falls into the hands of our own children. Banning the unsuitable is the negative form, but our care has also a positive form. We try to provide books that will help their understanding and development. We should take no less care for our wards than for the children born to us. So far, as the Rev. Edwin Smith has pointed out, 'We are giving them practically nothing to read.' The R.T.S. does splendid work in printing and circulating the school books that make it eventually possible to read the Bible. 'Pilgrim's Progress' and other books are complementary and supplementary to the Bible, but fine as is this foundation, it is not enough. It would not suffice for our own children.

Subjects Suggested.

"I want to see an ever-growing series of simple, well-written books for the African. Lives of our great explorers, and all whose careers have been founded on altruism and Christian ideals of service. Show the African what they stood for, lived for. Lives of our great scientists, and what their work has meant to us. This has such a good line of approach for Africans whose own social structure is based on duty to the community—of service, irrespective of personal gain. Pick names as you like—Livingstone, Darwin, Lister, Ross, Marconi, Edison, Shaftesbury, Florence Nightingale—all, despite our individualism, worked not for self, but for mankind. Their lives will help to explain to Africa the best that is in us. Kipling has truly said that most people are judged by their worst work. Let us take care that the worst work we give Africa to judge us by is of a high standard. The misunderstanding, underrating, misjudging of Britain in Africa may become a very grave danger. That danger is already discernible.

"There could be included a history of the steam engine, of medicine and nursing, of the progress of hygiene, of the evolution of agriculture, and of English local self-government. In such ways we can familiarise them with the ideas at the back of our heads. The scope is unlimited, and the market for the right books at the right price would also be nearly limitless, so that before long they would be self-supporting. At first some would only be in English, but later they should be translated into the leading African languages.

"For such reasons as these I welcome the opportunity to plead for a hundred times more support for the Society, and particularly for the African Fund, which, given adequate support, can develop to meet the needs of Africa. Without such support it can only furnish crumbs from the rich man's table. As trustees for Africa it is our duty to supply endless books of the right kind . . . or we should never have taught the African to read."

Wisdom from the Report

Of the Morris Carter Commission.*

"We cannot look into the future and say that this or that tribe will be most in need of land, or even say how long Natives will wish to hold land tribally or live in tribal conditions. The greatest disservice we could do to the country would be to compromise future development by locking up rigidly in tribal compartments land not yet required by the tribes, because we apprehend that at some uncertain date in the future it might be required. . . .

"The Reserves, taken as a whole, should easily support the total Native population which lives in them.

"In the three Kikuyu districts some local congestion

exists but no general congestion. It could, to a large measure, be relieved by the practice of better methods of agriculture and animal husbandry, and by modifications in the system of land tenure designed to promote a greater fluidity of distribution.

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"In most cases—for instance, those of the Suk and Njemps—the tribe, by wanton accumulation of unmarketable live stock far in excess of its needs, has produced such devastation by overstocking that, unless conditions are drastically changed, the ruination of these Reserves is in sight.

London, England

"The problem of overstocking is grave and urgent, and unless immediate and decisive steps are taken, many of the Native Reserves will be irretrievably ruined, and their inhabitants reduced to a state bordering on starvation. The process of denudation and destruction, once started, continues at an ever-increasing rate as the stock multiply at compound interest, and the longer firm action is delayed the greater will be the difficulty and expense of restoring the country to prosperity. . . .

"We recommend, with all the emphasis at our command, that action be taken with the least possible delay to inaugurate the culling of surplus stock, and to pursue unremittingly a policy of controlling the cattle population within the limits which the grazing facilities from time to time dictate.

Squatter Cattle.

"Mr. T. J. O'Shea believes there are something like 250,000 Native cattle on European farms in the Nzoia Province alone, and there are probably at least that number of sheep and goats. The numbers kept on the farms are out of all proportion to the requirements of the Natives; a system of 'Kaffir farming' is prevalent; and the abuse, as Mr. O'Shea says, far outweighs any possible benefit. . . . A policy of limiting the numbers on the farms to the economic requirements of the Natives should gradually and steadily be pursued concurrently with that of reducing the numbers of uneconomic stock in the Reserves. It is not a matter which should be left entirely to local opinion.

"Some witnesses have contended that any land which is suitable for European settlement is European Highlands. We are not prepared to accept that view. . . . In a country where the immigrant communities are of more than one race, as in Kenya, where there are approximately 30,644 Indians, 16,812 Europeans, and 12,166 Arabs, it is a fair and reasonable arrangement, in the particular circumstances of the case, to reserve agricultural land in the higher and cooler areas for the Europeans, while allowing the Indians and Arabs to take up land in the lower and warmer climates to which they are accustomed in their own land; but it would not be fair that the privilege be extended to the point of claiming for Europeans the exclusive use of all available agricultural land, even in the lowlands, on which they could maintain themselves.

Conditions in the Native Reserves.

"All the evidence points to a high rate of increase among the Native population, and we cannot discern any reason for expecting any slackening of the rate within the next two decades. . . . The official estimate of the total Native population of Kenya is 3,007,645.

"The model small-holding at the Scott Agricultural Laboratories is the more to be admired because it teaches the Native that, if he wants a higher standard of life, he must work for it, and shows him how to do so. Demonstrations of model housing and the like should always be accompanied by a practical lesson of this sort; otherwise they merely teach the Native to be discontented with his lot without showing him the means of improvement. The first condition of progress in the Reserves is that the Natives should be brought to realise that a higher standard is within their grasp if they will work to attain it, and be prepared to accept guidance.

"As a general statement of the degree of achievement, it may be said that Natives who formerly cultivated for subsistence, now consume only about half of what they grow, and sell the rest. There are already considerable numbers of Native shopkeepers and traders and a few millers; many owners of ploughs and carts, ready to plough on shares or to transport produce for a share of the proceeds; a few carpenters and masons, and one or two Natives who have started brickworks or who dig sand or murrum; and here and there a Native turned nurserymen and raising seedling trees for sale.

"Even the Masai have begun, in a very small way, to grow lucerne for their stock, and are also showing a dawning interest in growing crops for their own food requirements.

"The Kamba of Machakos district are suffering from reckless overstocking in the past and their position to-day is most difficult. . . . They have largely extended the area of their cultivated land and also made creditable efforts through their Native Councils to plant trees on the brows and slopes of hills and thereby check off-scouring of the hillside.

"In the reserves of the Suk, the Njemps, and the Samburu the people appear to show absolutely no regard for the ruination which is going on before their eyes, but devote their lives to amassing vast herds of uneconomic livestock, which are fast turning their country into a desert.

Native Ideas of Cattle.

"Half the lesson will have been learnt as soon as the average Native is ready to take one good cow in exchange for two bad cows. . . . The other half will be learnt when he realises that, in order to have good cattle, he must take steps to protect his pasture. . . .

"The first special reason which makes it hard for the Native to learn the necessary lessons is the peculiar position which cattle and goats occupy in Native social life. We may notice four instances:—

"(a) When return of bride-price or any other debt payable in livestock is claimed, the return is on the basis of a beast for a beast, although there is generally a tariff whereby (in Kamba and Kikuyu) one cow = two bulls = ten goats. With certain trifling exceptions, no distinction is made between a good beast and a bad one, and if the price fixed for a wife is, for instance, four cows and a bull, almost any four cows will do, and no lesser number, however good, would be accepted as quittance.

"(b) If a cow received in marriage price dies before it has calved, the hide and the meat may be returned, and another cow may be demanded. It is therefore natural that Natives should regard even barren cows as worth something more than their apparent value.

"(c) Most cases in the Native courts relate to cattle, and the court fees are assessed *ad valorem* on the basis of a tariff under which a cow has a fixed value. This gives a kind of official support to the view that one cow is as good as another.

"(d) Very large numbers of cattle are held in some form of trust, so that in many cases a man would not feel himself justified in killing a beast, even if he wishes to do so, without a family gathering to sanction it."

African National Congress.

[*Continued.*]

The President General of the African National Congress Dr. P. ka Isaka Seme of Sterkfontein 221 Joubert Street, Vollsmuit, Transvaal sends us the following letter of instruction to members of the above organisation through Rev E. Mdolomba who is the General Secretary; and we commend the

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exhaustive epistle to the Serious consideration of the members of the African National Congress throughout the Union. Dr. Seme writes:—

To Members and Organanisers of,

The African National Congress.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

THE STATUS BILL.

Lastly I just wish to mention that there is now before the Union Parliament a serious proposal to amend the South Africa Act of Union, of 1909. The proposed Bill besides annexing, as it were, the old Natal and the Cape to the old Transvaal and the Orange Free State Republics proceeds to exclude the rights and the powers of Great Britain from this country as follows.—

The Parliament of the Union shall be the sovereign legislative power in and over the Union, and notwithstanding anything in any other law contained, no Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland passed after the 11th day of December, 1931, shall extend or be deemed to extend to the Union as part of the Law of the Union, unless extended thereto by an Act of the Parliament of the Union."

The proposed Bill allows his Majesty, King George V. to be the King of South Africa and as such to act on the advice of his Ministers in the Union. I also note that the Bill incidently abolishes the status of British subjects in this country.

Our chief concern as Africans is that we are not represented in the present Union Parliament in any shape or form, it is only natural therefore that we should be most apprehensive when we see the Union Parliament preparing to take away our British status of "British subjects" without giving us Africans any equivalent status in the new State of South Africa.

It is most desirable that all the Provincial Presidents should get into close contact with all the Local Branches of the Congress within their respective Provinces and make sure of their active support. These Provincial Presidents together with the President General and other members of the National Executive should meet and ask the Secretary for Native Affairs to be good enough to arrange that His Honour, the Minister of Native Affairs may receive us as a deputation of the African National Congress, to express to him and to the Honourable Prime Minister, if possible, all our fear with regard to this measure and to state the Natives' point of view with regard to the other Bills which are now before the Union Parliament which especially affect the Natives.

In closing I beg to pray all our leaders to sink their personal differences and to co-operate with me in the common duty of leading our people under one common policy and toward one goal.

[*Concluded.*]

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Colour Bar in Basutoland

The Sowetan

Their friends that side of the river Orange will perhaps be surprised to learn that colour bar is gradually growing from bad to worse in Basutoland. No African, other than post-messengers are allowed to use telephone offices. Acute colour hostility and groundless mutual suspicion and boring hatred are daily experiences. Europeans in territory embrace a thought branded with racial stigma derived from the earthly negrophobism Biblically based upon the Old Testament curse of Ham. Naked are their reasons for adopting this inimical attitude towards Basuto. The sum total of my difficulty is that they can't (owing to their long disuse) do any kitchen work. Who washes their dishes, whose are the hands that clean the telephones they use. If psychology is the scientific study of the working of the mind European psychology in this respect hopelessly fails; what descent home is there without a kitchen? Can South African Europeans do without Africans? The great lesson of Interdependence will solve the problem.

The famine relief officers travel in beautiful sedan cars throughout the length and breadth of Basutoland, and they are paid for travelling. Basuto could do much more better and efficiently than the Europeans as they know peoples needs and failings better than the other race, but because of their colour no offer is made to them!

A MISSIONARY CRITIC

Natal Mercury 1-12-34

NOT so very long since, it was quite the fashion in certain quarters to seize upon each and every opportunity of criticising missionary work in various parts of the African Continent. For the most part this criticism was both unintelligent and uninformed, but it undoubtedly had the effect of undermining public sympathy and support. In some instances the critics even went so far as to openly condemn missionary enterprise, with the result that the public opinion regarding it was markedly divided.

We can remember the time when these attacks were quite frequent, and it needed something more than mere figurative statements to refute them. It would be idle to deny that in some instances some of the criticism levelled against the missionaries was more or less justified, for there can be no question that there were abuses which shook public confidence and made many wonder whether the christianising of the African Native was worth while. With the passing of time, however, there has been a marked change, and today it can justly be claimed that the work of our missionaries is viewed from a more enlightened and sympathetic angle.

It is too much to expect, however, that the work of such a vast organisation, with its thousands of workers and adherents scattered all over the known Globe, should be entirely free from criticism, indeed it is fitting that those who have a part in the work should have the fullest opportunity of expressing their views concerning its administration. At the same time it is important that such criticism should be well informed if it is to accomplish anything of real value It is not for us even to suggest that our missions and missionaries are in need of assistance in the way of defence. "By their fruits ye shall know them," and the record of accomplishment during the last half century is such as to gladden the hearts and stimulate the courage of those who are so ably carrying out the work of the Master. Theirs is a noble task, and in the doing of it they have the assurance that their efforts cannot and will not fail.

Of critics and criticism there is no end, and it is interesting to read what a gentleman who spent some months in visiting South and East Africa with with the ostensible object of gaining first-hand information regarding missionary work in which he intends to participate - recently had to say as a result of his observations. At a meeting held in London under the auspices of the South African Church Institute, Mr. George Harwood, voiced the opinion that the hope of Africa depends upon the building up of a Bantu civilisation. Without this, he said, white civilisation will be lost. Apparently Mr. Harwood holds that Native tribal life should cease, and that the Church should take its place He was outspoken concerning things as he saw them. "The Christian Natives, he remarked," have lost their dignity, and have assumed a false modesty. There are inclined to look upon the Church as a source of charity, and membership of it as a social catchet. There is too much black brotherhood among the missionaries, and if they feel they must treat the Natives as brothers, they must not treat the white population as third cousins" Although Mr. Harwood may have been influenced by the highest motives, we cannot help feeling that he should have hesitated before coming to such a conclusion. He himself admitted that after such a comparatively short stay in this country his views might be open to criticism, and competent judges will agree with Dr. Karney, formerly Bishop of Johannesburg, that the picture drawn by Mr. Harwood was overdrawn.

It is quite conceivable that in some respects missionary work in Africa is capable of improvement. Bearing in mind the enormous difficulties which have had to be faced, the danger, trials and privations endured by those brave pioneers of missionary enterprise the sum total of accomplishment is far from disappointing. On the contrary, there is every reason for thankfulness and encouragement. It is to be hoped that when Harwood embarks upon his career as a mission worker, he will more fully realise the danger of indulging in generalisations based upon a casual experience of actual conditions.

Union Native Teachers.

The biennial conference of the South African Native Teachers' Federation met in Bloemfontein under the chairmanship of Professor Jabavu, of Fort Hare, when delegates were present from the four provincial organisations. Among the conference resolutions passed were :- Native

(1) The federation favours the principle and practice of employing Native teachers of the right character and with the proper qualifications in training and secondary schools and recommends the principle and practice to all missionary and church bodies.

(2) This federation urges the need for the inauguration of a pension fund for Native teachers in the various provinces and confirms the evidence which has already been laid before the Provincial Financial Commission in this respect. 1-16-34.

(3) This federation realises the heavy burden that rests on missionary societies in financing secondary schools which they have borne in all the Provinces for so long and urges the Education Department to relieve these societies by taking over the entire financing of Native secondary schools. King William Town

(4) The conference deplores the attitude adopted by the Transvaal Administration in excluding the representatives of the Transvaal African Teachers' Association from the Native Education Advisory Board and urges that the system adopted by the Orange Free State and Cape Native Education Advisory Boards wherein provision for such representation is made be followed also by the Transvaal. South Africa

(5) The federation respectfully

asks the Government now to address itself to the whole question of the financing of Native education and suggests (a) that two-fifths of the Native poll tax be contributed to the Native development fund or (b) that the per capita basis be adopted.—Reuter.

Native Grazing Areas

(Native Opinion)

For several years past repeated representations have been made by the Ciskei Native Convention and other bodies strongly protesting against what they considered wholesale encroachments on the grazing preserves of Native peasants by the Forest Department. 1-16-34

It is gratifying to learn that through the untiring and laudable efforts of Mr. A. C. V Baines, M. P., the Native Affairs Department has at last agreed to appoint a small commission consisting of representatives of the Native Affairs Department, the Forest Department, and the Irrigation Department to examine the question upon the spot, when those Native people concerned will have an opportunity of making representations on their own behalf.

As this question touches the very life and existence of our people we sincerely trust that the most expert and well-informed circles amongst Natives will be co-ordinated in order to submit the strongest case possible from their side. It is the Africans who are the sufferers; therefore the Commission is of more importance to them than the Government departments. The Secretary for Native Affairs deserves the hearty thanks of the Natives in doing justice by way of a thorough investigation into the acute problem.

That Teachers Magazine.

(The Comet)

In our issue of the 13th ult we published a letter by "Educationist" who chose to defend the missionaries for the introduction of the Magazine as against the protests against it. We are glad that he has taken it upon himself to champion the magazine and to defend its promoters because by so doing he will help to bring to the public view the two sides of this question and thus enable the fairminded to decide who is in the right. 7-10-34

Educationist says he has read with interest and with some amusement the articles on this subject which have appeared in our paper. That Educationist should be amused by articles expressing the views of people who have a real grievance we really do not understand. From his pen name it could be easily understood that Educationist must be working together with these agrieved teachers or with another body of teachers who are engaged in the education of the Basuto children and must therefore be in such a position as to be acquainted with the interests of the teachers and education in this Territory, and for him to be amused by an expression of feeling from the aggrieved teachers go to show how lightly other peoples interests are regarded by some people.

After expressing amusement the writer goes on to say: "I take it that it is not a question of financial hardship as two shillings and six pence is nothing compared with what the average teacher spends on unnecessary things, but it is rather that people do not like to be compelled to do what is right. This word "compelled" is in italics and by that word Educationist admits that there is cause for grievence. Fancy a man who is amused at the expression of grievances and at the same time admitting the source of grievance. The grievance is admitted but any attempt at voicing it is rediculed! Does that mean that teachers must not entertain any hope of having their grievances redressed in Basutoland? Are the authorities so hard-hearted that they must squeeze half-crowns out of the poor teachers in order to print for them a magazine that may give occasional hints on certain subjects simply because the teachers are supposed to be spending their money on useless things such as tobacco, beer, patent medicines etc. Compulsion has and will always be detestable especially during this twentieth century when the principle of consultation and consent are recognized to be the only proper ones in order to expect good results in any undertaking where the co-operation of other people is required. If Educationist and the missionaries discount the wisdom of "doing unto others as ye would unto thyself" and prefer to preach and practise the doctrine of compulsion they had better join the German army and vacate their positions as missionaries and educationists in this Territory. Goodwill among the people is not brought about by compulsion. If the statement that is said to have been made by the Editor of 'Leselinyana' to one of our correspondents E.J.M. is to be believed we should wonder whether the magazine has not been started for the P.E.M.S. teachers with one eye on the profits that will accrue. The same statement is repeated by Educationist with emphasis when he says: "Just imagine! out of 730 teachers 95 subscribe to the Leselinyana." Just because the majority of the teachers have neglected to support "Leselinyana" the whole body must be punished by having the magazine forced down their throats! They must be compelled to subscribe to a magazine or in other words they must be compelled to support the mission printing works that print the magazine. If at all the magazine is admitted to be essential in the interests of education in Basutoland why not supply it to all the teachers of Basutoland irrespective of the denominations? Why discrimination?

It has been stated by the Secretary of Schools for the P.E.M.S. that the majority of teachers have accepted the the magazine in the right spirit, but in the several letters that we have already published and others that we have not published that statement has been denied. It is possible the Secretary had that impression because the majority of the teachers preferred to keep quiet rather than to endanger their positions during this hard times.

For the interests of the teachers in particular and education in general we once more appeal to the Education Department to intervene on behalf of the teachers in this matter and bring it to a peaceful ending.

asks the Government now to address itself to the whole question of the financing of Native education and suggests (a) that two-fifths of the Native poll tax be contributed to the Native development fund or (b) that the per capita basis be adopted.—Reuter.

Native Grazing Areas

(Native Opinion 7-1-34)

For several years past repeated representations have been made by the Ciskei Native Convention and other bodies strongly protesting against what they considered wholesale encroachments on the grazing preserves of Native peasants by the Forest Department. 1-16-34

It is gratifying to learn that through the untiring and laudable efforts of Mr. A. C. V. Baines, M. P., the Native Affairs Department has at last agreed to appoint a small commission consisting of representatives of the Native Affairs Department, the Forest Department, and the Irrigation Department to examine the question upon the spot, when those Native people concerned will have an opportunity of making representations on their own behalf.

As this question touches the very life and existence of our people we sincerely trust that the most expert and well-informed circles amongst Natives will be co-ordinated in order to submit the strongest case possible from their side. It is the Africans who are the sufferers; therefore the Commission is of more importance to them than the Government departments. The Secretary for Native Affairs deserves the hearty thanks of the Natives in doing justice by way of a thorough investigation into the acute problem.

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Race Problem - 1934

Africa

How West African Chief Received AFRO Editor

NOTE: The following is a part of a stenographic report of a "Palava" when the AFRO-AMERICAN Good Will Ambassador visited Chief Mabmu and his elders at Bendu. The conference was carried on through interpreters. Several times during the conference the chief and the elders went out to "hang heads" (confer). The conference was followed by a big feast of native cooked food.

Afro

Speeches made at Bendu, Grand Cape Mount County, on the occasion of a visit made there by William N. Jones, managing editor of the AFRO-AMERICAN on Tuesday, November 21, 1933.

Mr. Jones: Chief, I am very glad to be in your town. I have come to Africa bringing good-will and friendship of a number of people in the United States of America who are your kith and kin who are interested in your welfare and who want to become closer friends with you.

They have sent me over here in order that I may tell you of their interest in you, and to say that we have been thinking a good deal of late of some way we can cooperate with you.

We would like to know how you feel toward anything that we can possibly do for you as your brothers across the sea and in making Liberia the kind of country that you want it to be. We would like to come and discuss about how we could help each other.

Asks Expression

If we can do anything to assure you of our friendship we shall be pleased to do so.

We want you to tell us how you feel, not only about your own but how you feel about cooperating with us and our cooperating with you to help make this country one in which you will live happier lives.

Sometime ago, some people visited Africa and returned to the United States and said that certain things were going on over here. Among those things, they said certain conditions of slavery and forced labor existed here supported by people from the United States who came here years ago from the United States where they were slaves themselves.

Also it was said that there were large numbers of you people who preferred the white and would like to have white people rule over you. Many of us could not see how that could be and we did not believe it. I want to be able to return to the United States and tell the people over there how you feel about it.

Now, there are people in the United States who are willing to raise money to help you develop this country by building roads and increasing the trade of this country; and I come also to look around and see how best that could be done.

We are doing that over there because we feel there is a blood relationship between us and we wish to bring about a revival of our blood relationship. I am therefore here as a brother to talk with you and see how you feel about it.

Genuine Friendship

Since I have been in Africa, I have had a very strong impression of the genuine friendship which exists between the natives and the civilized people and I am here to express our brotherly friendship and revive it. We have 14,000,000 black people in the United States and we are seeking a way whereby they may cooperate so that the Negroes of the two continents can work together.

I want to thank you for coming out today and I would like to hear you talk and hear how you feel towards the hands of fellowship which we are extending to you,

Chief Mambu: It is the custom of this country when a big man comes from abroad, to get the elders of the tribe together who are better prepared to give information. We are all young men and we are sorry. What is pleasing is that a communication came from the president and superintendent, announcing your arrival. Among the native, after a stranger break word, we usually give him something to eat before we say anything. You said you are one of us. We have never seen you before.

We have heard much abut slavery. It is the worst thing for a country. At present it is totally abolished in this country.

Many people may wish for white people to come and take over the country, but the majority—particularly the thinking class—wish to control the country themselves. If the white people should come and give a helping hand, it would be pleasing to us, but we hate the idea of the mtaking over the country; not because we hate them, but because we feel that we are the lords of this country.

We depend for a livelihood chiefly upon the rice we raise as well as the produce we gather. At present there is no good market for these. We cannot tell the reason. I am not in a position to give you the news in full. Only the elders can do so. Even if I have much to say, I cannot do so now. This is all I can say at present.

Mr. Jones: We also have in mind ways whereby we can buy your produce and give you pay for it. We in America eat a quantity of things that you raise. We are studying a plan whereby we might buy the rice and coffee and other products from you and give you a good price for them. I wish to thank you for your expressions and shall be glad to take back what you have said to my people.

Col. T. Elwood Davis: This is my first time coming to Cape Mount. I have been hearing of Bendu for years. All of these are my friends. They know me and I know them. I seized this opportunity of coming up here because I would have the chance of seeing Cape Mount. It may be years before I see this place again.

It gives me much joy to walk with Mr. Jones and for my name to be associated with his great movement. It is a movement that will be world-wide. The white man wants to possess every place black men live. They do not mind you living. If they should take over Liberia your town will be here; you will still plant your rice, etc.; still plant your coffee; make clothes; but you will not be free.

Liberia Free

The unique part of Liberia is that we are free. With that freedom we have an opportunity that Negroes in other parts of the world do not have. I was not born here. I was born in a whtie man's country and got my education there. But with all that I was not free until I came to Liberia. You do not and cannot appreciate what freedom means until you have had to live in a white man's country.

In the neighboring colonies conditions there are not very favorable for the black man and that is Liberia in their hands so that when they put our boys to work, instead of being compelled to pay one shilling a day they may pay eight cents or six cents.

So, all this fuss you hear is not about slavery, not forced labor, not Liberia's deplorable economic condition; not because white people are sorry for us, but rather that the white man wishes to enslave us for his benefit—not for our benefit but for his own.

Firestone would like to plant another 50,000 acres of rubber but does not wish to spend another $8,000,000 to do so. The Government said: "Go plant your rubber; but we will not permit you to take Liberia for the sake of rubber. And we are not going to consent to the League of Nations plan or any other plan of assistance that will destroy the country." We have been fighting for it three years. You did not know. You were here at Bendu; the superintendent at Robertsport, but President Barclay was down there fighting with Secretary of State Grimes at Geneva fighting too.

why we want to keep this place. Two years ago people came and said that Liberia must be taken over by the League of Nations. It was not because Liberia was bad; nor because conditions were worse here than they were in any other place, but they wanted Liberia for economic reasons. Some white people in America had plenty of money. They wanted to plant rubber and we gave them land to plant rubber. They spent their money and we were satisfied. They also loaned us money. They felt that the money they had spent was not secure and they found that they had spent more money than they had intended, and before they spend any more they want to get

C. G. Bryant: I wish to simply emphasize what the great chief said. Some newspapers abroad circulated that slavery was in Liberia, and that the people in Liberia are wishing for white men to rule them. The Negroes in America wish to help us but they are hesitating because of this information. They have therefore sent Mr. Jones to see if this is true.

When Mr. Jones came, he gave this information to the Government. If the President has told Mr. Jones that no slavery exists in Liberia and that Liberians prefer to be ruled by their own color, perhaps when Mr. Jones returns to America and gives the information there some will still doubt him. For that reason the Government has sent Mr. Jones and Colonel Davis to get it from your mouth. Now you have said that no slavery exists in this country in our presence and that the native people wish the black to come and help. Mr. Jones will give this information to the press and will be pleased to know that he got the information from the natives themselves.

The Native Pass Laws

Johannesburg Star Mail

1-19-34

WHEN, some twelve or thirteen years ago, the Inter - Departmental Committee recomended the abolition of the Pass Laws and the substitution of something in the nature of a permanent identification certificate, hopes were entertained that ere long steps would be taken in this direction. It would appear, however, that the Department of Native Affairs could not see its way to jettison legislation which had been placed on the Statute Book at the behest of a clamorous section of the Union public, with the result that it has remained to aggravate and annoy.

From what was stated by the Minister of Native Affairs in Johannesburg a few weeks ago, it would appear that the Government is fully cognisant of the position. Replying to a deputation from the Transvaal Congress, Mr. Grobler stated: " I realise that the pass lawa are regarded as a serious matter by the Natives. On the other hand, it is also looked upon as an important matter by a large section of the white population. I must therefore frankly say that the time has not yet come for the total abolition of these laws in the Transvaal. But there is justification for some relief being given, and I hope that shortly I will be able to obtain the sanction of the Cabinet to a scheme under which Natives belonging to certain classes, such as Chiefs, Government clerks and teachers, will be automatically

exempted, as well as respectable and deserving Natives being eligible for exemption by myself."

There is not the least doubt that the removal of the irksome restrictions operating in the neighbouring Province have been the direct cause of much trouble and bitterness, and that in practice it has been proved that the remedy is worse than the disease. A glance at our prison statistics indicate all too clearly the extent to which the pass laws are responsible for filling our gaols. Perhaps it is not generally known that in one year upwards of 40,000 prosecutions under the pass laws took place in the Transvaal, compared with a meagre 3,000 in the remainder of the Union. Work this out on a basis of expenditure upon feeding and clothing these thousands of quasi criminals, and one will realise what this legislation has cost, and is still costing the people of the Union. Even the Minister of Native Affairs is not prepared to deny that his Department is cognisant of its many evils, perhaps the worst of which is the fact that it tends to create criminals. While it may be true that the policy of the Department of Native Affairs may be influenced largely by the European opinion, it is equally certain that our people are being penalised and badgered to an extent which cannot fail to produce unwelcome repercussions.

If the white people of South Africa realised the full meaning and significance of the pass laws, there would be little difficulty in the way of bringing about a change, but until they are in a position to understand the implications and dangers of these restrictions, there is, we fear, little hope of their being done away with. As we have already pointed out, the pass laws have a large part in the manufacture of criminals, and there is not the least doubt that in numerous cases some of the worst Native criminals began their career of crime with an offence against the pass laws It is not beyond the wit of the clever Native to evade these laws. and experience shows that this is being done to a considerable extent. All this is well known to the Minister, and it seems more than probable that he remembered it when replying to the deputation from the Transvaal African Congress.

There are many who regret that the Minister, having gone so far, did not take his courage in both hands and go further. It must not be forgotten, however, that the question of the pass laws bristles with difficulties, and in the circumstances it is at least satisfactory to note the tenor of Mr. Grobler's statement, and definite promise in regard to the granting of exemptions. This might well be the prelude to a happier and more just state of affairs.

National Congress Pother.

Judging by the herculean attempts of Dr. P. ka Isaka Seme to resuscitate the African National Congress at the Johannesburg Conference last month one could not fail to observe the stupendous task which confronted him. Without delving deeply into the causes of dissension between the President-General (Mr. Seme) and his Transvaal Province colleagues, the superficial glance satisfies one that the bone of contention is the observance or non-observance of the constitution of the National Congress, by one party or the other. From what we know of the history of the Congress, its life has been that of an invalid living on the verge of self-extermination almost from its very inception in 1912. The saddest aspect of A. N. Congress conferences was the characteristic of the leaders and officials failing at every turn to agree unanimously on resolutions passed. Almost without exception delegates to congresses had to call for a division in voting on the clauses of the constitution. Needless to say, the minority in each case yielded a disgruntled faction, whose resolve it was to thwart the peaceful operation of the constitution which they considered was ridden rough-shod over their unwilling susceptibilities. Year after year the ranks of reactionaries thus created swelled until a few leaders and even officials within the "cabinet" became so disaffected as to forsake the head of the Congress and run parallel organisations under the same nomenclature. We venture to think that the A. N. C. would have had better opportunities of attaining its resurrection if the renegade sections (if one might rightly or wrongly call them) had started organisations other than those of the same name. The paradox is evident in the present duplication of provincial African National Congresses, each claiming recognition as the genuine body. The officials in the towns are conspicuously active in their obstreperous invective towards one another, while the rank and file and the chiefs (known as the Upper House) are kept in blissful ignorance of what transpires till the next conference meets. When the conference does eventually come together the cataclysm of vituperation between the belligerent factions is so terrific as to overshadow all chances of a solution being arrived at Conference after conference experience similar tragic happenings, and all end in a fiasco. The December gathering seemed to have attained slightly better results, for it at least terminated with the election *nem con* of a powerful cabinet whose names appear in another column. We do not feel entirely free from anxiety however regarding the future functioning of the A. N.C. for there is still that influential section of the erstwhile Congress leaders in the Transvaal who have not yet identified themselves with the framing of the current constitution and will therefore not submit to the President-General's ruling. Nor have we cause to be too pessimistic about the influence of the "cabinet" as constituted at present, among the African masses. History has taught the lesson that all national organisations have had a time when schisms were inevitable; but the principles of a righteous cause among a nation outlived and transcended these vicissitudes.

We are not enamoured with the A. N. C. Constitution's clause which empowers the President-General to elect his cabinet without reference to conference, and despite the fact that Congress retained the power to dismiss or to suspend any President, there is the danger of a tactless President doing irreparable harm to the interests of the Congress; his trial and dismissal coming in as closing stages of a disastrous regime. Democracy has been introduced among Africans as the superior form of Government by the cultured nations of the world. If the cabinet were elected directly by the delegates to conference the responsibility for failure and misrule would rest with the people themselves. The President - General would not figure as the scape-goat for the ineptitude of officials or be the target of dissatisfied self-seekers.

Race Problem – 1934

Africa

PRESENTATION OF NEW COLOURS TO THE SIERRA LEONE BATTALION ROYAL WEST AFRICAN FRONTIER FORCE.

By Alec. D. Yaskey.

There is nothing of what may be termed uncommon in the presentation of Colours within the Court and Fashion of the British Empire; but it may nevertheless be fairly affirmed, that with its antiquity, its signification is pregnant with meaning which implies, that honour has been given where honour is due, confidence justified and maintained, where mutually exchanged. In all ways therefore, the *quid pro quo* becomes positively electric by friction, when the demand occurs and its dispersion of light becomes so satisfactory, world-wide, and admired, that the observation of these properties brought such an event within the pale of the Empire.

Weekly Mirror 3/34

Freetown

In History we learn that it is obligatory upon the Dukes of Marlborough and Wellington, to present miniature flags annually to the Sovereign symbolic they are as an interesting survival of Feudal times rendered legally possible by the fact that the Act for the Abolition of Feudal times expressly retained the honorary services of Grand Sargenty—Honour maintained.

Then apart from this, every historic school boy knows that the service of the Duke of Wellington consists in to the annual rendering the Sovereign of a Flag bearing the Royal Arms of Great Britain and Ireland, on the Anniversary of the battle of Waterloo.

Similar act is required of the Duke of Marlborough on the 2nd August in every year. Following this, what about the presentation of a Red Rose to the Sovereign on the Feast of St. George?

Freetown Sierra Leone

Such measures and many more incidents of marked chivalry, honour, stability and dignity are duly reregistered; the truth it brings to the surface is priceless, moreover, it quickens, inspires, and promote objects of concern with a view of producing profound impression upon the populace. There is no gain-saying in this; dip it in the acid of lechery if you like, shrink the act or the saying to a whisper, its all silent biography, sequential and ultra-new filled with significance.—The tension snaps.

Common prudence, as an arm of the Empire brings to us through the medium of the Royal West African Frontier Force, the Sierra Leone Battalion in particular, a share of the King's beneficent gift of Honour; in attestation of battle honours, distinction, and gallantry which it invariably obtains.

Through the courtesy of the Officer Commanding the Troops, Colonel M. A. Greene, M.C., and his officers, Friday the 26th January, 1934 at 4.30 p.m., was specially set apart for public Presentation of New Colours to the Battalion by His Excellency Sir Arnold Hodson, K.C.M.G., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Sierra Leone.

The familiar arena if one may so call the vast parallelogram of Parade Ground at Wilberforce Barracks, was the scene of this happy military event which attracted the attention and admiration of a vast audience.

The arrangments and preparations we understand, were carried out by Captain Grimley the Adjutant, and a hard-working Committee of Officers, under control of the Officer Commanding. Their efforts have been completely successful, and the event was worthy of the patronage from all classes, from the highest seat of the Executive, down to the humblest costermonger or Lumley fishmonger. 'Bus fares mattered little. The enthusiastic audience numbered by thousand, motor cars over a hundred, while other vehicular means of transport were none the less absent.

The audience comprised Foreign Consuls, Civil officers, Heads of Department, Protectorate Chiefs and followers, Commercial Houses; thus White man and Black, Christians and Muslims, Syrians and the itinerant traders of the hinterland set their seal of appreciation in bearing testimony by their presence, to this fascinating function.

A four-paged neatly printed Programme in Blue, contained the Events of the Ceremony. Punctually at 4.30 p.m., every invitee was in his place. A pull on the halliands, up ran, out flew the Union Jack dazzling gloriously in the setting sun, rejoicing in its strength, waving the air of Liberty and Freedom to all, and yet to the strain of the National Anthem heralded the Governor's arrival. His Excellency Sir Arnold was in his Windsor Suit: with the dazzling distinctions on his breast made it possible for everyone to see him properly as the Golden sun-set lends its soft glowing rays.

There were ten officers on Parade and two in attendance. The Band pealed forth the exhilirating March "The Frontiers," specially composed by Bandmaster Spencer McEwen for the occasion; below is the sequence of Events:—

1. The Old Colours are trooped. This is the only occasion in all regiments of the Line, except one, when the King's Colonr is trooped.
2. The Old Colours are escorted along the length of the line followed by the Band playing "Auld Lang Syne." The Old Colours are then left, cased, in rear of the Battalion. Their Day is done.
3. The Battalion forms three sides of a square; the drums are piled in the centre; and the New Colours are placed against the pile of drums.
4. The New Colours are now uncased; the King's Colour by the second-in-command assisted by the subaltern who will carry this Colour: and the Regimental Colour by the next senior Captain and the subaltern who will carry the Regimental Colour.
5. The New Colours are now handed over to the subalterns. His Excellency the Governor delivers his address.
6. The Colours are unfurled and the subalterns turn towards the line. The Colours receive the "General Salute."
7. The Colour party marches to its place in line in slow time, while the Band plays "God Save the King."
8. The Battalion marches past in column; the Old Colours, cased following in rear of the column.
9. The Battalion forms up in line and advances in Review Order.

The King's Colours were borne by Lieutenant Turner; Regimental Colours by Lieutenant O'Dwyer and Escort to the Colours were three Africans—one Regimental Sergeant-Major and two other sergeants.

How many Africans would have wished for an African to carry the Colours supported on either side by European armed officers in keeping with the late Dr. Blyden's statement—Whitemen are Gods Policemen to keep Order, and Order is Heaven's first law; perhaps it might be considered a piece of impertinence to suggest this; no Reader, no, say the time is not yet to hand. Albeit "Duala" Cameroons, Tambi, the Rising in 1898, Foday Silla's war and other internecine wars stand conspicuously to the credit of the Battalion.

Their achievements reflect in superable credit to the foundation officers. We recall such names as Macdonnell Moore, the *intrepid and never to be forgotten* Lendy, Troughteon, Warren, Hastings, Sharpe of Karene rising, Campbell, whose remains lie at Mongray, Moore, Stanley, and many others *a perte de vue* then we cannot easily forget our own kith and kin, Kabba who won the V.C., in receiving a gun shot for Major Madden which was directed to him, the gallant and black soldier—Sub Inspector Taylor, who put to flight the parasitic Sofas in the North Eastern boundary with a handful of men and so earned the much coveted D.S.O., then there is Foday Kamara, who ably distinguished himself at Panguma on the Liberian Frontier.

The peculiar charm is, that these achievements have been so real as it is hard to explain and categorically catalogue, which does radiate from the outer world that much can be obtained from the Governor's Speech which is published in another column.

Aided by the public-spirited support and vision of its present leaders this Military Pageant marks another mile stone in their career to which every African should be justly proud; the dexterity and marked precision shown in drill and military exercises were marvellous and hardly could be beaten by men whose advantages point to cultural attainments.

In appreciation of such a marked gift with an exchange in the basic colour to Royal Blue, because the Regiment was created a Royal one in 1928, a high gala time was celebrated on the night of the function by the officers and sub-officers respectively. The African element had theirs the next day.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COLOURS.

King's Colour.—Union Jack. In centre two concentric yellow circles, the inner one containing the words "The Sierra Leone Battalion" and the outer one containing (circular fashion) the words "Royal West African Frontier Force" Above the cirles is a crown.

The fringe of the Colour is scarlet and gold thread.

Regimental Colour.—Background Royal Blue. On a scarlet background in centre a palm tree. Two concentric yellow circles border the scarlet centre. Between these two circles are contained the words "Royal West African Frontier Force" The above centre is contained within wreaths of roses, thistles, and shamrock in the appropriate colours.

Below the wreaths is a scroll bearing the words "The Sierra Leone Battalion."

On each side of the centre are the Battle Honours on scrolls of yellow; on the left "Duala" and on the right "Cameroons 1914-1916."

At each corner of the Colour is an elephant (argent).

The fringe of the Colour is of royal blue and gold thread.

Both Colours are of course, made of the finest silk.

Burying the Old Flag.—As a sequel to this function, a simple but yet very impressive ceremony was held at Government House at 8.45 a.m., on Monday last 29th, to which a representative body of prominent citizens, Civil Service Officers and the Commercial Houses, etc., were present at the invitation of the Governor. His Excellency received the Colours with all Military tradition at 9 o'clock.

A contingent of soldiers drawn from the Battalion led by the Regimental Band escorted the old colours. Through the south-west gate, entered the soldiers; an open column was soon formed; and after a few military exercises, detachment of the men proceeded forwards, the Old Colours were brought in to the music of Auld Lang Syne, so pathetically rendered; the audience who were seated on the grassy lawn, rose in filial farewell as this symbol of chivalry passed through. His Excellency received this famous colours and deposited them in their resting place to the honour and glory of the Force, there to remain as an imperishable honour to the "well done" of the Battalion and to be in view, if it is so required, to those who so desire if they want proof of their chivalry. Lying there it teaches patriotism love of country, devotion to the flag, equal opportunity to all, and representing the unchanging tradition of the Empire—Honour to whom honour is due.

Thus was brought to a close another historic milestone in the history of Sierra Leone and while congratulating Colonel Greene, his officers and the Battalion generally for such a gift, our greatest wish is, that they may maintain their standard and long enjoy the love, veneration and esteem of the Empire, whose liberties they have asserted by their virtues.

On the day of the Presentation of the New Colours we learn that a Special Cable Message was addressed to His Majesty the King Emperor, who is the Colonel-in-Chief of the Battalion through the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Non-European Trust.

Native Opinion 2/34

We do not share the pessimistic view of many Africans who think that because unorganised non-Europeans in South Africa are incapable of striving to attain their economic independence. For that matter all financially successful nations in the world had to do tremendous spade-work to gain their economic emancipation. The great step is to make a beginning. To sit down, fold our arms, and watch the other fellow exploit us, is the best discouragement we can invite. The common weakness of some of our 'ne'r do wells' is in seeing too much of the greatness of the other man, the hopelessness of competing with him, which of-course result in despair and utter

loss of confidence in ourselves. If the weak-kneed among the Africans would do less of the soap-box oratory that destroys good endeavour and substitutes nothing therefor; if they were less disposed to find fault with their compatriots who laboured in the nation's cause while they did nothing, some advancement might be achieved. But it is customary in legal jargon that "no case, abuse opponent." Many a fallen angel seeks rehabilitation and notoriety by mischievous attacks on the recognised vanguard of his people; in the hope of at least sharing a portion of their popularity. We hope that the sponsors of the movement to establish a national non-European financial trust co-operative syndicate in the last Non-European Conference at Port Elizabeth will disregard the vapourings of the fallen angels described above. The responsibility to initiate such an enterprise must be shouldered by a nucleus of non-Europeans who enjoy the confidence of most of their people.

Dr. Abdurahman made instructive observations in his introductory remarks to this subject. He advised delegates not to plunge hastily into such a momentous thing. Rome, he said, was not built in a day. This was a national matter, and what did a year or two amount to in the life of a nation. Let them go carefully and get the thing established on foundations that would stand the test of time.

THE TRAINING OF NATIVE ARTISANS.

A little while ago the Legislative Council of Kenya discussed the important point as to how far use should be made of Native artisans. We are not, for the moment, concerned with the specific case which gave rise to the debate, but rather with the general policy to be followed. In this case as in many others it is obvious that politics and economics are one. Let us start by ignoring the repressionist school, which would not train Native artisans at all. No Government dare be repressionist, and public opinion is increasingly realising that such a policy would not lead to more, but less, employment for Europeans. Apart from ethical considerations, it is a retarding, not a progressive, policy. Two dominant points remain. The first is that there is a limit to purely agricultural and pastoral progress in Native communities. If the Natives are to become useful citizens, contributing to, and sharing in, the prosperity of the State, they must be allowed several avenues of progress, and these must include "trades." Hitherto opportunism, rather than policy, has controlled the tendency, when anything approaching control can be said to have been exercised. Better methods will doubtless be evolved in time—possibly a blend of guilds and co-operative societies. But whatever the path of progress, progress there must be.

COMMON FAULTS OF AFRICAN NOVELISTS.

In a letter which appears elsewhere in this issue, Miss Jane England challenges the view expressed by East African reviewers that novelists laying their scene in an African Colony should not present abnormal sections of the community in such a way as to convey the impression that they are normal. Our editorial view has been expressed repeatedly, and is exactly that of our contributor. We cannot admit the analogy which Miss England seeks to draw with an English county, for the world is in no danger of generalising from the portrayal of some tragic family or group on a Sussex farm, in a Manchester slum, or in the hectic night club atmosphere of some city. Without being "thin-skinned," we feel strongly that Rhodesia, or Kenya, neither of which is yet adult, *pace* Miss England, are in a different position. Since the English reader gets his, or her, ideas of these Colonies largely from fiction, there is a duty upon the conscientious novelist to bear that fact constantly in mind, and, while not advocating that a falsely roseate picture should be painted, featuring nothing but flourishing farmers and people of spotless integrity and high ideals, we insist that a true balance should be maintained. Clean, decent-living, hard-working people form the great majority in our Colonies. Despite the depression, most farmers have survived and kept their ends up. These should be portrayed, and if samples of the few shiftless wasters or degenerates must figure—and East Africa, like any other part of the world, has her share—they should be shown in their proper proportion and perspective, and not be allowed to occupy the stage all the time to the exclusion of the better, and average, elements. The majority of readers of an English novel set in an English scene live in England. The majority of readers of a novel that is set in East or Central Africa do not live in one of those Colonies. That is the vital difference. Hundreds of thousands picture a District Officer's life in Nigeria from "Sanders of the River"; the general idea of the Foreign Legion is coloured by "Beau Geste"; "The Story of an African Farm" and "The Dope Doctor" have provided a background of South Africa for legions.

"EAST AFRICA" SEEKS A GOOD NOVEL.

So strongly do we feel on this matter that we have determined never to publish an East African novel, however good in other respects, if it transgresses in this way. It is unfortunately the fact that practically all the East African novels so far issued to the public do commit these cardinal faults; moreover, during the past two or three years we have rejected fully a score of East African novels offered to us for publication, and if memory is not at fault, every one of them offended in that particular. There is real need of an East African novel which faithfully portrays the average, decent residents, planters, farmers, merchants, officials, missionaries, and their wives and families, and when *East Africa* receives a manuscript which fulfils these conditions and is otherwise acceptable, we shall be delighted to publish it, and to put forth all our efforts to ensure its success, not purely as a commercial proposition—though author and publishers naturally hope for some reward for their labours—but also because we are convinced that the territories will gain immensely by the appearance of an East African novel which can be strongly recommended without the slightest *arrière pensée* to those who want to know what East African life is like.

INVITATION TO READERS WHO WRITE.

East Africans who have the gift of story-telling should realise that they possess the means of rendering signal service to the country of their adoption. They can correct prevalent misconceptions, paint a true picture, inculcate faith, and fortify resolution. In other words, through fiction they have the opportunity of sharing in the work which this journal attempts to do in its weekly handling of news and views. It is that similarity of object which causes us to say that we shall always be glad to consider manuscripts which do not transgress our general policy, and that until we find such a novel we shall produce no work of fiction. Our endeavour has been, is, and always will be to select for publication books only which can be of real service to East Africa, and which in quality are well above the average. Those of our readers who have written, or believe that they could write, an East African novel which fulfils these conditons are cordially invited to submit them for our consideration.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM

The Racial Query

Bantu World

Sir,—It is perhaps just a little surprising that the longer feelings of racial sensitiveness disturb the mind, the more people realise that in generalities as in essentials they are all bound together by one mighty fate. Yet in spite of the poignant stretches of experience through which we have travelled, in the face of all bitterness and strife, in spite of human triumph and glory—it must be admitted that national differences will survive the end of all earthly time. This statement is either too mathematically accurate or too delicate to be stretched farther; but let us deflect our observations into practical matter: Examine your world history—and you find it bubbling with racial conflict, read the Book of books, therein the eternal controversy burns on with unabating fierceness; modern history is, of course, capable of answering for itself.

Moralists may expound their cleansing doctrine but Human Nature will remain true to itself. The human race is like one vast army of Cosmopolitans, all pledged to the Esculapian art; different in age and experience, in outlook, in creed; suspicious or sceptical or confident in worldly knowledge, but joined together unreservedly by one great cause; drawn together as by some gigantic magnet into an association wherein all petty considerations are shadowed into obscurity. There will always be outbursts of racial prejudice, for what will become of us if things were to become so dismally dull that you cannot even imagine yourself better off than Jack, who, incidentally, does not hail from the same aristocratic clan to which you belong? Having reconnoitred this angle of the question, it will now be necessary to scrutinize the other side. To do this we must be able to answer this query. How far is one nation necessary to the other? or better still, how far should racial differences be tolerated in the advance of world affairs?

The writer of this article feels that at this juncture it would be appropriate to quote part of a stirring address delivered by General J. C. Smuts last year. The great statesman thought that a great mistake was made when people called December 16, Dingaan's Day. "The longer I live the more and more I feel that the future of South Africa depends on good feelings between the black and white races. We must avoid doing anything which would give rise to misunderstanding or ill-feelings between the black and white races. You must not be shortsighted in these matters; you must take the long view." There remains very little to supplement to this striking utterance. But if this message was delivered to a host of Europeans it also appeals to the African.

L. H. PHILLIPS

The African Anthem

Sir,—Please allow me to consult the readers of your widely read paper about the African Anthem—"Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika." In many provinces of this continent, especially south of the equator, this anthem has been translated into many different languages, so much so that it has lost its meaning and purpose. Worst of all it is fast losing its original sweet harmony, tune and appealing "air." Instead of "Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika" one hears additional and disgusting words as "Nkosi Sikelel' I.C.U," or "Morena hlohonolofatsa I.C.U." or "Home-Sweepers" (foot-ball club). This is sad to lovers of good and sincere music.

My humble opinion is that the anthem be taught in one language all over Africa, preferably in the Xosa or Zulu. The difficulty of meaning, (in the case of those who do not understand Xosa or Zulu) can be easily overcome by thorough explanation by the teacher concerned, than left to be abusively translated and shouted anyhow, anywhere as it is the case in many places.

Some people regard it as a National Anthem like "God save the King," 'Lesotho fats'e la bo-ntat'a rona," by the Basotho, or "Sikulekel'u Solomoni," by the Zulus. It is not a National Anthem. It stands for Africans in Africa. It should be sung with reverence, and thoughtfully. Not with a Stetson hat on and cigarette smoke clouding above one's face.

I am,

A. D. MOKHATI,

Penhalonga,

S. Rhodesia.

MIDLAND African Teachers' Association.

Native Opinion 1-9-34

(Contributed)

The second half-yearly meeting of the above named association was held in the Bedford Congregational Church on Saturday the 11th Nov. Present were:

CRADOCK: Messrs S. P. Akena, H. Tshomela, G. Tyamzashe, Mrs. E. Xholla and Miss Tshem.

SOMERSET EAST: Messrs G. E. Xuza, S. M. Mpolongwana, Nondlwana, Misses Mnyani and Socishe.

ADELAIDE: Miss. S. Ngeni.

BEDFORD: Messrs R. Skosana, O. Mlisa, Misses R. Ngoma, H. Mbatani.

The meeting was opened with a hymn and prayer by the Rev. M. Ngqungwana of the local Ethiopian Church. Delegates were welcomed to Bedford by Mr. Fitchet, the Deputy-Mayor, Rev. M. Ngqungwana and Mr. S. Nongogo. They all spoke eloquently of the work and influence of teachers in diverse communities, and wished them every success in their deliberations. The Chairman in his address thanked the teachers for their presence and eulogised them for their undying enthusiasm as the majority of those present have attended the meetings with admirable regularity since the resuscitation of the association. He said they should make full use of all opportunities that offer possibilities for improvement and advancement. There is, on the part of Europeans a growing desire to know more of the needs of the Bantu. The establishment of Joint Councils, Advisory Boards both educational and municipal; the resolutions passed recently by the National Union of South African Students and the Johannesburg University Women's Association to admit Bantu members, are indications of that desire. We should make full use of it.

The conference then entered into discussion, the chief items on the agenda, apart from those of the ordinary routine of all constitutionally organised bodies being the matters discussed by the Advisory Board for Native Education and published by the President of the C.A.T.A. in the 'Imvo' of 17th Oct. for the consideration of branch associations. The conference expressed their opinion also on the control of Native education. They are in favour of provincial control as the Central Government policy on questions affecting the Natives has the distinction of being characteristically retrogressive. In regard to the present state of Native education we invite the attention of all those who are desirous of seeing the Native advance edueationally, particularly those who evince the measure of their interest by identifying themselves with such organisations as have for their object the upliftment and advancement of Native people, and the removal of such glaring anomalies as make for retardation. We fully appreciate the amount of work that has been done by the staunch supporters of the Native cause and we can look into the future entertaining and cherishing the hope that the best is yet to be.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS: President, Rev. J. Calata; Chairman, Mr. M. Mpolongwana; Sec. Miss. G. Mnyani; Ass. Sec., Mr. O. Mlisa; Treasurer, Mr. G. P. Wilken.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS: Messrs Matshisi and Nondlwana, Mrs. E. Xholla, Miss S. Ngeni.

DELEGATES TO C.T.T.U. CONFERENCE: Messrs Mpolongwana, Nondlwana, Mlisa

The meeting terminated with Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika.

Miss. S. Ngeni.

Pass Laws & Labour

While the reply given to a deputation of the Transvaal African Congress by Mr. P. G. W. Grobler, Minister of Native Affairs recently at Pretoria constitutes a repetition of an old, and still unfulfilled promise towards the modification of the obnoxious pass laws by the Government, the Minister's programme for alleviation of of Bantu unemployment in urban centres is based on fallacious desiderata. For example, his statement that "the Government considers that an urban area is a European creation, and that in such an area the claim of the white man to obtain work precedes that of the Native" is somewhat illogical. It must be borne in mind that when towns, cities and industries were first established the black man was recruited from his reserves against his will so to speak, and compelled to supply his brawn and sweat of the brow as his contribution in the development of this subcontinent. His unskilled work was never regarded as an intrusion into the labour reserve of whites or what are now known as poor whites. The coming into being of the latter class of Europeans could never be attributed to competition by blacks, hence the misgivings created amongst Africans when expelled from urban employment to make room for whites. The towns, industries, mines and railways would never have been the paying propositions they now are without the black man's labour, therefore they are in all reality creations of the Africans as well in no mean degree.

In the reserves it will probably take half a century to transform conditions as to bring about the absorption of the black working element at present living in the towns. A policy of 'vat jou goed en trek' towards Natives to make room for poor whites without adequate provision being made for them in the confines of the land of their banishment is as effete as that which created a class of poor whites. Considerable improvement could be expected in the economic betterment of the reserves by the introduction of relief works, dam-making and the teaching of up-to-date methods in stock rearing and agriculture. These measures however will take many years to reflect definite results, while in the meantime the outcome of indiscriminately ousting Natives from urban employment to the reserves will provide the enigma of an undesirable and destructive economic competition between the settled and newly-arrived Native population. We would similarly advise caution and a policy of *festina lente* to the Minister of Native Affairs in his zeal to make room for poor whites in black men's jobs. A population of poor blacks might easily hatch from the egg-layings of poor white substitution and, as in the case of locusts, with disastrous results.

Missionaries and Natives

The Editor, *Mochochonono.*

Dear Sir,—I must congratulate you on your refusal to publish a letter which contained errors of fact and for your leading article on the subject. This shows that as an editor, you have a sense of responsibility.

I am sure, therefore, you will allow me to correct two gross errors which appear in the article by "Pro Bono Publico"

It is a lie to say that 'white missionaries are indulging in immense luxury at the expense of the Basuto evangelists." When will the Basuto learn that not one penny of the salary or upkeep of the white missionaries comes from the funds of the church, but entirely from friends in Europe? On the contrary, Europeans subscribe to the upkeep of the evangelists and I know of one church at least where the amount subscribed by the missionaries in the recent collection exceeded largely the amount given by all the Basuto members.

Secondly, it is untrue to say that the church has done nothing towards the relief measures. I know, because I am responsible for the organization, of one place where between sixty and seventy people are receiving relief each week through the generosity of missionaries and other European sympathisers. I know also of people being employed by people who can ill afford it just to help them through this difficult time.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

J. M. BURTON

Cattle Buying in Basutoland.

The Mafeteng correspondent of the "*Basutoland News*" in the issue of the 23rd January of that paper, among other things says:—

Last week, we understand, two cattle buyers from the Free State, Mr C. Swanepoel and his cousin from Rouxville, were escorted by a Mosuto to Matsieng for an interview with the Paramount Chief who gave the White men an audience in the presence of Chief Sekhonyana, Lerotholi, and Tebesi Mokobocho. The visit was in connection with the recent cattle buying restrictions imposed by the Basutoland Government, and it is reported that the Paramount Chief and his councillors expressed surprise that two such well known buyers of livestock whose prices are said to be better than those of the ordinary Basutoland trader should be prohibited from buying cattle in the territory and should also be refused the licence which has been granted to them for years past. The Paramount Chief is reported to have promised to communicate with the Government authorities in his connection.

YOUNG HOPEFUL

Does the new school term just begun mean anything to this young African? We hope it does.

Race Problem - 1934
Africa

FEDERATION OF BANTU WOMEN.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE HELD AT DRIEFONTEIN NATAL.

Ilanga Lase Natal

DECEMBER 18----20 1933

2-9-34

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.....

Olwesihlanu

(BY ISABEL SILILO.)

(Continued from the Jan. 26 issue)

The task of organising women entails many responsibilities and in some respects it is more difficult to carry out. Therefore the officers and members of the different branches are well advised to exercise patience with members and not to be too enthusiastic over results or they shall meet with disappointment. Once a beginning has been made with a few enthusiastic members the work and programme for the year must be earried on faithfully and to the best of your ability.

Men generally think that women have no creative power, and that their place is the kitchen, the nursery and beside the cradle. Most of them persist in "crying the woman down" when all the world beholds her achievements even such as University honours over his head.

If men will keep the women back they must not blame the white man for his policy of keeping the Bantu people down.

Remember - "No Nation can rise above its women." Co-operation of all sections of the people for the common good is very essential.

Women must meet for various reasons, amongst which matters relating to social work especially, should loom very much in their programmes. We have health matters, the proper care and upbringing of the children, care for the less fortunate and such duties as may inculcate a wide humane interest in the lives and needs of the Bantu. and also to foster a deep sense of responsibility for the well-being of others.

Concerted action is very desirable amongst women and the Daughters-of-Africa should always have this aim in view.

Our chief outlook is not to take over or supplant efforts that are being made by the men, but should be to help in the advancement of our people - hence most of the work is of an auxiliary nature. We should therefore be prepared to work with all other sympathetic organisations.

The problems we are to face are not all the same. This Federation of Bantu Women is composed, as you know, of women in the Urban and the rural districts. The towns, in this Province especially have a very small permanent population It is therefore harder in the urban areas to organise because of the shifting population. In the rural areas the people are generally a community with practically common aims and aspirations and it is comparatively easier to organise here, than in the towns. However on the other hand the towns may have better facilities for running an organisation. It is necessary that the programe be made fitting to the particular area.

The Society succeeded in influencing the appointment of a woman in the Advisory Board as a member. We have co-operated with other bodies from time to time in matters of mutual interest, our members have also given evidence before such bodies as the Native Economic Commission. It has also assisted Bantu women to be interested in First Aid to the injured, and during the last two years some of the Society's members have attended and obtained certificates of the St John Ambulance Association. A Bantu nursing division has recently been formed and is probably the first of its kind in Africa.

The National Council of Women (Europeans) has given the Society such honour and recognition after being addressed by some of our members, the privilege of having two members of our Society to serve in their Executive Committee. This is of great value especially when matters relating to Africans are being discussed.

The Education Department was approached by the Society some twelve months ago regarding continuation classes above Standard Six, and although the reply we received was unfavourable, I am pleased to state that announcements have been made a few days ago that the class will be inaugurated next year (1934) and that it is the intention to run it up to the Matric Standard. The members of the Society have also interested themselves in having Soup kitchen facilities extended to Bantu people in Durban.

The Programme set before the Bantu Women Society in Durban is varied and at present we are considering various ways and means of inculcating a spirit of self-help individually and as a Society.

According to the programme the Executive wish me to specially deal with "Duties of Bantu Women" and you know already that I have covered that in a general way.

The work of our Organiser Miss C. L. Tshabalala, Miss V. S. Makanya, Mrs. H.M.S. Makanya and other Social workers is being followed with great interest. Such a gathering as this Federation of Bantu Women should be the means of co ordinating all these various efforts in such a conference and reports of the work done will be of great help.

You in the Rural Areas shou'd know that with the increase of Educatian and Depression the openings for the children in towns is very much limited. This is the time to keep our children at school longer rather than to throw them on to a labour market which is overcrowded. In former years there has been considerable migration from Natal to the Rand and an Educated Natal boy at one time was a passport for a good position in Johannesburg. The conditions today have unfortunately changed and it is heartrending to see so many young people being thrown indiscriminately into the towns only to find that they have to walk up and down the streets.

The towns are at present confronted with the problem of the influx of Bantu families. Many have been brought into the towns by contingencies upon which they have no control, the chief of which are:-

The loss of land - most of which are now thriving wattle, mealie, and sugar European or Indian farms, overcrowding the Reserves and Locations, sickness (so as to be near medical assistance.) Desire for constant employment caused by failure of crops and the consequent starvation.

All these facts should be borne in mind before any adventurous movement is taken.

It is my belief that in the Rural Areas Bantu Women have still a lot to do especially with finding ways and means of improving their agricultural methods and also the proper storing up of food during times of plenty.

The great problems confronting women in the towns, especially mothers, is to keep the homefires burning. This problem has been such that in some places, I regret to say, many women have been forced to resort to illicit liqour dealings. This, as we all know is detrimental to the good morals of the whole family, especially the children. Some day Bantu women will be bound to tackle this problem as in our own interest things cannot be allowed to drift in this undesirable manner.

I wish to refer to the Bantu-European Conference that was held in Bloemfontein last July. This conference was attended by delegates from all parts of the sub-continent and was held under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations. I had the honour of being one of the delegates from Natal.

A special Conference of women on Social Work amongst Bantu women and girls was held on the 6th of July 1933. The subjects dealt with at this conference were:- Women and Girls in Employment - Community work - Wayfarers - Children - Welfare - Health work and the training and employment of Native Nurses.

This conference brought home to me that in this Province we are not keen enough to facing the problems of improving our lot as evinced by the small number of delegates which were considerably fewer than any other of our sister provinces. I felt that I had learnt a lot by the contact with so many fellow workers coming from different parts of the country. I also felt that it was an encouragement for us to see the keenness of other Daughters of Africa to increase their knowledge of Bantu public matters and thereby work towards improving the position as a whole.

A strong appeal should be made to the churches to support and encourage our women to join such organisations as I firmly believe that God loves us body and soul, and may this appeal bear good fruit with the Church authority as there is a tendency with the majority of our enlightened and Christian people to underrate anything that is not directly connected with the church.

I wish to remind you all that we must press on towards the high mark which is for the elevation and improvement of our people. Members should keep abreast of the times, read books and papers which will develop our minds.

Think of the deads - heroic deeds of the Africans. Who can think of the heroic deeds of Dr. Livingstone without thinking of the noble deeds of the African men who travelled with him to reveal the interior of Africa to the outside world? These men crowned their noble deeds by carrying his dead body over thousands of miles to Zanzibar so that his people should have the privilege of burying him with honour.

When Mungo Park was in the jaws of death it was the Daughters of Africa who did all they could to save his life. With their kindness and cheerful songs they showed him the way of life. These noble acts were done during the darkest days of this continent of Africa.

We have a mission and a purpose in God's scheme of creation. Let us then be up and doing endeavouring to lift ourselves up by noble conduct and then we shall have in return, better homes- better children and life will be more honourable. In again thanking you for the honour you have given me and for listening to me so attentively I appeal to every member to make the best use of this conference inside and outside the conference room. Develop a spirit of co operation and every one will be prepared to state that an earnest endeavour has been shown by one and all for the success of this great and high calling.

ISIMANGALISO.

TABATA UFUNDE!!!

ISIMEMEZELO NESAZISO

WHAT DO COLLEGES OFFER OUR RACE?

Slangalase
Natal

J.G. GADI COKA.
3-9-34

(Continued from last week.)

For instance, students, should know that King Dingaan the farseeing statesman, had his side of the insolent strangers, who surrounded his Palace every night, obviously, with bad intentions. In his summary dealings with them, he did what the ancestor of the British Kings, Ethelred the unready, did to the insolent Danes, although Ethelred had actually invited them, whereas Dingane did not invite them. The St. Brice's massacre, was done by a Christian and civilised monarch in the eleventh century, in England. The sanguinary methods, of Dingane were far better than those of His Most Christian Majesty Charles IX of France, when he butchered 30 000 of his own subjects, on St. Bartholomew's Day 1572 because they wanted to sing hymns in French instead of Latin.

Are colleges afraid of the realities of life? Should students learn facts? Should they know life as it is? Why is there so much corruption, in churches? Why Africans get no or little educational grants from the Government? Why, are Africans not allowed to follow the bent of their minds and become engineers, etc.? Do you imagine that African youths in great Halls of learning get a scientific approach on the value of religion to society? Do they know any thing about other great World religions?

Why does the average student not question the teacher and challenge his data? He is in dire need of funking his course, if he goes far afield of his assignments, the text book or the lesson given. Do you suppose the question is ever raised? 5,000 African Churches and store fronts and less than 5 per cent ever been exposed to a decent college course? A few other queries that might be raised is capitalism failing? Should 50 per cent of the juvenile crime in the Union, be attributed to the laxity of their parents? What can I do upon completing my college course? Why is there not a vital intelligent youth Movement among us? Why are all our national organisations a laughing stock?

Are all persons who violently oppose the ridiculous Inter Racial paraphernalia, constant fruitless resolutions, die hard radical racialists? Should college students participate in the affairs of their own people? You can list many more problems which confront you, which the students, should intelligently meet with question and answer method.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Slavery Is Still Among Mankind's Major Evils

Even in the Twentieth Century the Number of Slaves in the World Exceeds 5,000,000 Greater Than the Combined Numbers Set Free by Lincoln and Wilberforce

By P. W. Wilson

GREAT BRITAIN is celebrating the centenary of the great occasion in 1833 when her Parliament decided that never again must there be a slave held in bondage under the Union Jack. Honor has been paid to the memory of William Wilberforce, whose name will ever be associated with the great emancipation.

Current Digest 20 Jy 34

People gaze in wonder at the cruel shackles and the whips with which he impressed a slow-moving House of Commons. Especially interesting is his model of a ship, showing how the slaves were packed in the hold on their voyage across the Atlantic.

Vol 117 no. 3

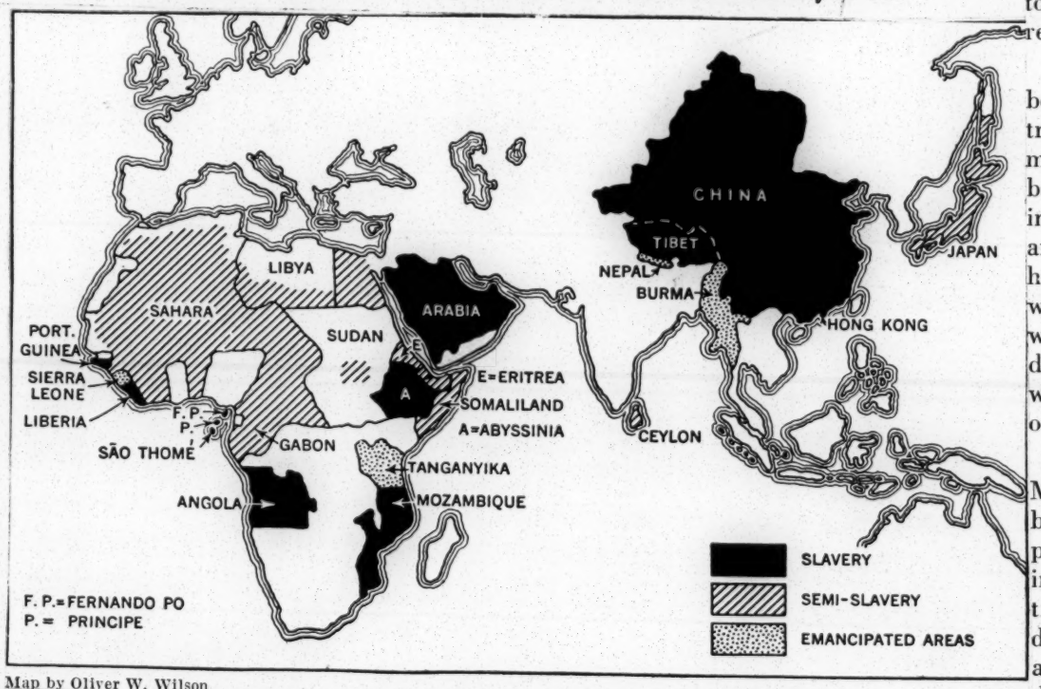
Before the trade was stopped, as many as 300,000 made that terrible pilgrimage in a single year, and it is computed that during the whole period of the traffic, 9,000,000 Africans were thus transported, many of them to perish in transit.

The tendency of the strong to exploit the weak is perennial. And after all these years of abolition, the world is awakening to the fact that slavery is still among the major evils affecting mankind. The League of Nations stands pledged against the system, and every year a report is issued.

A hundred years ago, Britain liberated 700,000 slaves, paying £20,000,000 or $100,000,000 to the West Indian owners—that is, $140 per head of the "property." In 1862, Lincoln's proclamation transformed 4,000,000 slaves into citizens. And in Latin America, the Dutch and French Empires, and elsewhere, there have been other emancipations.

Yet the number of slaves still exceeds 5,000,000. It is greater than the combined numbers set free by Lincoln and Wilberforce. In this twentieth century, the slaves held as chattels are as many as the soldiers enrolled as conscripts.

The white man has his faults. But, generally speaking, it is not he who to-day perpetuates this age-long custom. The main trouble is that Africans and Asiatics will not cease from enslaving one another. The well-advertised progress of women is by no means universal. There are still multitudes of women who, despite all missionary and educational effort, may be lent for money or handed over in satisfaction of a debt.



Map by Oliver W. Wilson

Abyssinia, tho a member of the League, clings to the custom of slavery. Two million of her people are subjected to this status.

Nor is the custom merely domestic. The ravages of the trade in flesh and blood spread far beyond the Abyssinian frontiers. Villages, even in British territory, are raided. Captives are secured by chains or forks on the neck, and are driven with merciless whip to markets where the survivors are sold.

In the endeavor to stop the shipment of slaves, Britain has spent £50,000,000 on patrolling the seas. Despite this blockade, slaves are smuggled into Arabia and are distributed somehow along the north coast of Africa.

The name Liberia celebrates freedom. Here is a republic in which the United States has taken a special interest. It was founded by American Negroes, and slavery was to be forever unthinkable.

In Liberia there have been two widely condemned abuses. First, the tribes have been permitted to hold slaves to the number—it is estimated—of 500,000. Secondly, the authorities have maltreated the tribes. An official report by the Liberian Government itself reads:

"A few women and children may have been shot by accident, but evidence showed that the majority were burned to death in huts, it being found dangerous for the soldiers to search these huts to ascertain that they were empty before setting them on fire."

The Liberian Government has not been content to commandeer forced labor for work in the country. Natives have been transported to the distant plantations of the Spanish island, Fernando Po, and to Gahun in the French Kongo. They may be called indentured workers. In fact, they are slaves.

Among European nations, the Portuguese, as upholders of contract labor, which is indistinguishable from slavery, have won for themselves an unenviable preeminence. Under intolerable conditions, natives have been shipped to the coco plantations of Principe and San Thomé, where the mortality among them has been so appalling as to suggest that they were not expected to return alive.

In China there is political chaos. It has been favorable, at once to a flourishing traffic in opium and to a traditional commerce in children. Millions of girls have been sold by their parents at a price, and in manufacturing plants, juvenile workers are hired at two dollars a month. In Shanghai, a blacksmith's shop was discovered in which thirty-one boys were confined. They were ill-fed and denied sleeping accommodation. If they refused their tasks, they were suspended by handcuffs from the wall or burned with iron rods.

In Hongkong the system is known as Mui Tsai. No fewer than 10,000 girls have been sold there into domestic service or prostitution. The "adoption" of children in Ceylon is similar. Without remuneration they have to work indoors and out of doors. For failing to give satisfaction they are flogged, burned, or punished by pins driven under their finger-nails. One little victim bore the marks of thirty-five wounds.

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Since the war, about half a million slaves within the British sphere of influence have gained their rights as free men.

The Maharaja of Nepal has liberated 53,000 of his people, and in his speech, he confessed to precisely the emotions which deeply stirred Lincoln:

"Picture to yourselves a happy slave family comprising the husband, the wife, a six-year-old daughter and a baby boy at the mother's breast. But their happiness is not to last: one master has sold them. His avarice has blunted all the feelings of sympathy in him. The mother with the child at her breast goes one way, and the father, with the daughter thrown in as a make-weight, goes the other, the two never to meet again. Think of the parting scene, digest it well in your mind, and draw what moral you can."

In Burma, certain British and Indian officials gave their lives in order to set free 8,000 slaves.

When Britain took over the mandated territory of Tanganyika, there were found 185,000 slaves. They were granted and 215,000 slaves were set free.

Despite all talk to the contrary, there is a good deal more of slavery in Egypt, Tripoli and other North African communities than appears on the surface. Still, the hideous slave-warfare which swept over the Sudan is at an end, and the system, even in its domestic aspects, is less evident.

In United States before the Civil War. Was he or was he not a slave ran away. Was he returned to his master?

The court ordered that he be returned. It was an outcry which no Government could resist. A fair conclusion on the matter is that decided that tribal slavery could never be condoned, wherever the conscience of mankind ceases to be forever unthinkable.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Slavery Is Still Among Mankind's Major Evils

Even in the Twentieth Century the Number of Slaves in the World Exceeds 5,000,000 Greater Than the Combined Numbers Set Free by Lincoln and Wilberforce

By P. W. Wilson

GREAT BRITAIN is celebrating the centenary of the great occasion in 1833 when her Parliament decided that never again must there be a slave held in bondage under the Union Jack. Honor has been paid to the memory of William Wilberforce, whose name will ever be associated with the great emancipation.

People gaze in wonder at the cruel shackles and the whips with which he impressed a slow-moving House of Commons. Especially interesting is his model of a ship, showing how the slaves were packed in the hold on their voyage across the Atlantic.

Vol. 117 No. 3

Before the trade was stopped, as many as 300,000 made that terrible pilgrimage in a single year, and it is computed that during the whole period of the traffic, 9,000,000 Africans were thus transported, many of them to perish in transit.

The tendency of the strong to exploit the weak is perennial. And after all these years of abolition, the world is awakening to the fact that slavery is still among the major evils affecting mankind. The League of Nations stands pledged against the system, and every year a report is issued.

A hundred years ago, Britain liberated 700,000 slaves, paying £20,000,000 or $100,000,000 to the West Indian owners—that is, $140 per head of the "property." In 1862, Lincoln's proclamation transformed 4,000,000 slaves into citizens. And in Latin America, the Dutch and French Empires, and elsewhere, there have been other emancipations.

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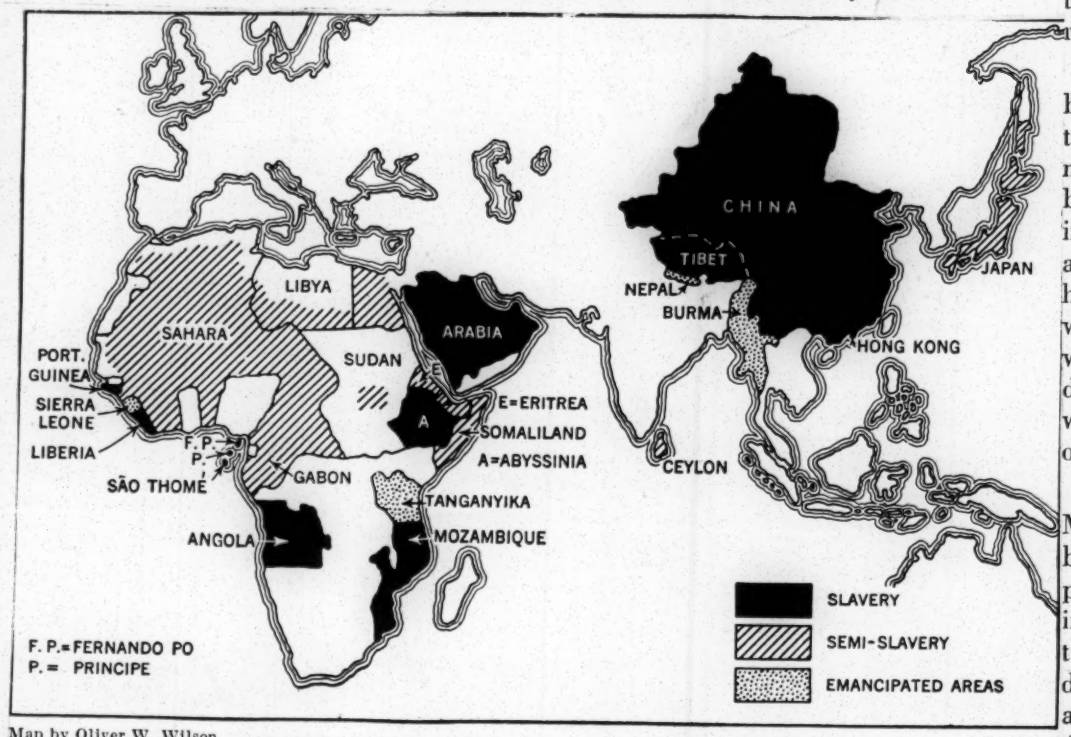

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When Britain took over the mandated territory of Tanganyika, there were found 185,000 slaves. They were granted their liberty.

In Sierra Leone, Britain has been confronted by the same problem that faced the United States before the Civil War. A slave ran away. Was he or was he not to be returned to his master?

The court ordered that he be returned. Despite all talk to the contrary, there is a good deal more of slavery in Egypt, Tripoli and other North African communities than appears on the surface. Still, the hideous slave-warfare which swept over the Sudan is at an end, and the system, even in its domestic aspects, is less evident.

It was an outcry that slavery could be nowhere tolerated. A fair conclusion on the matter is that the conscience of mankind ceases to be forever unthinkable.

The court ordered that he be returned and, in England, there arose an outcry which no Government could resist. It was decided that tribal slavery could

to be alert, or civilization is disorganized by war and revolution, slavery in some form or another revives, especially in those regions where, according to Rudyard Kipling, "there ain't no ten commandments." To quote once more the well-worn dictum of John Philpot Curran, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Holland & the Union.

Native Opinion 1-9-34

The appointment by the Government of Dr. H. D. van Broekhuizen as Union Minister at The Hague has opened an outlet whereby this plenipotentiary may gain kudos at the expense of the so-called "Kaffirs." His recent fulminations before an audience of the Rotterdam Commercial University on the aborigines of South Africa will probably place him on a high pedestal politically for his Dutch patriotism, for he was egotistic in having maintained the "Beer" formula of "no equal rights, either in State or Church" for the six million Kaffirs in South Africa. Dr. van Broekhuizen made no secret of the objects of his Nationalist Government in forming a coalition with the Opposition party, viz. that it was to fortify the position of the whites in South Africa against the Natives. Although he made mention of separate representation of Africans in parliament, and the undesirability of mixed marriages with blacks, the outstanding theme of his address at Rotterdam was that South Africa had its own cultnre, largely descended from Holland, and that therefore the Union should maintain close contact with the Netherlands. Since 1806, he says, the Afrikanders had fought for the maintenance of their political and cultural freedom.

The aborigines of this country still remember the slave-driving propensities of the Dutch East India Company of the early nineteenth century. They are aware of the atrocities perpetrated on them by the pioneer Dutch settlers who, in their ignorance and cultural backwardness had to be pardoned for the sins they committed. Allowance must be made for the shortcomings of those people who inhabited South Africa in the dark early days, for the then environment was considered compatible with a policy of hard-heartedness and a firmness that made colonisation a successful enterprise. Years passed by, civilisation and culture spread and became a blessing to all people irrespective of colour or creed. To-day the descendants of the early settlers, and for that matter, the present generation of the aborigines themselves, would feel humiliated when credited with the atrocities of the dark past of their progenitors. The legacy of their deeds of courage, bravery and humanity should be regarded as an incentive to present-day patriotism.

This aspect of patriotism is evidently not welcomed by the type of Afrikaans-speaking people to which Dr. van Broekhuizen belongs. They rejoice to remember the misdeeds of their ancestors towards other human beings and indeed they preach their perpetuation throughout the generations as a virtuous legacy of their forefathers that must be commemorated in the same way as Dingaan's Day. Argument in similar breath would justify the remembrance by the Zulus of Dingaan's treachery on Piet Retief, with disastrous consequences on the susceptibilities of the present-day Afrikaner generation. Dr. van Broekhuizen should feel the indignity of kindling the dying embers of age-old racial strife between whites and blacks, for the history he mirthfully recapitulates at Rotterdam is culled from a page Holland itself today would feel hououred if it was buried and forgotten.

THE TSHEKEDI CASE

Mr. Thomas's Reply to Deputation

The Dominions Office on Tuesday evening issued the following statement:—

Guardian 1-9-34

The Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, who was accompanied by Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, M.P., Parliamentary Under Secretary, and officials of the Dominions Office, received a deputation at the Dominions Office to-day upon matters concerning the Acting Chief Tshekedi and certain administrative problems affecting the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The deputation was introduced by Lord Rhayader, Mr. Douglas Buchanan, K.C., and the Rev. A. E. Jennings submitted to Mr. Thomas the following main points for his consideration:—

(a) The desirability, in the interests of justice and the future good relationships between the Government of the Protectorate and the Bechuana peoples, of expunging the record of the conviction against the Acting Chief Tshekedi.

(b) The importance of securing the support of the chiefs and tribes for the issue of the proposed proclamations, coupled with the necessity of removing from the minds of the people the impression that behind the proclamations is the objective of annexation.

(c) The importance of transferring from the Dominions Office to the Colonial Office, both here and in South Africa, all matters affecting the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

Mr Thomas, in his reply, explained that the British Government regarded the whole incident connected with the suspension of Acting Chief Tshekedi as finally closed, but that while it was not their intention to reopen it, they would not permit it in any way to affect adversely the relations of the Government with the Acting Chief.

With regard to the proposed proclamations relating to the appointment and powers of chiefs and to administration of justice in native cases, Mr. Thomas promised to take note of the points raised by the deputation.

As regards the question of transferring matters affecting the Bechuanaland Protectorate from the Dominions Office to the Colonial Office, Mr. Thomas referred the deputation to the statements which had recently been made in the House of Commons on this subject, and emphasised that those statements embodied the policy of the Government.

"THE FATHERS OF THE NATIVE PRESS AND HELPERS OF WESTERN CULTURE."

Ilanga Lase Natal

(By MABIZO MTEMBU.)

Any country wild or civilised is for most of the things she enjoys, indebted to some of her members. Just as England is indebted to Stephenson for the introduction of the locomotive so is South Africa for the starting and upbringing of the Native press indebted to two of her sons: the one, the late John T. Jabavu who introduced the Xosa - English Cape paper the Imvo Zabantsundu; the other the Rev. John L. Dube for establishing a Zulu and English Natal paper, these being the earliest in the history of Bantu newspaperdom. Young as is the history of the Native press yet it is time a literary tribute were paid these men for their efforts. 3-9-34

These papers came at a difficult period in the history of Bantu Africa, when education and civilisation were just dawning. A biblical quotation (Romans 13:12) in the front page of one of these journals evidences this statement. Very few people could read and write either English or their own vernacular. Their favourite reading was the Bible which had been used as a means of teaching Natives their vernacular and foreign tongue by the missionaries as there were no other vernacular books. No newspapers had gone before to prepare the people's appetite for anything literary, so that any one who introduced any paper was risking his purse and energy. The papers received no patronage either by contributions advertisements or subscriptions. The people saw no need for a newspaper when they had their messengers for current history and their own family grouping for the discussion of current problems. With the paper they had no conaern.

Hence the establisher of a paper had to be all-in-one: editor, compositor, newsgetter and agent for his own paper. One day he would hunt news, the day following write them down and later print them. The papers were not locked up. Looking into the earliest issues of these papers one does not see the "From our own correspondents" nor "Abalobeli bethu" neither "Our readers views" nor "Imiqondo yabantu ngabantu" and many other features which signify the attention the community pays to its newspapers. Time and patience were needed on the part of the establishers to get the people to realise the importance of a newspaper in a community. It was not until late in the "teens" of this century and after some attacks had been withstood which would have closed down the press that the people realised that this was something good in a community and that these men were not taking a mad venture. The people's attitude changed for good than for evil to the press.

Race Problem-1934

Africa

SYMBOLS OF AFRICAN EMPIRE—NATIVE TROOPS ON PARADE

Sunday 4-8-34 New York, N.Y.

The Tricolor Passes the Reviewing Stand During a Military Review in the French Sudan. *Times Wide World.*

EUROPE CASTS COVETOUS EYES ON AFRICA

Rival Nations Dream of More Colonies There and a Vast Market for Goods

Premier Mussolini, in a recent speech, again reminded the world of Italy's desire for expansion, economic and political, in Africa. This reminder was the latest in a series of developments which have called attention to Europe's increasing interest in the Dark Continent. The significance of these developments is discussed here.

By FERDINAND TUOHY.

PARIS.

THE word "Africa" is finding its way more and more into the press and into the ether and onto the screen of Europe. While it would be frank exaggeration to suggest that harassed Europeans are beginning to contemplate empty, undeveloped and rich Africa much as their forebears glanced across at the American Continent in the sixteenth century, there exists an indisputable and steadily growing tendency to "think African."

Seventy years have gone by since Livingstone focused Europe's attention on the Dark Continent—decades during which British, French, Germans, Spanish, Portuguese, Belgians, Italians have not ceased to go hard at it. What people are asking now is: Has everything possible been done with Africa that could be? May there not exist here both a possible market and a possible home for Europe's factory and human surpluses?

Africa is three times the size of Europe, with only about one-fourth the number of inhabitants. It could produce inexhaustible raw materials, minerals, edibles, if only taken properly in hand. Yet it has but 4,000,000 white settlers, three-quarters of them in French North Africa and Cape Colony and the rest scattered in an immense area.

The difficulties are realized, of course, to be great—not the least of them the insects of Africa and the natural lay of the land. To hear some tell it:

"The locusts alone, even in the rare high-lying territory, are utterly unconquerable. They continue to devour Africa. Moreover, people are apt to forget that most of Africa is desert, jungle or swamp, with intermittent stretches of flooded country as big as Belgium or Holland."

Area for Settlement.

Governing everything, in these estimates, is the severely restricted area yet remaining open, on health grounds, to further white settlement. The argument continues:

"Excluding temperate Africa—Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, Cape Colony, already overpopulated—and also tropical and desert Africa, whose climatic and other conditions render European habitation entirely out of the question, only High Africa, the regions rising from 3,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level, can reasonably be expected to lend themselves to any further white organization.

"Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Katanga, Mozambique, Rhodesia and Angola might be made to absorb European emigration such as formerly settled in South Africa and Australia. There is also a chance to do something with Abyssinia. But whites simply cannot live in the rest of Africa except as you see a handful carrying on now."

After such statements, what, one may well ask, can pro-development people have by way of reply?

Essentially, they can advance this twofold program: Slowly settle temperate and High Africa to the limit with surplus whites from Western Europe, and develop the continent as a whole on a fixed plan calculated progressively to improve and multiply native stock and make this a buyer of European goods.

Before the League, some months ago, M. Sarraut sent up a ballon d'essai in the shape of a project for a consortium associating countries without colonies in a general plan for African development.

Not unexpectedly, however, the reaction in Rome and Berlin was unenthusiastic. There the consortium idea was viewed as insufficient, as nothing but a plan for the exploitation of German and Italian capital and labor in Africa without any compensation in the form of territory.

Italy nurses an African dream all her own. Having been cheated in the Versailles Treaty (or so she avers), Italy today recognizes herself up against a stone wall in Africa, where she has managed painfully to establish some 25,000 of her nationals in Tripoli and the adjacent Senussi country, 2,000 in Italian Somaliland and Jubaland and 1,000 in Erythrea, fifth and final Italian possession. She thus has less than 30,000 colonists all told. She owns but one-fifteenth of Africa.

Italy's Argument.

The Fascists declare that the French are gorged with African territory, some of which, entirely superfluous to its present masters, could be made to fulfill the Italian dream. This dream is to link the Mediterranean to the Southern Atlantic by a strip of all-black Fascist territory, departing from Libya (Tripolitania), reaching fertile Lake Chad and then going on down to the sea at Douala, taking over the ex-German (now French

mandatory) Cameroons on the way. Among other things, this would give Italy a port facing South America.

Because of seven centuries of Roman or Byzantine rule, because of climatic affinity and propinquity, Italians feel themselves called to Africa far more than the Nordics, among whom are classed the Gauls. What a thrill that was when General Balbo flew off with a squadron from the Koufra oasis and in two hours was above the French forts of the Tibesti country! Balbo returned to report the region, which the French refuse to think of ceding, as abandoned.

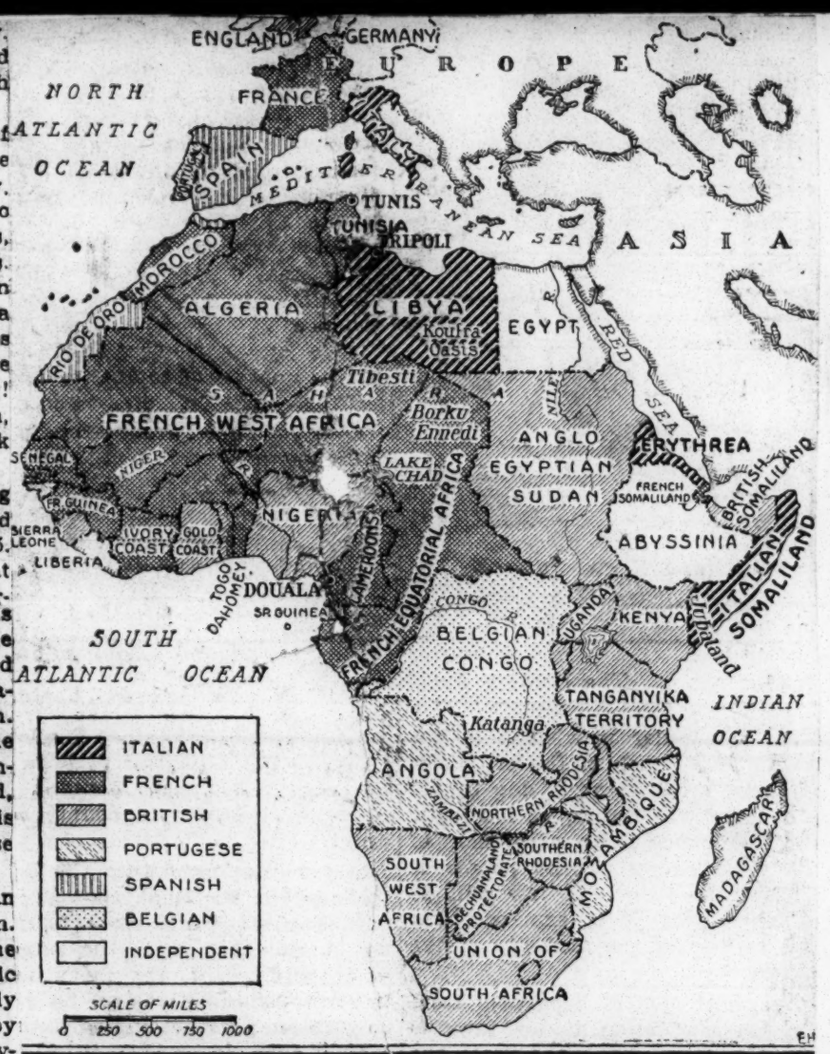
The Italians claim Tibesti, alleging this was the frontier they were led to expect for "coming in" in 1915. The French deny this and add that who holds Tibesti will inevitably arrive at Lake Chad, the crossroads of Africa, nodal point of the French possessions north and south, and rare boon, with its waters, in the endless desert of bush. The Tibesti bastion, yielding the only military point d'appui for hundreds of miles, shall be held; and, to drive the matter home, Paris has incorporated it in the defense of the Chad territory.

This forms the present African rampart against Italian expansion. If the Italians cannot come by the Tibesti country—a former volcanic group rising to 12,000 feet, nearly as large as France, and settled by 3,000 Toubous of the poorest physique—their African dream must recede.

As insistently as he desires this wild area. Mussolini hopes for the day when Tunisia shall again be Roman. His case here is that in 1881 Italy held certain privileges from the Bey, advantages she abandoned when the French assumed the protectorate, but only on condition that Italians there would have the same standing as French. Since then the Italian population has grown to 120,000, as against 50,000 French, and the latter, in alarm, have denounced the agreement and also introduced class legislation aimed at compelling wholesale French naturalization of the Italian inhabitants. This is intolerable to Mussolini, who wishes to prevail in Tunis by the steady pressure of numbers and influence.

The writer can testify to Tunis being, at present, much of an Italian city. There are Fascist legions there, and Fascist newspapers, and the Duce continues spending money on propaganda, notably in the way of stunning oil liners and Savoia luxury planes.

Another manifestation of the



Africa. Continent of Colonies, and the Powers That Control It.

Italian dream is Abyssinia, a rich and fertile region. Its highlands offer a possible climate to whites, and the country is strategically situated below the Sudan, which controls the Nile waters and so Egypt. Ras Tafari has not yet made up his mind in favor of any European nation. But Italy is willing to be invited.

Germany's Position.

If so much space has been given to Italy-in-Africa, that is because other claimants pale beside Rome. For example, surprise may have been caused by the casual statement that Italy wants the once-German Cameroons. What about Chancellor Hitler? What would he have to say?

The answer is that Nazi Germany is not so concerned about Africa as is Italy. The German colonies there never did pay their way and their climate precluded emigration. If they could be exploited, however, that would be another matter. Germany would like their trade and their raw materials, and would gladly take mandates to obtain the dual benefit.

Under the four-power consultation pact Britain, France, Italy and Germany might well consider Africa. It is quite possible that some juggling may be attempted, with the consortium idea operating side by side with a fresh sharing-out of mandates. If so, pecuniary advantages might be held out to Spain and Portugal in return for the making over of their African possessions, especially Portuguese Angola, with which much could be done.

A Possible Program.

If a new deal could be arranged for the development of Africa, what lines should it take? Any idea of sudden emigration is out of the question; even in the habitable high country, Africa is not ready to receive it. Similarly, the preparation of Africa for European expansion does not consist of blindly throwing rails, motors, machines across the Southern Continent.

We are in the age of planning. Africa remains still largely virginal. The part of wisdom is to respect the favoring fact. "One can envisage a permanent Eurafrican council sitting in the opening years," writes M. Guernier, author of "L'Afrique, Champ d'Expansion de l'Europe," "and determining the great transafrican railroad and its branches; the creation of navigable canals and waterways in the equatorial zone of the Congo, Niger and Zambesi; of a far-flung system of road transport; of telegraph, telephone and airlines, of radio-electric centres and of water-power, including irrigation barrages; finally, the construction of harbors, hospitals, schools, scientific institutes and homes for natives."

Whereas capital followed emigration to the United States, the process must be reversed with Africa. The first emigration would comprise "shock troops"—engineers and builders of all kinds, and sanitary forces. Only when this advance army had bestowed a greatly improved standard of living on the natives would the real migration from Europe commence, having as object the turning of the newly equipped Africa to account. Africa would have had the very last word, electrification looming largely.

Lyautey's View.

To this roseate view Marshal Lyautey of France, called "the greatest living White African," heartily responds. He emphasizes the rôle to be enacted by the natives. He believes they can number 300,000,000 by the end of the century, compared with 140,000,000 today. Europe, in his view, will want them more as purchasers than as so much cheaply paid labor toiling for the white man and his dividends. Lyautey's dream is of the natives standing by themselves; he believes in training them to administration and in respecting native life and habits as far as possible. The native must be fortified, in property, tradition, body. This, according to the Marshal, is the only sound basis of African development leading to eventual further white colonization.

Our Duty in Africa

Manchester Guardian

A grievance does not cease to be a grievance just because it no longer forces itself on to the front pages of the newspapers. The Tshekedi affair last summer in Bechuanaland is almost forgotten. The underlying causes, the mistakes of British policy which led to that affair, remain. Bechuanaland and our other protectorates in South Africa are to-day facing disaster, as Lord Lugard has said. Sir Alan Pim, lecturing in London on the position in the territories, concluded with a grave warning. The demand that their administration should be transferred to South Africa is still heard in that Dominion. South Africa would be glad of their wide stretches of fertile land both as an outlet for the settlement of her "mean whites" and as a market for her goods. But, as Sir Alan states, "the native "tribes have a strong desire to remain "under the direct administration of "the Imperial Government." That native regard for us is an asset, "but it involves a corresponding obligation" on Britain, "and it can hardly be "claimed that this obligation has "hitherto been adequately recog-"nised." The protectorates have suffered from long-continued neglect. Their inhabitants are backward economically and socially beyond the average of South Africa's natives. They lack schools, training in better methods of farming, water supplies, markets for their goods. We have destroyed their subsistence farming and replaced it with a money economy which they are totally unable to manage. Their chiefs, through whom Britain is supposed to rule, receive no training, or a hopelessly inadequate one, for their job. A mere catalogue of the things that need to be done in the protectorates would fill columns. "It would cost money," is the Government answer. But even more than a little money (which would be a good investment) a little more home interest in the welfare of these territories is the first thing needful.

Africa

Health in Tropical Africa.

Colonel S. P. James's Broadcast Talk.*

"MANKIND already knows all the theoretical principles requisite for avoiding malaria, blackwater fever, enteric fever and dysentery, and is quickly learning how to apply them.

"As regards yellow fever, of all diseases the most dreaded, it was discovered a few years ago that when the causal virus, if passed into monkeys and by successive inoculations through a large number of white mice, becomes so modified that it can be safely used to immunise human beings. This protective vaccination against yellow fever has during the past two years been applied in London to more than two hundred persons before their departure for West Africa, and is doing almost more than any other recent discovery to make the tropics safe for the white man.

"The discovery that anti-malarial remedies more effective than quinine can be manufactured synthetically in the laboratory is comparable in importance with the discovery that malaria is contracted by the bites of mosquitoes. One of these synthetic products, atebrin, has already removed much of the fear which attaches to malignant malaria and blackwater fever in Africa. Recent trials indicate that it may prove useful for preventive as well as for curative purposes. . . .

"Apart from malaria and yellow fever, Natives in Tropical Africa are afflicted with such epidemic diseases as yaws, plague, smallpox, relapsing fever, sleeping sickness and typhus, from which Europeans living in that country are usually free. In Uganda an epidemic of sleeping sickness is said to have carried off one-tenth of the population, an epidemic of relapsing fever to have caused 120,000 deaths, and an epidemic of plague 5,000 deaths.

Due Regard to Local Prejudices.

"In general, the Natives are naked, poor, illiterate, and almost entirely without common things like soap, beds, tables, and chairs. Many are chronically undernourished and infected with worms and other parasites and diseases of all kinds; the inhabitants of some regions can never have known what health means. Moreover, their whole life is ruled by fears and superstitions and taboos; to gain their confidence and co-operation in health work great care must be taken not to offend against their strange beliefs and local customs. Therefore any system for safeguarding and promoting their health must be introduced circumspectly.

"Africans appreciate a medicine which cures within a very short time. In Uganda, for example, a disfiguring disease called yaws is exceedingly prevalent, and the Natives have no remedy for it. So it was felt that a good method of gaining the confidence of the people would be to treat some cases of yaws by intravenous injections of salvarsan, which cures it very quickly. Local chiefs were very reluctant to arrange a trial, but one morning the District Medical Officer found on his doorstep an old woman who had the disease in a severe form. He took her to the hospital, and with some difficulty gave her a dose of salvarsan intravenously. It cured her within a very few days. The treatment of yaws by intravenous injections quickly became so popular that it was difficult to cope with the numbers of patients; thereafter the Native chiefs took an active part in the establishment of dispensaries. Equal success has attended skilful surgery. A Director of Medical Services in Kenya was offered one thousand cattle to allow a certain medical officer who was a skilful surgeon to remain in a district!

"In working for the health and general welfare of unenlightened peoples, it is hardly ever possible or desirable to draw a distinction between measures which are curative and measures which are preventive. . . . As a rule, a Native has to be convinced that some immediate material benefit will result before he can be got to take even the simplest preventive measures. For example, if it is a question of clearing away the domestic refuse and cowdung that is blocking the entrance to the enclosure round his house, you must convince him that domestic refuse and cowdung are an excellent manure and that he will get better crops if he collects it and puts it on his plot of maize; similarly he will use sanitary methods of dairy farming if you can convince him that he will get a better price for clean milk and butter."

ANTHROPOLOGY IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

Time was when there was a wealth of literary journals in England: among the present restricted number *The Times Literary Supplement* holds high place. Its review of Dr. Lucy Mair's book on "An African People in the Twentieth Century" is really a leading article on the place of anthropology in our African problems. It provides a reasoned answer to the somewhat vociferous critics who denounce anthropologists in general on account of their alleged desire to stabilise primitive people on ancestral customs, and keep them as museum specimens; and who reinforce their criticisms in the case of investigators who have had but a few months' residence in a country whereon to base their theses. The writer of this able review replies that such critics fail to appreciate the absolute necessity of ascertaining the facts about a people's customs and institutions, of attaining insight into their nature and causes, before proscribing for them wholesale, as was at one time the way, of administrators and missionaries, or of legislating on an insufficient basis of understanding, an error which has vitiated some well-meant attempts at indirect rule. In a word, some of the very faults at which the critics rail unceasingly have been due to the lack of applied anthropology in the past. Yet many men in Africa turn their scorn upon the science that is providing the remedy.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE NOT THE SOLE CRITERION.

The second point made is that the critics refuse to believe that in a period as short as nine months anyone can hope to be able to acquire such knowledge as makes his, or her, contribution of real value. The reviewer's retort is that the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, which has sponsored many of these researches, chooses young and energetic anthropologists, fully qualified by natural aptitude and scientific training to conduct such inquiries, and, further, that the preliminary training now available at the London School of Economics fits such investigators to attack their problems without lack of time. Dr. Mair, for instance, dispensed with an interpreter after a month in Uganda, whereas many men and women who live in that country for half their lives fail to achieve similar fluency in the vernacular. A fully qualified doctor, with an intimate knowledge of the patient's life history, is obviously the ideal in case of need, other things being equal, but a perfectly strange doctor is better qualified to make a correct diagnosis than a life-long layman friend without training. The ideal of African inquiry will be nearer realisation when all District officers, educationalists, missionaries, and, indeed, all whose work brings them in close contact with Natives, attend such anthropological courses when they come home on leave. Thus could scientific knowledge and lengthy association be blended. Lengthy residence among the Natives does not, by itself, presume a knowledge of them. Anthropologists would not claim infallibility, but some of their most scornful critics, despite lengthy residence in African territories, are, it is to be feared, abyssmally ignorant of much that concerns the Native races.

S. Rhodesian Native Policy.

The Prime Minister Flies Some Kites.

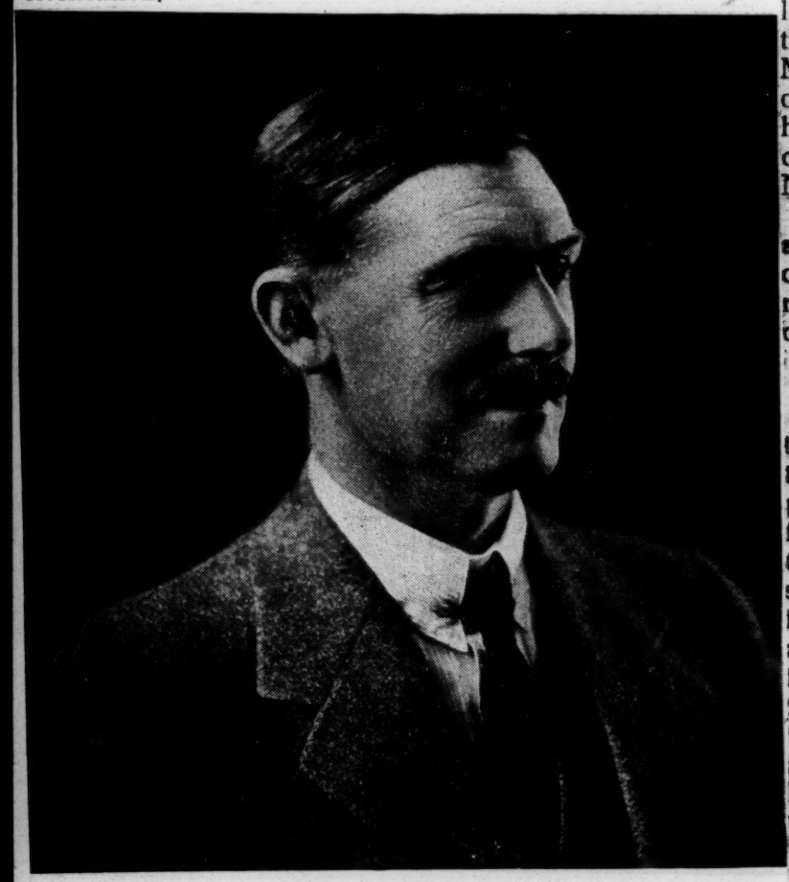
THE Hon. G. M. Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, made some interesting suggestions at Gwelo recently when he expressed the opinion that the large attendance at the meeting he was addressing indicated a healthy spirit in connexion with the Native question. Whilst determined to preserve their own laws and customs, white Rhodesians, he said, were willing to stretch out a hand to help the less fortunate Natives to become better citizens.

Dr. Huggins, who declared that he was not going to announce any policy, but merely to fly a few kites, analysed Native crime, stating that there were something like 17,000 contraventions of by-laws and pass laws, and that while it was perfectly right and just that offenders should be punished, it was a reflection on the Colony's administration that there should be such a volume of "crime." An effort should be made to reduce it, without any relaxation of the protection to which the governing race was entitled.

If white Rhodesians wanted the development of the two races on parallel lines—a form of partial segregation—the sacrifice could not all be on one side, and he believed it was well worth consideration if the locations could not be big enough to hold every Native employed in the towns (*i.e.*, making houseboys, etc., sleep in them). That meant starting Native village settlements and the development of the social life of the Natives, the best way, he thought, of dealing with them. "I

want people," he said, "to wake up to these things and think about them."

Municipalities were in a position to supply the facilities to make the Native more civilised, and to teach him a form of life to take back with him to the Reserves, where conditions to-day were still extraordinarily primitive. The Colony could not be developed by thinking only of Europeans. Two things are synonymous: the white man wanting his civilisation protected, fearing that he might be dragged back by pressure from a lower civilisation, and the desire to see the Natives brought forward so that they could become reliable citizens. By assisting the Natives into the ways of the white people in the correct way, the latter would preserve their own civilisation.



DR. G. M. HUGGINS.

Conditions in Transkei.

2-2-7-34

Mr. A B Payn M.P. put up a gallant fight on behalf of the Bantu in the Transkei when he addressed the House of Assembly last month. It was during the discussion of the Native Affairs vote of £35,000, and he forcefully brought home the neglect with which his constituents were treated. We make no apology in reproducing his fighting speech as reported more fully in the "Cape Times". Describing the famine and unemployment conditions among Natives Mr. Payn said: "That Mr. Swart must know that the Free State farmers year after year called upon the Basutoland Natives to come and help them in their harvesting and other agricultural operations. In addition to that, large numbers of Basutoland Natives continually went to the Witwatersrand to work on the mines.

The serious state of affairs which the hon. member had referred to as existing in Basutoland, prevailed to a very much larger degree in other parts of the country. He had asked the Minister of Native Affairs a few days ago whether his intention had been drawn to the famine conditions prevailing among the Natives in his area.

The Minister replied that his attention had been called to that condition of affairs, but apparently he was doing nothing to cope with it.

DRIFTING TO THE TOWNS

He asked the Government to take into consideration the question of applying funds for the purpose of finding employment for the Natives in their own territories, and to try to devise some real development scheme for the Natives in their own areas, in order to prevent them from drifting into the towns. In the Native territories to-day there was nothing for them to do, they are faced with starvation. Nothing was being done to keep them in their own areas, and the natural result was what was happening in Basutoland and elsewhere, that they are drifting to the towns.

During the many years that he had represented Tembuland both in the House and in the Provincial Council, nothing whatever had been done to enable the Natives to remain in their own area in the Transkei.

He had been told that the farmers were given facilities to purchase mealies from the Argentine in order to help them feed their stock and their Natives on the farms. He wanted similar provision for the Natives in his area.

BENEFIT OF FARMERS

"We have no farmers there," said Mr Payn, "but I am asking that the traders or the Bunga should be allowed to purchase the mealies, and the Natives should be assisted in that way. But that is not to be done because this measure which we have heard of is simply for the benefit of the farmers.

"My Natives will say, and with a certain amount of justification, that the farmers can be supplied with mealies at a cheap rate to keep their stock alive, but nothing is done for the Native. In my area Natives are paying as much as 30s. for a bag of mealies. A small quota of the Natives in my area are allowed to go to the Rand—it is the only labour market which is open to them.

"Famine conditions prevail in my area. I asked the Minister the other day that in view of the importation of the maize from Kenya, the mealies should be sold to the Natives on the same terms and conditions as it is sold to the farmers. Let me say that many of the Natives are quite able to pay for it on those conditions. I asked the Minister a few days ago about this, and his reply was that his department was in communication with the Department of Agriculture.

"It is essential that we should keep the confidence of the Native, and that we should do something for him at this stage which after all, will not cost us a great deal."

Mr. Patrick Duncan (Acting Minister of Finance) in reply said that a very considerable part of the money—£23,250 had been spent in Native areas on works beneficial to those areas, for example on the digging of wells, the eradication of noxious weeds, dam constructions, water supply and the prevention of soil erosion.

Under another head they got subsidies to urban areas to enable them to give employment to unemployed Natives within their areas. Then under a further head the expenditure had been for providing actual relief, rations, mealies, where the Natives were in actual need of food, and could not be relieved in any other way.

Mr. Payn: The Minister says that this money has been spent in dealing with erosion. I am going to quote the case of a small municipality in my constituency. They were very much taken with the scheme of the Government for stopping erosion, and they made an application, but they were told that they could only get assistance if they used white labour. I received that information from the Mayor himself. I want to ask the Minister where these Natives can get employment. They are not allowed to go to the Rand.

"In one instance there were 400 men clamouring to go to the Rand, but owing to the quota system only four could be taken. At the same time you have 2,000 from Rhodesia, and you are allowing Natives from Portuguese East Africa to enter the Union.

"The Government tells the Bunga 'you must provide work for the unemployed and relief work.' I wonder how many hundreds of thousands of pounds the Government has spent subsidising the employment of white labour and in assisting divisional councils and municipal councils in connection with unemployment. With these serious conditions prevailing and thousands of Natives starving, nothing whatsoever is being done.

"Our roads are in a tragic state. Recently, no fewer than eight of the Government buses were bogged in one road. For months nobody has been able to travel. Let the Government realise the position, and let road work be done

"I wonder if hon. members from the Orange Free State realise that last year the Transkeian territories paid one-half as much in direct taxation as the whole of the Free State. We get back nothing in any shape or form.

Mr. Duncan: "I can assure the hon. member for Tembuland (Mr. Payn) that the Government is not in the least oblivious of the needs of the Natives in the Transkei and elsewhere.

"The hon. member felt that he was labouring under a grievance—that very little was being done for the Natives in the Transkei. The feeling may be well founded or it may not be. I have been informed that the chief magistrate has only now asked for the Natives to be provided for in the Transkei, and whatever he has asked for has been given."

He would go into the point raised with regard to recruiting for the mines, because the Government was anxious to enforce the principle that the available native labour in the Union must be the first source of supply, and importation of labour from outside was dependent on that."

"Monthly Watchman."

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Fusionists & Natives

Native Opinion (Lamula, Zabantundu)

2-6-34

When the late Nationalist Government experienced the timely premonition that their days in power were at an end, General Hertzog, their leader virtually switched his party over to a coalition agreement with the South African Party. The Premier made no secret of the fact that his followers could not hope to hold out for a further term at the wheel without the assistance similar to that he obtained in 1924 from the Labour Party. What now transpires to be the bone of contention between the two main parties is broadly speaking the Native problem. Minutely examined this problem is epitomised in the abolition of the Cape Native vote. The language and republican issues are not the anathema connoted by the former in the minds of Nationalist extremists. To men like Dr. Malan, the late Rev. B. R. Hattingh, Mr. Tielman Roos and Mr. Pirow any compromise that meant the shelving of the Native Bills or a temporary truce in the war of killing the black vote in the Cape was an intolerable sacrifice of one of the foremost principles of their party. Dr. Malan is as full of hate for the Briton as he is for the Bantu. The late predikant openly stated his party's determination to obliterate the Native vote at the Port Elizabeth Nationalist Congress. Mr. Pirow is slightly less worried about the "blanket" vote, but extraordinarily hysterical of the white man's jeopardy under future black domination.

Just a week ago, the man to whom might be ascribed the birth of coalition, Mr. Tielman Roos, no longer preached the urgent doctrine of extricating the country from the financial quagmire of a year ago. Mr Roos has taken a long leap from that coalition platform before even giving the present Government a chance to justify its existence. He would rejoice to see the downfall of coalition and the rise of fusion. Palpably the terms on which coalition was built are too effeminate to carry out the urgent desires of his jingoistic section of Afrikaners. In his own words at the Pretoria fusion Congress last week he bluntly, and in orthodox boorish style stated that "one thing he wished eradicated, and that was the Cape Native vote, through which the Native made laws for white men. Do away also with the Native Bills, and let South Africa have Native councils to deal with Native matters. Fusion (he said) meant one thing, to lead the way to a better future for the youth of South Africa, the white youth. If white South Africans failed to fuse, South Africa was doomed."

From the above considered opinion of Mr. Roos the only conclusion to be arrived at was the old and defunct bogey of segregation. By relegating all matters pertaining to the Bantu to local councils of their own it must logically follow that complete legislative powers, entire territorial segregation must take place, and the wholesale severence of contact between black and white must take place. All revenue accruing from African sources would perforce be pooled in a Union Native Council Treasury, to be controlled and disbursed by blacks, for their exclusive betterment. Can Mr. Roos honestly believe that the Union Parliament would be led to such a policy without doing the maximum harm to the white man's own economic position!

If segregation is thus a glaring impracticability, why distort the innocent perspective of the white youth of South Africa from viewing the Native problem from a reasonable and dispassionate standpoint? It is so many pities that the grey hairs of the older and venerable generation of Afrikaners lack the wisdom that is so necessary to impart to their youth in these arduous times. Much of the familiar Roos quick wit and indomitable courage loses its effect by his supercilious excursions into the void of the abstract.

By a wide stretch of imagination it could never be argued that blacks have been in a position to make laws for whites in South Africa at any time. The blacks only claim a share in the legislative management of the only country of their origin, without necessarily being an embarassment to their white neighbours. Unless Mr. Roos and his party have the objective of the total annihilation of the non-Europeans in this land, the wisdom of their policy of denying political rights to the aborigines is highly questionable in the interests of the white man's own future.

CONFERENCE OF THE BANTU YOUTH LEAGUE

Ilanga Lase Natal

This Conference took place at Imbulu Jan. 16—21. It was formerly called the Purity League and has brought within its ambit all the young people of Bantu race. It was a conference of community workers with the purpose of attract youth leaders in order to supply them with material for the year's activities. In order to demonstrate better farming to the community Miss Makanya has secured a Planter to be given to local farmers who prove themselves worthy by excelling in certain agricultural activities. She has also started a campaign for the improvement of Native huts laying emphasis on high doors and providing them with windows. The year's motto is, "Lifting others as we climb."

TUESDAY evening. Reception and the talk was that religion should be expressed in service and stooping down with Christ to lift up others.

WEDNESDAY. The subject was "Organising the community for health" led by Rev. O. E. Lovell. Health was proved to be expensive. It was advised that each community should have committees or clubs for encouraging health activities and to appreciate the value of aesthetics. Greece was famous for this instinct.

Ilanga Lase Natal

THURSDAY. Mr. Ballinger spoke on the topic "Organising the community for Economic Betterment." He spoke on Co-operative Societies in Britain and what has already been done in Johannesburg. Advised a winter school of two weeks or more for training along these lines. It was advisable to find niches for Natives to have something to look up to. Mrs. M. Palmer was so interested in this subject that she gave £5 for literature to help along this project for circulation among those interested. Miss Hodgson spoke in the same strain and regretted waste of energy on the part of most Natives. Miss Makanya dealt with religious education and pointed out that mere profession of religion was not enough. It is not proper to remain in the old beliefs but new methods should be adopted to have religion move with the times, all should be "Good Samaritans." Our belief should be expressed in service like paying attention to paths to Church, etc.

FRIDAY. Rev. F. M. Caluza led the devotions. Miss L. Scott, M. A., spoke on Dramatics. African Natives have adaptability for this. An example was given of a religious Drama. There was latent talent to stage scenes for the community. It helps and develops personality and special gifts with individuals. Reference was made to costuming, etc.

Mr. Malcolm spoke on Education and National progress. Education should be valued for its privileges and responsibilities. We should not look down upon the soil as no nation can rise if it looks askance at the soil. Even an uneducated man can make a living on the soil.

Mr. Maurice Webb in the evening spoke on his recent tour in America where he met all classes of Negro leaders who have lost their background in Africa. He pointed out that there are many habits and customs of Africa which they should be proud of. The folk lore and history should not be neglected and forgotten for those of other races.

SATURDAY. Miss L. Scott and

Miss Makanya spoke while Mr. H. Makanya spoke on Social value of sports and mutual assistance is encouraged in sports and differences are forgotten in the playground.

Mr. Sick Mzoneli took Rev. S.S. Ndhlovu's place and expressed appreciation and general exhortations.

SUNDAY. Rev. J.L. Dube spoke on Bantu Hopes and Aspirations. He referred to the Good Samaritan. Some people have no fruits. They may be missionaries or professing Christians but very little can be pointed at as having been done by them. Service should be the criterion.

Do Not Starve African Education

Bantu World

"We believe that the only course to be followed with any amount of success is for the civilised people of South Africa to educate the Natives, and that this is the only way also to enhance the prestige of white civilisation and culture."

This statement was made the other day by a newly formed association of Superintendents of Native schools whose object is to safeguard and further the interests of Native education. There can be no doubt that the formation of this association was necessitated by the unsatisfactory conditions of Native education. When the Native Taxation and Development Act was enacted high hopes were entertained that things would improve, but instead the position has become worse. The development fund is not sufficient to meet the growing needs of Bantu education, and the paltry sum of £340,000 paid annually to the provinces by the Union is inadequate. The result is that the development of Native education is seriously handicapped. Hundreds of new schools cannot be financed and teachers' salaries are cut. Indeed the position is growing from bad to worse. "Meanwhile," says the Rev. Mr. E. Carter, Superintendent of the Witwatersrand Native Methodist Mission, "there are 1,000,000 children of school-going age who are not receiving education."

The seriousness of this position is perhaps not realised by the authorities simply because these million children are not white and belong to a race which should be "kept in its proper place" in this changing world! It cannot be denied that this indifference to the educational needs of the Bantu people on the part of the state is due to the fear that the education of the Native constitutes a serious danger to the supremacy of the white race. The traditional belief that educated Africans will not willingly submit to the white man's control is undoubtedly responsible for this unreasonable and unjustifiable attitude. It is true that an enlightened man of whatever race or colour will not submit to misrule and harsh treatment. Africans, will not be human, if they willingly submitted to tyranny, misrule and conditions of which retard their progress.

But to keep people in ignorance because one is afraid of their advancement is certainly not an insurance against any possible danger. The security of white civilisation in Africa depends upon the advancement of the Africans. No one can gainsay the fact that civilisation and barbarism, like corn and tare, cannot flourish side by side; the one must destroy the other in the end. To educate the Africans, therefore, is to insure civilisation against the forces of barbarism, those forces which have been the cause of the downfall of the civilisations of the past. The education of the Africans, we repeat, is the only hope of white civilisation in Africa "Unfortunately," as Mr. F. A. W. Lucas and Dr. A. W. Roberts have pointed out, "there is, even among well educated Europeans, the belief that improvement of the of the Natives' standard of civilisation means a progressive loss of opportunities for Europeans. This is really a variation of the fallacy of there being only a limited number of jobs, a fallacy long ago exposed by economists but still persisting among a large number of people. The Union is not enriched by keeping the Natives poor, and an increased capacity among Natives to produce wealth cannot impoverish the Europeans. Improvement in the Natives' position will, on the contrary, give increased opportunity to Europeans."

This is the opinion of men who have made a special study of the social conditions of this country. And no sane man can deny that the improvement of the African's standard of civilisation will strengthen the hold of European civilisation upon Africa. But millions of barbarous Africans will eventually drag a large number of Europeans to their level and thus aggravate the position of the poor whites.

"The laws of changeless justice
Bind the oppressor with the oppressed;
And close as sin and suffering joined
We march to fate abreast."

An enlightened Bantu community will not only contribute its share to the progress of the country but will also uphold the prestige of a civilisation that has freed it from the thraldom of an African barbarism. One thing which should be well understood is that the welfare of the Africans is bound up with that of Europeans. The one group cannot hope to achieve success without the co-operative action of the other. An efficient, intelligent Bantu group will be a great asset to the commercial and industrial development of the country whereas millions of ignorant Africans will retard its progress in every possible way. "By giving the Native education his standard of living and his ability to maintain that standard by increased efficiency can be raised and the great economic danger in the Union to European civilisation arising from the wide divergence between European and Native standards of living will disappear. The European has less fear from an educated than from an uneducated Native people, either in preserving European civilisation or in maintaing a European standard of living."

It is the uneducated, the man whose wants are few, who is a positive danger to white civilisation. His lower standard of living makes him a deadily competitor against European workers. It is, therefore, the duty of the Government to eliminate this danger by bringing up the African standard of living to that of Europeans. "In justice to the native and in his own interest the European must face the question of educating the Native people of the Union. It is necessary but not enough to teach the Native better agricultural methods and principles of hygiene. He must be taught to read and write and to think clearly, so that throughout his life he may have open to him channels through which helpful knowledge may come to him." In short the African should be enabled to help himself, to become an efficient producer as well as a consumer so that instead of becoming a burden on the State he should become a useful citizen, capable of contributing his quota to the progress of the country.

Loc. Advisory Boards Congress.

Native Opinion
(Imvo Zabantsundu)

(CONTRIBUTED)

2-6-34

[Continued]

Kimberley Townships,

He wanted to say a few words in connection with the conference of Superintendents of the Union which was held in Johannesburg because he noticed in the press that the Port Elizabeth delegates would move certain resolutions dealing with Superintendents of Native locations. "I am glad they have taken that up as an important subject," he added. He noticed that they intended to deal not only with the improvement of the salaries of Superintendents but also with those of their clerks (hear, hear). In Cape Town they had taken a lead in that matter where their Superintendent was paid not much less than the figure contemplated in the resolution. There they had a Superintendent with the widest knowledge of Native affairs, the widest of the languages of the people and who had a good heart (cheers). Continuing, he said that at the Johannesburg conference he listened to a speech made by Mr. G. Ballenden, the Johannesburg Superintendent who dealt there with a Native population of about 20 times that of Cape Town.

In the course of his address to that Congress Mr. Ballenden stated that he had often been asked what qualifications are essential for a Superintendent of a Native village, and he invariably replied that he should be a Native linguist, have a sound education, be a gentleman and have character, business ability, sound judgment and knowledge of civil and criminal law, a good organiser, have sympathy and patience, be able to see and appreciate the other fellow's point of view, have knowledge of roads, building, sanitation, sports, social organization, Native custom and Native law. These were qualities which made for competence

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Stone Cairns in Africa.

East Africa 9-6-34

Mr. John Boyes on the Early Days.

To the Editor of "East Africa."

SIR,—You recently published some interesting correspondence on the stone cairns to be seen in Africa. My opinion is that they have some religious significance, for I remember that in my early days in the Kikuyu country, when I transported thousands of loads of food over the Aberdare range to Lake Naivasha, I often encountered one or two stone cairns near the path that led to Naivasha. On one trip I got ahead of my *safari* and sat down in the shade of a tree near one of these cairns to have something to eat, and whilst there I noticed that all my porters, women as well as men, had brought a stone with them to deposit on the cairn, at the same time offering up a prayer, saying, *Ngai*, or "To God." Some would ask for a good journey, others for a good measure of cloth, others for their work, and so on. London, Eng.

Again in Abyssinia I found similar stone cairns, and one day, when a follower was placing a stone on one, I asked him the reason. He pointed up to a small hill on which stood an Abyssinian Church, and told me that when he and his friends were on a long journey and they passed a church they always placed a stone on a cairn, if there happened to be one near. That acted in lieu of their going to church.

When out hunting with the Wanderobo around Mount Kenya I found that when they passed an old elephant skull they always plucked some grass, and, after spitting on it, placed it on the skull, at the same time saying, *Ngai*, or "To God."

Nairobi, Yours faithfully,
Kenya Colony. JOHN BOYES.

THE VERNACULAR AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION.

Shanga Sane
Natal

A PAPER READ BY A. J. LUTHULI AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE N.N.T.U.)

8-17-34

Olwesikhlanu
Phoenix

(Continued from last week.)

ADVOCATES OF A PARALLEL MEDIUM.

Some, and I think there are many in this group, advocate using both English and the vernacular, leaving it to the teacher to decide when to use the vernacular. I do not quarrel very much with this view except to say that very often a teacher discovers too late that a pupil is not following and further, this view seems to assume that pupils are a homogeneous group whereas they differ much in ability. Seventy five per cent might be following or vice versa but in any case shall you let some pupils suffer when you could have made them all understand by teaching in the vernacular ?

THE CULTURAL ASPECT

This question of the vernacular as a medium of instruction has a direct bearing on the development of National pride and the raising of the status of Bantu or African languages to respectability, which end should be the ideal of all worthy Africans or any one working for the ultimate national realisation of the Africans. We often sing "Mayibuye iAfrika' but often our actions and attitudes contradict our singing and more loudly make us to sing "Mayibuye iEurope iAfrica." Unless we as teachers can make our people see that our language is capable of expressing effectively and reasonably clearly all modern ideas, they shall despise it and not care for it; and instead of having a virile growing language we shall have a static dying language thus we shall lose one of the most precious heritages of any race, one of the strongest bonds of national unity, one of the surest guarantees of race individuality. In the words of Professor Westermann, we shall soon find that our race "has lost its soul!" Stressing the same point some one has said, "All that is permanent in a people's love and culture and aspiration, all their spiritual capacities find adequate expression only through their mother-tongue". This consideration of the cultural aspect of the question of Instruction in the vernacular has a direct bearing on the production of vernacular literature, especially indigenous vernacular literature. As Professor Victor Murray points out: "If there is no vernacular literature the spread of education in Africa will more and more put English into the position of mother-tongue for in the new world in which the African finds himself the European language will be the only one which 'fixes' his ideas and makes them transmissible." (The truth of these words of Professor Victor Murray is proved by the fact that some educated Africans speak and read English most fluently but sink to kindergarten ability and fluency when they read and speak their own mother-language. The sad part of this state of affairs is that they boast of their ability in English and feel no shame in their disgraceful inability in their own language).

The creation of a vernacular literature, which literature should include indigenous literature, translations from other languages and the making of Text Books for school subjects in the vernacular, is, therefore, one of the essential element in a vernacular policy. May I here in passing suggest the starting of School libraries with mostly vernacular books, even if these libraries would have only half a dozen books they would be better than nothing. In some cases pupils might actually be encouraged to pay towards the subscription for some Zulu Newspaper.

THE VERNACULAR IN THE INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS AND HIGHER SCHOOLS:

Is instruction in the vernacular a necessity in these schools? My own reply is that from a psychological standpoint it is probably less necessary than in the Primary Schools. The pupil should by then as a result of instructing him in the Primary school, have acquired a wider vocabulary in English and should also be in possession of clear fundamental ideas in most school subjects, that we can risk the adoption of an English medium of instruction; not that psychologically it is better but because, undoubtedly, English for pupils of that stage, from a practical stand-point is very essential since it is from these pupils that we will get

our "elect few" who may succeed to proceed to High School, Training Colleges and later to Universities. If teachers in the Primary grades did their work well we need not fear that our pupils will be handicapped. From a cultural standpoint we must not abandon altogether the vernacular as a medium of instruction even above the Primary School as far as Higher Schools since we do not want these students to lose interest in and appreciation of their language. We repeat that the commercial world would be all the better if a general adoption of increase of wages was agreed to. Such increase would at once augment the consuming power of the Bantu, and the latter being more a spending rather than frugal community would increase the turnovers of business concerns treblefold. It has been argued that when a Native has a sufficiency of money to carry on with for a few months, he adopts an air of leisurely independence, and begins to shirk his work. This may be true to some extent with the class of labourer employed on the mines, whose civilised amenities are few compared with those of his educated and more enlightened brother. There is also the aspect of miserably low wages paid by the mine-owners to the "Boys," the pre-war scale being adopted, despite the phenomenal profits made by the mining companies at the

It must be remembered that it is from these students of Higher Schools that we expect the production of vernacular literature hence the need for keeping them interested and acquaintd with their mother language. There is no reason why even in an Institution like Fort Hare instruction should not be in the vernacular when teaching a vernacular subject.

In conclusion I must plead with you that we must leave no stone unturned in enhancing the value and recognition of the vernacular.

Native Wages.

If European employers in the urban commercial and industrial undertakings could only realise that their concerns would thrive if their Native employees were paid better, much of the outcry about slum conditions would disappear. No poorly paid man can afford to rent a decent cottage or hut if his labour is discounted. The mentality of any human being carries an element of cleanliness within it which probes the incessant desire to avoid squalor; but this consciousness is invariably destroyed by the imposition of permanent external agencies which exercise a depressive influence. So much for the effect of low wages on the conditions of living among the Natives.

The expense and loss of lives of thousands of Natives. European mine employees participate in some form in the huge profits, but the individual black mine labourer gets no such encouragement, hence his aversion to work for long periods underground at the daily risk of losing his limbs or life. Another argument used in favour of keeping the wages of Natives at the bottom is the fear of competition with white semi-skilled labour. Fallacious as it obviously is, this contention has been popularised by the Government in all its public departments. A colour bar has been officially created which gives preference to payment for work by colour than by merit. Thousands of pounds have been expended by the Government in subsidising local authorities to carry out and maintain this economic differentiation, without realising that the policy is inimical to the financial interest and stability of the country as a whole. The fact of undermining six million labourers who, physically, are best endowed to withstand the rigours of out-door unskilled and semi-skilled work is tantamount to throwing away a huge fortune. All this for the matter of satiating a sentimental desire whose design, in all its absurdity, is to protect poor whites against black competition. The authors of this policy fail to realise that this discrimination had the recochetive effect of lowering the white man's wage in the industry which banned the black man. Any amount of vigilance by the Government would not save the white labourer from exploitation, and the issue resolves itself to finding a remedy whereby all wages are regulated irrespective of colour and purely on the class and amount of work produced by the individual.

With unemployment so rife among European, Coloured and Native workers, employers in industry are faced with the temptation of exploiting these three classes for personal benefit rather than paying fairly for output. It has come to our knowledge that certain factories find it pays them more to employ a good number of foremen to stalk among the workers, demanding the maximum of energy and production of the employees during ordinary hours of labour; and thus they avoid overtime work with its increased rates of pay. By this system the employers bleed the poor labourers to the last ounce of energy, and by the time they retire, (which soon comes under these arduous conditions) they are total wrecks bodily and unfit for further employment. No secret is made of intimidation in these factories, the men are at the mercy of the employers who are in the happy position of expelling a worker and replacing him immediately from the queue waiting in the street every morning.

Mandates Commission and Tanganyika.

LAST week we published extracts from the Minutes of the last session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, before which Mr. J. A. Calder, head of the Tanganyika Department of the Colonial Office, appeared as the accredited representative of the Tanganyika Government. Hereunder are published further extracts from that document.

Mdlle. Dreyfus said there appeared to be an increasing desire among the tribal authorities to punish adultery by the imprisonment. The same difficulties existed as in West Africa with regard to polygamy. She observed, at the same time, that "no plural-wives taxes were collected in the Western Province, except in the Ufipa district." Wassaid he noted much had been done to clear up the situation so that the young men had more difficulty in finding wives and got themselves involved in adultery? Mr. Calder said it was a grievance with the tribal authorities that the total number of persons charged with this offence the Government would not allow offenders in the type of case mentioned to be put in prison, and the amount lost to the concerned were unable to pay fines. He added that the labourers were suddenly

Western District was very poor, and that tsetse fly was prevalent; the tax on plural wives had accordingly been remitted for one year.

Lord Lugard, referring to the efforts being made to encourage agricultural production, said he feared lest the tax on cotton should restrict production of an industry which the Government was specially anxious to foster, but Mr. Calder told him that director had replaced the Excise duty which had been levied previously. It was very small, and the proceeds were exclusively for the benefit of the cotton-planting industry.

Mr. Weaver, representative of the International Labour Organisation, after expressing appreciation of the details given in the annual report, said it was a grievance that the total number of persons charged with this offence had been convicted. He case mentioned lost to the Natives must be concerned were unable to pay fines. He added that nearly all the cases concerned were unable to pay fines. He added that the amount lost to the Natives must be concerned were unable to pay fines. He added that nearly all the cases concerned were unable to pay fines. He added that the amount lost to the Natives must be concerned were unable to pay fines. He added that the amount lost to the Natives must be concerned were unable to pay fines. He added that the amount lost to the Natives must be

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9-1-3-37

East Africa

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Abyssinia

The Crusade Against Slave Trading in Abyssinia

ANTISLAVERY reform measures in Abyssinia, to bring slavery to an end within a period of twenty years, have been making progress since they were put into force by the Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia more than twelve months ago.

A Slavery Department was established in August, 1933, and was credited by Lord Noel-Buxton, joint president of the British Anti-Slavery Society, with having made a good beginning. He praised its chief, former Ethiopian Minister in Rome, for efficiency, and also the Emperor, whose personal support enabled the Department to carry on. In several provinces he found that newly installed governors were showing energy, notably in the great territory of Gojjam, where an unsuccessful rebellion brought the hereditary kingdom to an end.

The efforts of the new Slavery Department in Abyssinia were concentrated first mainly on preventing slave raids and the trade in slaves. The existence of raiding, according to this authority, was proved even in the last year by transfrontier raids into British territory. One of the most significant features of the situation, Lord Noel-Buxton noted in the London *Times*, was that some of the highest officials were concerned in these affairs. Slave children carried off from British territory have been found in the households of Ethiopian governors and other officials.

After a raid in which women and children were seized, he alleged, some of the children were traced to the households of Abyssinian delegates who, at the conference called to discuss the raid, had denied all knowledge of their whereabouts. One of the chiefs concerned in a raid into the Sudan was Sheikh Khojali, husband of the notorious Sitt Ammna, who actually established a slave depot in the Sudan, through which 600 slave children were traced as having passed. She was imprisoned, and is now in a Sudan jail.

The reduction of slave trading to kidnapping of small groups, which has been achieved in some parts, was held by Lord Noel-Buxton to be a very much easier task than an attack on the fundamental problem of slavery itself. If the law were enforced which prescribes the emancipation of slaves on their owners' death, and of children born to slave parents in recent years, slavery would die. But the opposition to such measures would be tremendous.

Burton Holmes photo from Ewing Galloway

UPPER-CLASS ABYSSINIANS ON THEIR WAY

They ride donkeys when they travel and are accompanied by guards on foot, mostly men carrying rifles

ABYSSINIAN, JAP WEDDING LINKS NATIONS

Union of Nippon Daughter and Prince Stirs Europe.

SELECTED FROM TEN BEAUTIES

May Signal Japanese Bid for Control.

WASHINGTON. — Recent announcement that Prince Ridy Alaya of Abyssinia will wed the pretty Miss Masaka Kuroda, 23-year-old daughter of Count Hiroshi Kuroda, has stirred the diplomatic circles of the two continents.

The wedding of the prince and his fiance, said to have been selected from ten of the most beautiful maidens of Japan, is scheduled to take place in the spring.

Another Coup

Europe is stunned by this development of another coup which follows the continual expansion of Japanese influence in the colored world. Not satisfied with the commercial penetration of Latin America, the Far East and India, Japan now makes her bid in Africa with a gesture of romantic racial diplomacy.

Miss Kuroda, it is said, has admitted that she expects her marriage to the prince to have far-reaching economic advantages for her native country. The friendship between Abyssinia and Japan may now give a practical outlet to the over-populated Nippon island as well as give Japan further advantage in her desire to lead the darker races.

Special apprehension is felt in Italy, it is said, because the Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland border on Abyssinia. By cementing their ties of friendship by marriage, Abyssinia and Japan will be more tightly linked than ordinar ytreaty alignments, it is pointed out.

For some time Japan has been carrying on a commercial penetration of Africa. Japanese goods are seen in practically every shop in Liberia and other sections of the West Coast. With a firm hold in Abyssinia she is certain to become a formidable rival of Britain and other countries in African trade.

Needs More Room

Because of the fact that the Japanese entertain no racial prejudices heir colonizaion in Africa would be more penetrating than that of the white races, leading Japanese statesmen say.

Japan is too small a country for her growing population. It has the highest birth rate and the lowest death rate in the world. The average number of babies born every year is approximately 3,000,000. The net increase in population is over a million. That has been going on for years and must go on for years.

There is no room for them on the farm, for the tiny farms, only two acres in extent, support every one of them, at least seven people already.

Dr. Jones also stated that he would suggest to American Christians that they sponsor the sending a quartette of four male voices to India to sing the spirituals. He suggested that these singers be taken from Tuskegee, Hampton, Fisk and Gammon. The spiritual, he said, was the most triumphant music in the world.

The Japanese are also reported to be underselling the British and Belgians in the Belgian Congo. The exports from Japan to that region were said to have jumped from 695,000 francs in 1927 to 6,765,000 francs in 1932.

DETROIT, MICH.
FREE PRESS

FEB 9 1934

JAPAN COURTS ETHIOPIA

THE story that Japan is muscling in, as it were on Abyssinia to the detriment of certain Italian pretensions may not be 100 per cent substantial But it is the sort of a yarn that appeals to the imagination; and if it is true that Prince Lidj Araya nephew of a former Abyssinian emperor, is shortly to marry a daughter of Viscount Hirvatu Kurade of Japan the rumors which have filtered through to London probably have considerable basis.

That the able gentleman who at present wears the Abyssinian crown might welcome a rapprochment with Japan is quite understandable. Once, in the not so long ago, his predecessor Menelik was obliged to give an Italian army a good licking at Adowa in order to prevent it from overrunning the country and reducing it to the condition of a colony. The defeat always has rankled at Rome and the knowledge that Italy might try to redeem herself at the first opportunity was probably one of the considerations that drew Abyssinia into the League of Nations.

However, the League is worse than a broken reed and there is a certain aggressiveness about Mussolini's attitude which must be distinctly disquieting down in Addis Ababa, even though for the present it is economic rather than military. There have been strong intimations that the Italian advance is not welcome and to a certain degree Great Britain has been courted in consequence.

Japan, however, may understandably be a much more welcome competitor for hegemony in Ethiopia. Although there is no real racial affinity between the yellow native of Nippon and the dark skinned Abyssinian with his infusion of Negro blood, the two stand together in opposition to the Whites. They have this community of interest and feeling. And if a marriage between a member of the Ethiopian royal house and a daughter of a Japanese noble family really is being arranged, the racial equality implied constitutes a bid for Abyssinian friendship no European Nation is ever likely to duplicate.

ABYSSINIAN PRINCE TO WED JAPANESE GIRL

Defender 2-17-34 Chicago Ill

The coming together through ties of blood to ancient nations is not without its significance in Asiatic politics. It is also an indication that Japan has sensed the importance of a new spiritual awakening among the darker people of the world. Photo shows Miss Masako Kuroda, 23 years old, daughter of Viscount Hiroyuki Kuroda of the Japanese forestry bureau, and Crown Prince Ababa of the empire of Abyssinia, who are to be married soon.

—Acme Photo.

JAPAN FROWNS ON YELLOW AND BLACK NUPTIALS

Journal and Guide

Bride-Elect Ignores Reports That Prince Is Imposter

3-31-34

NEW YORK, N. Y., (ANP)—In a special wireless story, copyrighted by the Herald Tribune, dated March 15, from Tokio, Japan, the correspondent for that paper describes at great length the attempt of the members of the Imperial Japanese family to prevent the marriage of Miss Massako Kuroda, a daughter of Viscount Hiroyuki Kuroda and "Prince" Lij Ababa of Abyssinia.

"The Japanese authorities have found," says the story, "upon investigation, that the suitor misrepresented himself and is neither a prince nor a member of the royal family, headed by Emperor Halie Selassie of Abyssinia, (Ethiopia.)

"It is learned on reliable authority," continues the correspondent, that the man who posed as Prince Lij Ababa visited Japan last year as secretary to the Ethiopian Minister of Foreign Affairs. The latter was in Tokio on a mission to the Japanese government to enter into diplomatic relations with his African country and establish a legation at Addis Adaba, the capital. It is understood that the young secretary was greatly fascinated by the Japanese women during his visit here."

Ten Photos Submitted

According to the story, the selection of the bride was arranged through a prominent Tokio lawyer, Tomoyoski Sumioka, who is said to have submitted photographs of 10 girls thought fit to marry into the royal family of Abyssinia.

The chosen one, Miss Kuroda, appears to have been highly pleased with her choice, believing, it is said, that she would be doing a patriotic duty by devoting herself to the promotion of Japan's foreign relations. Opposed at the outset, Viscount Hiroyuki Kuroda, the father, is said to have succumbed to the girls entreaties.

When the annbuncement of the wedding, which cause a sensation in Tokio, was first made known by the Japanese press, offiicals at Tokio set about making their inquiries. Ts there is no Japanese legation in Abyssinia, the investigation had to be made in a roundabout manner, through one of the other embassies, it is believed.

Reveal True Status

It finally revealed the true status of the young man and officials of the Imperial household are understood to have so informed the girl's father. And further, it is alleged that the Imperial household advised against the wedding.

None the less, Miss Kuroda is going ahead with her plans for the wedding in spite of the opposition of the Imperial household and her father, regardless of diplomatic entanglements, royal etiquette and what not, creating a fine news set up for Japanese newspapers, which says the story, have not yet learned the story about the proposed match.

Race Problem - 1934

Abyssinia

Africa

Rally to Support of Abyssinian Masses

THE invasion of Abyssinia by troops of the Fascist Dictator Mussolini is clearly the beginning of a drive for the completion of the rape and partition of Africa among the imperialist bandits. It is clear that the Italian action would not have been undertaken without a preliminary understanding with England and France, Italy's main imperialist rivals in Abyssinia, for a division of the loot.

The rich resources of Abyssinia long have been coveted by the imperialist robbers. For decades these brigands have been chiseling away at the territory and independence of the Abyssinian people. Today, that Negro country is cut off from access to the sea and its trade routes by a chain of British, French and Italian colonies and forts. The entrance on the scene of the Japanese imperialist oppressors of the peoples of Manchuria, Korea and Formosa, under the deceptive slogans of "champions of the darker peoples," has sharpened the imperialist rivalries for control of the country.

Every opponent of war and fascism, every friend of the oppressed Negro and colonial peoples, should rally in a united front fight against the robber campaign initiated by the fascist Italian regime against the Abyssinian people.

The struggle against the projected rape of Abyssinia is inextricably linked with the fight against war and fascism, for Negro liberation, for the national independence of the peoples of Africa and the West Indies, for unconditional equality of the Negro people everywhere and for self-determination for the Negro majorities in the Southern Black Belt territories of the United States.

In their struggle against the invaders of their country, the toiling masses of Abyssinia have entered the world-wide anti-imperialist front. To be effective, their struggle in defense of their national independence must be directed against both the imperialist invaders and the native bourgeois rulers who are among the worst exploiters of the native toilers.

In this country the revolutionary Negro and white workers and the Negro people must organize the widest possible support to the Abyssinian masses in their fight against foreign and native exploitation.

Ethiopian Priest Says that Abyssinians Scorn Italians

To the Editor:

Japan stands as the leading yellow nation in Asia and Ethiopia as the leading black nation in Africa. The combination of the two would result in political, industrial, military and educational advantages to both.

The Ethiopians look upon the Italians with scorn and contempt. They have done so ever since the days of Hannibal, the Ethiopian Carthaginian general, and particularly since they meted out a disastrous defeat to the Italians in 1896.

If Italy attempts to invade Ethiopia, a land that has not been conquered for 3,000 years and the oldest monarchy in the world, it will not only be a great loss to her prestige, but also of the land she is holding bordering my country.

Ethiopia.

(Rev.) C. F. CHECHZI

ABYSSINIAN NOTE TO LEAGUE

The Two Questions

(From our Geneva Correspondent.)

The Abyssinian Foreign Minister, M. Herouy, has addressed a Note to the Secretary General of the League rejecting the Italian version of the events at Ual Ual and accusing the Italian military authorities with having refused to grant the International Commission the right of passage. The telegram alleges that during the negotiations of the Commission, with an Italian officer Italian aeroplanes flew over the Commission and threatened it.

The Note stresses that the protest against the provocative attitude and the demonstrations in Abyssinian territory was made not by the Abyssinian Commissioner alone but by the British and Abyssinian Commissioners jointly.

The Note concludes: "With the Italian Government stating that it cannot see the possibility of submitting the dispute to arbitration, the Abyssinian Government wishes to make it clear that there was an Italian aggression first at Ual Ual and three days later in the interior of the province of Ogaden, notably at Ado and Gerlogubi, and that Ual Ual is Abyssinian territory illegally occupied by Italian troops."

Such are the two principal questions to be settled.

Il Duce Denounces Ethiopian Charge

ROME, Dec. 24 (AP)—Taking a vigorous offensive, Premier Mussolini defended Italy today against Ethiopian charges of waging aggressive warfare in the colorful desert region of colonial North Africa.

In his capacity of minister of foreign affairs Il Duce declared Ethiopia had "violated the Italo-Ethiopian treaties and the covenant of the League of Nations" and repeated Italy's demand for reparation in connection with the recent Ualual incident.

Italy and Abyssinia

The Abyssinian Government has sent a Note to the League of Nations, of which Abyssinia has been a member since 1923, protesting against Italian aggression on the frontier of Italian Somaliland, and the Italian Government has replied with a Note denying the truth of the allegations. This protest arises out of an incident which took place on December 5 at Ual Ual, an oasis in the disputed territory of the border between the two countries, when a miniature battle between Italian and Abyssinian troops ended in heavy casualties on both sides. Each of the two Governments claims that its own forces were guiltless of aggression, but it is stated that the only independent evidence, that of the British officer in command of the Anglo-Abyssinian Pastoral Commission which was involved in the dispute, puts the blame on the Italian detachment. The Abyssinian Note is in the form of a description of the events and draws the attention of the Council to the gravity of the situation. It is not an "appeal," and no request is made for a Council meeting, though an appeal may be made later under article 11 of the Covenant, which provides for it. It is noteworthy that the protest is in the same form as the one made by Abyssinia in 1926 on the occasion of the Anglo-Italian agreement, the publication of which, without any further appeal, did much to help Abyssinia. In this case the root of the trouble lies in the fact that the frontier has never been properly defined, and though Ual Ual has been occupied by Italians for five years Abyssinia claims that it is sixty-two miles within her territory. An instance of the confusion is that both sides quote the treaty of 1908 to support their arguments. It is unlikely that feeling between the two countries, still inflamed by the disastrous memory of Adowa, will be substantially improved until the frontiers have been defined, and the best solution might be for the League to appoint an impartial commission to undertake this work.

ETHIOPIANS MAKE FURTHER CHARGE

Italians Constructing Motor Road and Flying Planes Over Abyssinian Territory

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, Dec. 25. (AP)—New charges against Italy were made today in an official statement of the Ethiopian government, including the assertion that Italians are constructing a motor road from Radir to Ado and Guerlogubi, in Ethiopian territory.

The statement also claimed that Italians have occupied the settlement of Afdub.

The statement said Italian planes continued to fly over Guerlogubi, in Ethiopian territory.

The new Ethiopian charges followed a communique of Mussolini yesterday to the League of Nations, aggressively denying Ethiopian charges that Italy was taking the offensive in the North Africa colonial border troubles, and demanding reparations from Ethiopia.

PROTEST ATTACK ON ABYSSINIA

NEW YORK.—An appeal for mass protests against the act of provocation of Italy in forcibly occupying Abyssinian territory, was received here last week from the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers.

"The Italian imperialists," says the appeal, "have, after a battle between Italian military forces and Abyssinian troops, occupied Abyssinian territory and stationed troops nearly one hundred miles within that border.

"This occupation, according to reports, grew out of a provocative attack by Italian troops armed with tanks, machine guns and airplanes on the native escort to an Anglo-Ethiopian Commission, studying boundary grazing rights.

Abyssinians Fought Well

"Early press reports reveal that though the Italian forces were heavily armed with the most modern weapons and bombing planes, the Abyssinians defended themselves to the last ditch, resulting in losses to the Italian army of 60 dead and 400 wounded. Over 100 Abyssinians were killed.

"Abyssinia has, for a long time, been a highly coveted country for plunder and the expansionist schemes of Italian imperialism. Its rich natural resources; the tremendous possibilities of turning the country into huge cotton plantations, the highly strategic position which it occupies, have been the sources of keen rivalry between the various imperialist powers, especially Italy and France, for control and domination.

ABYSSINIAN PROTEST TO LEAGUE

Alleged Italian Attack

(From our Geneva Correspondent.)

The Abyssinan Government has sent a communication to the League drawing the attention of all members of the League to the gravity of the alleged aggression by Italian troops over the Italian Abyssinian frontier. The Note has considerably excited Italian diplomatic quarters here. It is considered here as a warning and a possible prelude to a formal request for action under the Covenant.

Text of the Note

The following is the text of the Note, dated December 10:—

The Imperial Government has the honour to inform you for communication to the Council and States members, that on November 23 last the Anglo-Abyssinian Commission, investigating pasture lands in the Abyssian province of Ogaden, was prevented by an Italian military force from continuing its work upon its arrival at Ual Ual, situated about 100 kilometres within the frontier. On December 5 Italian troops with tanks and military aeroplanes suddenly and without provocation attacked the Abyssian escort of the Commission.

The Abyssinian Government protested by a Note on December 6. Despite the protest Italian military aeroplanes three days later bombarded Adoa and Gerlogubi, in the same province.

In response to the protest of December 6 and request for arbitration of December 9 under article 5 of the Italo-Abyssinian Treaty of August 2, 1928, the Italian Chargé d'Affaires, disregarding the protest, demanded indemnity and moral reparation in a Note of December 11 and declared in a Note of December 14 that his Government does not see how a solution of an incident of this character can be submitted to arbitral decision.

In the presence of Italian aggression, the Abyssinian Government draws the Council's attention to the gravity of the situation.

Detailed confirmation and documents follow.

HEROUY, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

—Reuter.

ITALY'S REPLY

How the Fighting Started

Italy has sent a reply to the Secretary of the League of Nations denying the accusation contained in the Abyssinian Government's recent protest to Geneva on the fighting at Ual Ual on December 5. The communication states that, according to the information received by the Italian Government, the first attack on December 5 was made by the Abyssinian forces and therefore they should be held responsible.

The account of the events leading up to the fighting is then given. It is similar to the account given by the Abyssinian Government, except for the following additions and differences:—

1. When the Anglo-Ethiopian Commission for the demarcation of grazing grounds arrived on November 23 at Ual Ual the Abyssinian members insisted that Ual Ual belonged to them, and that therefore they had the right to advance. The commander of the Italian troops replied that the territory belonged to Italian Somaliland and that they could not allow the Abyssinian troops, amounting to about 1,000 men, to advance, adding that the question of the right of ownership of Ual Ual was a question for the two Governments. The Anglo-Ethiopian Commission then left the vicinity, but the Abyssinian troops remained.

2. During the next few days the Italian commander suggested to the Abyssinian commander that a line should be picketed between the two forces to avoid trouble, but this was refused. The opposing forces therefore remained in close contact with one another.

3. The Abyssinians then (the Italian statement alleges) began warlike dances to try to provoke the Italian force to combat.

4. On December 5, the Abyssinians opened an attack on the Italian force. According to the details received from the Italian Somaliland Government, the signal for the attack was a rifle fired in the air by an Abyssinian soldier who stood in full view of the Italian force. This was followed by an immediate fusillade from the Abyssinians on the Italian outposts, an action which resulted in serious losses among the Italian Somaliland force. The Italian outposts defended their position until reinforcements arrived. These, which included aeroplanes and an armoured-car, put the Abyssinians to flight.

The Italian Demands

"The Italian Government," proceeds the communiqué, "sent a protest to the Abyssinian Government at Addis Ababa with regard to the unprovoked attack. In a subsequent note it was demanded that

1. The Abyssinian Governor of Harrar should present his apologies.
2. Homage should be paid to the Italian flag.
3. Those responsible should be punished.
4. An indemnity should be paid for the dead and wounded.

"At the same time a Note was sent to the Abyssinian Legation in Rome. In this the Italian Government replied to the Abyssinian request for arbitration under article 5 of the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of August 2, 1928. It was stated that the details of what happened on December 5 are so precise that the Italian Government did not consider that there was any question that could be put to arbitration. Therefore, the Italian Government must insist that reparation and apologies should be made for the events of December 5."—Reuter.

Mussolini Wants Negro Kingdom

NEW YORK, Dec. 27.—(ANP)—Observers of foreign affairs are turning their attention again to Mussolini's dreams of an African Empire, embracing that rich and undeveloped land ruled over by Haile Selassie, Abyssinia. A war is brewing between Italy and Abyssinia.

Some months ago, there was a petty war between Ibn Saud, the Wahabi ruler of Northern Arabia, and the gentleman who runs Yemen in Southern Arabia. Saud won. Mussolini lost. His plan had been to get a strong foothold on the western shore of Southern Arabia, which looks across the Red Sea to another Italian colony at Erythrea.

Now Mussolini is trying to swap support of France in the Balkan and Central Europe for permission from France to dig into Abyssinia. King Fuad of Egypt is extremely ill and Great Britian is concerned about the possibility of trouble in Northeastern Africa.

On the surface, it all seems pretty remote and unimportant. But it isn't. If Mussolini can whip the Abyssinians, he can join the two African colonies of Erythrea and Italian Somaliland, which touches the Gulf of Aden just east of French and British Somaliland.

If he does this, Italy will control the Asiatic outlet of the Suez Canal. That means that Italy will control the British route to India and the Far East. Politically this would be of vast importance. One of the causes of the World War was the Kaiser's ambition to get a foothold in the same part of the world by means of the famous Berlin to Bagdad railroad.

Economically, it would give Italy the tremendous resources of Abyssinia, generally conceded to be enormously rich.

A question of national prestige is also involved. Fifty years ago, the Italians tried to get into Abyssinia. In 1887, a column of 500 Italians was cut to pieces by Abyssinians. Then on March 1, 1896, Italian troops led by General Baratieri attacked Adowah (near where the recent fight took place) and were wiped out.

The word Adowah or Adua in Italian, makes all nationalisttic Italians wince. Mussolini is eager to give it a new meaning, and at the same time to make it the key to Italian Fascism's political and economic imperial destiny.

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The frontiers between Abyssinia and the adjacent Italian Colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland have yet to be defined.

Second Border Clash.

The border clash, the second in as many months, occurred Dec. 5 at Ualual, Italian Somaliland, Stefani (Italian) News Agency dispatches reported, and the Ethiopians were driven off only after reinforcements were sent to the outpost.

A government spokesman, pointing out that the Abyssinian version did not correspond with information received from Italian Somaliland, said it did not seem logical that native forces at Ualual should cross the frontier merely to attack the surveying commission.

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The Italian Minister at Addis Abeba, it was announced, has made forceful representations to the government of Emperor Haile Selassie as a result of the incident.

The dispatches told of the capture of large quantities of Ethiopian equipment, but made no mention of casualties.

Fear of conflict with the modern and well-trained Abyssinian Army prompted Italy last year to reinforce her garrisons in Somaliland and Eritrea.

Rumors that Italy coveted the rich territory governed by Emperor Haile Selassie as an addition to her colonial possessions were denied in Rome. Abyssinia, surrounded by the colonies of Italy, France and Great Britain, was said to have aspirations for an outlet to the sea.

Ethiopia Charges Aggression to Italy

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia, Dec. 8 (AP)—The Ethiopian government today denied Rome reports that armed Ethiopians attacked an Italian outpost Wednesday, asserted the Italians took the initiative and ordered its chargé d'affaires in Rome to file vigorous protest.

Native forces from the Italian Somaliland started the clash, Emperor Hailie Selassie's government charged adding that these forces now have advanced 75 miles into Ethiopian territory.

The official version here was that the Italian forces, armed with tanks artillery and planes, attached themselves to Abyssinian forces escorting a joint British-Abyssinian commission engaged in surveying grazing land.

After the battle, it was charged, the Italians pushed still farther into Ethiopian territory.

The frontiers between Abyssinia and the adjacent Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland have yet to be defined.

ROME, Dec. 8.—(AP)—An official communique issued tonight declared "false and tendencious" dispatches from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, asserting Italian forces were the aggressors in an affray between Italians and Ethiopians December 5.

Italo-Ethiopian Breach Widens

Addis Ababa Government Charges 'Aggression' In Bitter League Message

By JOSEPH SHARKEY,
Associated Press Foreign Staff.

GENEVA, Dec. 15.—(AP)—Fear was expressed in League of Nations circles tonight that Italy may refuse to recognize the League's jurisdiction in her controversy with Ethiopia.

League officials foresaw the possibility that Benito Mussolini might follow the precedent set in 1923 when Italy declined to admit the League's right to interfere in her dispute with Greece over the Island of Corfu.

The Italo-Ethiopian issue, nominally growing out of frontier clashes between Ethiopian and Italian forces in Africa, was attributed here indirectly to the clash of Japanese and Italian commercial issues in Africa.

Because Tokyo's withdrawal from the League becomes effective soon, Geneva was following the African dispute with close attention.

A report that Japan plans to send a military mission to Addis Ababa to heighten the efficiency of Emperor Haile Selassie's army increased apprehension, as did the Ethiopian Government's charge, contained in its telegram to the League reporting Italian "aggression," that Italy had refused to arbitrate the recent incident at Ualual.

In 1923, it was recalled, Italy occupied the Greek Island of Corfu and declined to recognize the competency of the League to interfere in this Italo-Greek dispute. The conflict was actually settled by a conference of ambassadors.

Diplomats here remarked that the Italo-Ethiopian issue bears resemblance to that between Greece and Italy. Addis Ababa charges the Italians with attacking the Ethiopian escort of an Anglo-Ethiopian commission surveying pasture land in Ethiopia while in 1923 three Italian officers belonging to an inter-allied commission delimiting the Greco-Albanian frontier were assassinated on Greek soil.

A vigorous, immediate Italian reply to Ethiopia's charges of "aggression" along the border between Ethiopia and Italian Somaliland was anticipated in League circles tonight.

Rome dispatches said the Italian Government regarded Ethiopia's cable to the League last night, setting forth her version of recent border clashes involving Italian and Ethiopian forces, as making more serious the situation in Africa.

While the communication from Addis Ababa merely called the League's attention to the "gravity of the situation" growing out of "Italian aggression," it was taken here to foreshadow more direct action, perhaps an appeal to the council under the League covenant.

The cablegram, signed by the foreign minister of the Government of Emperor Haile Selassie I, asserted an Italian military force interfered with an Anglo-Ethiopian commission surveying pastoral lands at Ualual, 100 kilometers inside the frontier between Ethiopia and Italian Somaliland.

"On Dec. 5," the communication continued, "Italian troops with tanks and military airplanes suddenly and without provocation attacked the Abyssinian escort of the commission."

Ethiopia protested to Rome the day after that, the cablegram said, "and despite this protest Italian military airplanes three days later bombarded Ado and Gerlogibi in the same province."

(Rome's version of the clash at Ualual, in which 110 Ethiopians and 30 Italians were reported killed, said Ualual is on Italian territory. The border between Ethiopia and Italian Somaliland is in dispute.)

The communication said Ethiopia asked for arbitration of the matter and the Italian charge d'affaires, disregarding the protest, "demanded indemnity, moral reparation and declared he did not see how an incident of this character could be submitted to arbitral decision."

The Ethiopian communication to the League, which was published today for distribution to member States, did not make any appeal for action.

For two reasons, League officials and Geneva were intensely interested in the latest international controversy tossed into Geneva's lap.

One was Italy's well-known desire for expansion of her colonial empire, to take care of her ever swelling population; the other was the fact that the quarrel involved one of Europe's big powers.

ETHIOPIANS FILE SECOND PROTEST

Charges of 'Italian Aggression' Are Reiterated in Communication to League

GENEVA, Dec. 19 (AP)—The dispute between Italy and Ethiopia over responsibility for clashes between their garrisons on the frontier between Ethiopia and Italian Somaliland assumed increasingly alarming proportions today.

Emperor Haile Selassie's government sent the League of Nations a second communication reiterating charges of "Italian aggression" and accusing Italy of illegal occupation of Ethiopian territory.

The protest charged that Italian troops stationed at Ualual, near the border, opened fire on an Ethiopian detachment without provocation. The attack, it said, menaced members of an international boundary commission and brought forth a protest from the British commissioner.

(Italian reports said 35 Italians and 110 Ethiopians were killed or injured in the encounter. Rome blamed the Ethiopians for inciting the attack).

The protest to the League of Nations accused an Italian army officer of giving the signal for an attack by a blast on his whistle.

EUROPE TO EXTEND AFRICAN BUSINESS

Alabama Man Will Be In Center Of New Activities In Dark Continent

BY FRANCIS M. LEMAY

WASHINGTON—(AP)—Over at the State Department those weighing international vicissitudes say William P. George, of Gadsden, Ala., recently assigned as second secretary at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (Abbsyinia), likely "will have something to write home about."

Since A. E. Southard, resident minister at Addis Ababa, has been sent to Stockholm as consul-general, George will be charge d'affaires.

Africa In Limelight

In the light of recent developments, Africa seems predestined to be the center of Europe's future colonial efforts. Utterances of Mussolini already have brought comment by the press that he is determined to acquire a colonial empire in the Southern continent.

Abyssinia is the center of the potential international drama.

The governors of Somaliland and Eritrea, two of Italy's African colonies, started back to their posts Sept. 8 as Italy made known her fear of an attack on these possessions. A high colonial official disclosed in Rome that Italy was sending both soldiers and munitions into Somaliland and Eritrea, lying on the coast of the Red Sea.

Two causes were cited in the colonial flurry, both in Abyssinia, upon which the two Italian colonies border.

One was the penetration of Japanese interests into Abyssinia—that ancient land whose nobility claims descent from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

The second was that Emperor Haile Selassie I of Abyssinia had modernized his army with airplanes, howitzers, field artillery and other modern war equipment.

Mussolini Expresses Idea

Mussolini, on the occasion of his memorable visit to Tripoli at the head of Italy's battle fleet, said: "We intend this to be a demonstration of the might of the Italian nation, which derives its origin from Rome and which has borne the triumphant and immortal forces of Rome to the shores of the Africa sea. It is destiny that has urged us to this country. Nobody can dam the stream of destiny, and above all, nobody can break our inflexible will."

So it is, in the midst of whatever impends, an Alabamian is in complete charge of America's diplomatic post in Abyssinia.

George, born in Gadsden and educated in the Gadsden Training School, was with the U. S. Geological Survey before entering consular service at Grenoble in 1917. Since then he has served at Athens, Patras, Tenerife, Buenos Aires, Riviere Du Loup and Belgrade.

ABYSSINIA

Provocations

Charge and counter-charge cracked back & forth last week between Benito Mussolini and Ethiopia's kinky-haired Emperor Power of Trinity I, as to whose soldiers attacked first at Ualual in eastern Africa (TIME, Dec. 24). Ethiopia sent to the

International

CHIEF GHOGOLI

His smart rally took 30 Italians.

League disconcerting testimony from a British pasturage commissioner on the spot that the Italians had behaved in a manner highly "provocative." Fearing another clash on Ethiopia's border, the Abyssinians last week zealously polished their Japanese arms. Great hero was white-robed Chief Ghogoli who had rallied his hardy horsemen at Ualual so smartly that they were able to fight it out for three days and kill some 30 Italians, with the loss of only 110 Ethiopians.

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Abyssinia

DANGERS OF UNDEFINED FRONTIER

Abyssinia's Dispute with Italy

(From a Special Correspondent.)

The League Council can hardly be looking forward to its January meeting, when it will not only have to face a recurrence of the storms it has just weathered but also a dispute between one of its permanent members and the kingdom of Ethiopia. In which form the dispute will come before the Council or what procedure will be adopted is still uncertain, but it is high time that measures were taken to end a very dangerous and quite unnecessary situation.

Manchester Guardian Weekly 12-21-34

The heavy fighting at Ual Ual and the admitted Italian reprisals on unprotected Abyssinian villages are not isolated incidents but come at the end of a long series of troubles of a much more serious nature than the "unofficial" raids of Abyssinian free-booters into Kenya.

There is actually no continuous frontier between Italian Somaliland and Ethiopia. Delimited on the map by a reasonably straight line in the treaty of 1908, it has never been fully demarcated on the spot. The ground is half desert, half grazing country and many of the tribes semi-nomadic in character. Grazing lands change and well rights change, and tribal boundaries with them.

Since the war, with the consolidation of the Italian rule in their colony and the advent of capital and a few settlers, the Italian Colonial Service has taken matters pretty much into its own hands. Using as a pretext the impossibility of adhering to the treaty boundary, it has staked out claims to lands which are at least arguably on the Abyssinian side of it, and for some years local Abyssinian governors have reacted to the process with violence and the Central Government with protests.

It is perfectly true that the straight-line boundary is absurd, but that fact alone makes it imperative that a proper demarcation should be made. The absurdity of a position in which a semi-fortified post can be claimed by one side as sixty miles within their territory and by the other as forty miles within theirs need not be laboured, and if the Italians will not proceed with the demarcation it is certainly time a League commission did. A disputed frontier is bad enough; a non-existent frontier is quite impossible.

The question of who started the fighting is hardly relevant until the rights to the scene of the fighting have been established. This is the point which the Abyssinians raise as a suitable subject for arbitration under their Treaty of Conciliation and Arbitration with Italy of 1928. The Italians, despite the fact that the frontier is not demarcated, persist in treating the incident as a case of warlike frontier violation which is not capable of arbitral treatment. They refuse to admit that there is any lack of clarity about the frontier, although it is largely by their own inaction that it has not been made clear by demarcation.

The choice is not dictated merely by a preference for forcible methods. It is part of a deliberate policy. In the past two years Ethiopia's military preparations have caused a good deal of alarm in Italian colonial quarters, which know that neither Eritrea nor Somaliland is defensible and would welcome any excuse to increase the garrisons there stationed. More, Italy's copartners in the tripartite agreement guaranteeing the integrity of Ethiopia have, Britain formally, France tacitly, recognised Italian priority of interest and conceded her superior economic interest in Ethiopia. That interest, she now recognises, is being threatened by the intensive effort of Japan to secure Ethiopia as an overseas market, an effort not unwelcome to the Ethiopian Government and one which has provoked alarmist articles in the Italian colonial press and created the "scare" of a Japanese "base" on the Red Sea.

At the moment, too, France seems inclined to make overseas concessions in return for support in Europe, and Italians hope to secure part if not the whole of Jibuti. Abyssinia therefore must, it is held in Rome, be reminded on all counts of Italy's rights and, still more, of Italy's strength. It is expected that the suggestion of the acquisition by Italy of her only outlet and the terminus of her only railway will rouse a storm in Ethiopia, and in anticipation of trouble it is always good policy to create diverting trouble.

The line Rome will probably take is to insist that the League Council is not competent to deal with the dispute until Ethiopia has complied with the ultimatum and that thereafter action is unnecessary. It is to be hoped that this line will be strongly resisted. The Council can confidently take its stand on the treaty of 1928 and insist on arbitration—not on the ultimatum, which is indefensible, but on the frontier position. If it went farther and sent a commission to demarcate it it would do good service to the cause of peace.

ABYSSINIA AND THE LEAGUE

Our London correspondent writes:

The possibility of the serious affairs between Abyssinia and Italy being brought to the attention of the League of Nations recalls the incident in 1926 when Abyssinia, by merely using the League as a diplomatic post office, obtained satisfactory assurances with regard to an Anglo-Italian agreement about concessions in that country.

The two Governments presented to Abyssinia at the same time two identical Notes informing her of an agreement between them to co-operate in negotiations to obtain a concession for the British Government to undertake the conservancy of the waters of Lake Tsana and a concession for the Italian Government to construct a railway through the country. The British Government also, so far as it was concerned, recognised conditionally the exclusive character of Italian economic influence in the West of Abyssinia and in the territory crossed by the railway.

Abyssinia, for whom this was the first notification of the matter, was not unnaturally perturbed. She interpreted it as an indication of the intention of the two Governments to combine to exert pressure to obtain these concessions, and she addressed a letter to the League saying she would like to know from its members whether they thought such an agreement, made without Abyssinia's knowledge, was compatible with the Covenant. This drew from the British and Italian Governments assurances that no such pressure or coercion was intended, that there was nothing in the agreement to suggest it, and that Abyssinia had full right to judge what was in her interests.

Abyssinia acknowledged these reassuring replies and asked that, with the rest of the correspondence, they should be referred to in the League records, which already contained the Notes exchanged between Great Britain and Italy. That was all. It was worth the postage stamps to Abyssinia to get these definite assurances on international record.

Abyssinia is apparently hopeful of again getting satisfaction by the same simple method, for I understand that her communication to the League is not an appeal but a statement of the case from her point of view accompanied by a request that it be circulated to members of the Council and of the League as a whole. She asks for no meeting and mentions no article of the Covenant. She draws the attention of the League to the gravity of the situation and no doubt hopes it will have some effect in bringing pressure on Italy to accept the arbitration which Italy has hitherto refused.

None of this is likely to give pleasure to Italy. But it is one of the cases which shows why the smaller Powers have always been so suspicious of four-Power or six-Power pacts. They think less of the high purposes claimed for them—and for certain reforms of the League for that matter—than of the danger that their precious right of international appeal may be substituted by something that they do not want.

Italo-Ethiopian Quarrel Accentuated By Presence Of Rich Oil Deposits

GENEVA, Dec. 26—(AP)—Oil—esteemed as a lubricant for everything except international relations—appeared likely tonight to increase the friction between Italy and Ethiopia.

Zeal for acquisition of valuable oil fields was seen here as one of the factors likely to complicate the dispute as Rome and Addis Ababa added two more notes to the League of Nations growing file of documents relating to the disagreement.

The two latest communications gave directly contradictory versions of the events along the Ethiopian-Italian Somaliland border which have embittered the relations between the two countries.

A message from the Ethiopian government termed the situation "increasingly serious" and charged Italian troops with occupying Ethiopian towns.

Rome's statement bluntly denied the accusations and in turn asserted that Ethiopia had committed "an act of flagrant aggression."

Meanwhile, reports received here told of the discovery of oil districts in the controverted area, which the Ethiopian press was said to be describing as partly responsible for the dispute.

League circles expressed concern that conflicting claims for the much-coveted natural resource might aggravate the situation. A similar clash is regarded by some observers as the cause for prolongation of the Chaco war between Paraguay and Bolivia.

Ethiopia's renewed protest to the league today charged Italian troops with constructing motor highways simultaneously with their alleged invasion of Ethiopian territory. The Italian advance, the complaint said, was moving from Wardair toward Ado and Gerlogubi in Ethiopia.

"Italians just occupied Afdub in Ethiopian territory near Wardair," the communication continued. "Reconnaisance by an Italian military airplane over Gerlogubi on December 21 seems to point to further attack on that locality which already has been bombed. As a consequence of these developments, the situation is increasingly serious and we wish to reiterate our protest."

Although Ethiopia refrained from appealing too the League under a definite article of the covenant, officials expected that such an appeal ultimately would be made.

Italy, in its message, emphatically denied "any intention on our part of taking the initiative in military operations in Ethiopia."

"It is denied in the most formal manner," it continued, "that our troops have advanced into Ethiopian territory. Afdub is a town in the District of Uarder which, like Ualual, has been garrisoned by Italian troops for some years."

"The Ethiopian government," the Italian note said, "has committed an act of flagrant aggression. The Italian government has asked for reparations.

"It is ready to resume work for the demarcation of Somaliland and the Ethiopian frontier as soon as the Ethiopian government shall have furnished the necessary satisfaction."

While League circles pondered the implications of these two most recent fruits of the African border and clash, troublesome situations prevailed on two other fronts.

Pessimism generally was expressed over the possibility that Paraguay would accept the League's plan for termination of the hostilities in the Chaco Boreal. Paraguayan victories, it was pointed out have placed its forces in an extremely advantageous position which the Bolivians assert will give them possession of the oil regions.

Meanwhile, the League received a formal protest from Persia against Iraq allegations that Persian forces had swept across the frontier.

Iraq had appealed to the League, saying the situation threatened to disturb peace.

Persia's reply said she would attend the session of the League council next month to present her views on the Iraq protest.

"We are convinced of our legitimate rights," the note said, "and have confidence in the council's spirit of impartiality and justice."

The National Whirligig

News Behind the News in Washington

By GEORGE DURNO

ABYSSINIA. Two months ago your correspondent prophesied that obscure Abyssinia would soon be front-page news. It is. Behind the Italian-Abyssinian "frontier incidents" and the dust they have been whirling up in Geneva, the first skirmish between Europe and Japan for the mastery of the Near East is being fought. This column has been tracing the economic expansion of Japan along the key trade routes of Asia and Africa. In Abyssinia's King Selassie, the "Descendant of Solomon," Tokyo found a corruptible and amenable monarch. Shiny machine guns and tanks were exchanged for a trade pact permitting Japanese "cotton planters" to settle in the Abyssinian mountains—from where they may soon control half the water supply of Great Britain's vital Egyptian territories. Mussolini has been deputized by London and Paris to chase the Japs out, but Solomon, Jr., won't hear of it. To provoke trouble and justify an occupation, the Duce's men in Italian Somaliland have been shooting their dusky neighbor's frontier guards for no apparent reason. The League tried to "arbitrate," just to preserve appearances, but no one resents Mussolini's refusal to listen to Geneva's efforts. Quite the contrary; Europe's insiders are badly worried that Rome may be no match for Tokyo and are awake to the danger—insidious and deadly. Abyssinia is a bad country to fight in.

A British colonial expert says, "You people don't seem to realize how terribly far-reaching an issue this is. It's Europe or Japan—round one. Italy must have every possible support." From an Englishman, that means something.

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IL DUCE DEMANDS SWIFT APOLOGY FROM ETHIOPIANS

Mussolini Flatly Refuses To Arbitrate Quarrel Marked by Battle on Border in Africa

Constitution

ROME, Dec. 16. — (AP) — Premier Mussolini, personally championing his native African troops in the Ualual affair, today flatly refused arbitration of the bitter quarrel with Ethiopa and in a report to the League of Nations insisted upon an apology from the Ethiopian government.

Mussolini said in the report, which was phrased in the first person singular, that Ethiopian charges of Italy culpability in the attack were false.

In his own vigorous style he characterized the battle as a "sudden unprovoked aggression against Italy's native garrisons," and said that Italy would press for apologies and indemnities.

Mussolini's answer was telegraphed to the League secretariat at Geneva. It said Ethiopian soldiers in the Ualual region had hurled challenging insults at troops in the Italian garrison, then attacked at a given signal despite all efforts of Italian officers to preserve peace.

Report Called Tie.

The report was confined to seven paragraphs. It said the Ethiopian statement filed with the League concerning the affray "was destitute of any foundation; on the other hand it is clear that the aggression came from the Ethiopians and that the responsibility falls upon them."

Concerning the alleged situation leading up to the battle, the report said an Anglo-Ethiopian command was surveying pasturage and arrived at Ualual November 23, where British, Ethiopian and Italian officers established contact.

The Ethiopian commissary maintained that Ualual belonged to Ethiopia and therefore that African kingdom's troops, numbering 1,000, had a right to advance.

The Italian commander refused to permit an advance into Italian Somaliland, according to the Italian version, saying the question of Ualual ownership must be decided by the two governments.

After this, the Anglo-Ethiopian command retired while Ethiopian troops remained drawn up in front of the Italian forces.

Sought Battle.

The two lines of troops remained face to face for several days while Ethiopian soldiers "tried to provoke desertion," said the report, "of Italian soldiers, and attempted to induce them into combat with warlike fantasies according to Ethiopian custom."

Constitution

The report charged the Ethiopians finally opened a concerted attack at a rifle shot signal given by one of their number who was clearly visible from the Italian position.

12-17-34

Constitution

It was said the Italians were able to repel the attack only after the arrival of reinforcements, the use of airplanes and the employment of an armored car.

The report ended by explaining that Italy demanded apologies and indemnities and refused arbitration of the matter in an exchange of diplomatic communications with Addis Ababa on the grounds "the aggression against the Italian garrison was sudden and without provocation."

Italy will insist upon this thesis, the report stated, and will reserve the right to file further communications.

THE attack on Abyssinian soldiers by Italian troops on December 5 was only one of a long series of violations of the rights of the "oldest Christian nation in the world." In 1896 Colonel Baratieri invaded the Ethiopian city of Adowa but was forced to withdraw with serious losses. The result of this episode was a Franco-Italian-British treaty which pledged these Powers to recognize Ethiopian independence and saved the African kingdom from being swallowed by its Italian neighbor. But recent developments in Africa seem to have whetted Mussolini's appetite. Last September Libya, Italy's North African possession, was extended by an Egyptian-British grant of land adjoining it in the Anglo Egyptian Sudan. This cession was the result of an effort on the part of France and Italy, with the approval and support of Great Britain, to adjust their conflicting African claims. Negotiations to this end are still going on. France is willing to relinquish its territory in Tibesti in exchange for concessions in Morocco. Under these circumstances the Abyssinian monarch may find that he has crowed too soon. Mussolini may gain his purpose, the erection of a protectorate over the largest and most important part of Ethiopia, in exchange for recognition of claims that are closer to the heart of France. The great imperialists of Europe are again dividing the African continent.

ABYSSINIA ENCIRCLED BY COVETOUS POWERS

Proud Black Empire Opens Resistance to Encroachments Upon Her Independence

By JOSEF ISRAELS 2D.

GEOGRAPHICALLY and economically beleaguered by the great powers of Europe, the Ethopian Empire, last stronghold of monarchy in Africa, is now engaged in what will probably be a life-or-death struggle for an independent existence.

Abyssinia, or Ethiopia, as its own people call it, has been fighting an economic battle ever since the conclusion of the World War permitted its territorial neighbors to turn their attention from defense to trade. Now, with the sharp conflict of Ethiopian and Italian interests projected into the news, and with Mussolini rejecting the League of Nations as an arbiter, European attempts at absorption of Africa's last empire enter more definitely into the military stage.

Underlying the Italian ambitions toward Ethiopia are two chief factors: First, the desire of Mussolini's Fascist government to demonstrate to the Italian people its ability to acquire more territory and thus strengthen Italy's Colonial empire; and second, the Italian desire to beat France, Germany and, most particularly, Japan to the control of vast potential sales to Abyssinia's millions, who are now reaching increasingly capacious hands for the necessities and luxuries of Western civilization.

Geographical Handicaps.

Ethiopia's position in Northeast Africa just toward the southern end of the Red Sea has, for centuries, been geographically disadvantageous to a people immensely nationalistic and strongly concerned with keeping their country free and independent under a royal line which is proud to date its ancestry back to the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon.

Through a long series of commercial, military and, in earlier years, religious invasions of what should be its natural coastline, Ethiopia finds itself today without access to the sea save through foreign territory. Therein lies the greatest obstacle in its path of progress and protection as a free State. Italy, Great Britain and France divide among themselves the thousand-odd miles of sea coast to the north and east that, geographically, might well be part of Ethiopia's map. To the west and south, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and British East Africa (Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda) complete the foreign enclosure of Ethiopia.

Comparatively safe and secure in her mountains, Ethiopia has yet had to transport all of her goods and carry all her communication with the outer world through the territories of these ambitious powers. The ambitions of European nations with respect to this region date back in concrete form to the Portuguese religious and commercial missions which the Abyssinians drove from their country in the fifteenth century and to the unsuccessful Italian military campaign against the black empire in 1896. This invasion resulted from an imperialistic interpretation of a commercial treaty. There was a fast and fierce clash, the battle of Adowa, in which a quarter of a million savage black warriors, equipped mainly with spear and shield, slaughtered nearly 40,000 Italians practically in their tracks and in spite of the Italian rifles and artillery.

Indemnity by Italy.

In order to preserve its trade in Northeast Africa, Italy paid the Emperor Menelik heavy indemnity in cash for that ill-starred adventure. But the insult of defeat has rankled in the breasts of Italian militarists these many decades. Fully as strongly has burned the Ethiopian conviction that, having once beaten Europe at her game of war, Abyssinia could do so again.

Let there be no mistake in European or American minds as to the psychology of the Ethiopian. The true Abyssinian, ethnologically a member of the Amharic race (traced anthropologically from a mixture of Hebraic and Arabian lines), considers himself vastly superior to a white man. He brooks no condescension from any one, and is ready to excel any European in fierce protection of his country's pride and race. Under this comparatively small group of pure-blooded ruling class are some 20,000,000 blacks, a conglomerate of many tribes, not far from savagery, and yet sharing their nobility's feeling for a fierce defense of Ethiopian independence.

It must be borne in mind also that Ethiopia is a Christian country—in fact, the first Christian country in the world, since it was St. Mark himself who carried the gospel thence. The Ethiopians have a culture, they have a tradition, and they are too intelligent to be tricked by European diplomacy of their birthright of independence and freedom.

Embarrassing Treaties.

The Emperor Menelik, great-uncle of today's ruler, Haile Selassie, paved the way for European development of Ethiopia, but in doing so he made two treaties that have returned again and again to plague his successors on the throne. The first is a phrase in a commercial treaty, consummated with Great Britain in 1902, in which Menelik bound himself "not to construct or allow to be constructed any work across the Blue Nile, Lake Tsana or the Sobat which would arrest the flow of their waters into the Nile except in agreement with His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the Sudan.'

The second of these was the granting to France of a perpetual monopoly in the operation and construction of railway transportation between Addis Ababa and the coast. In return for this, France built the railway which is still Ethiopia's only modern link with world commerce, but the restriction of railway operation to the French is a thorn in the Ethiopian's side, because it has prevented the making of any deal with Italy for a free Ethiopian port on the Red Sea.

When the World War began the Colonial Ministries of the world were already endlessly involved in intrigues concerning the eventual domination of Ethiopia's trade and government. All these plans were hastily dropped in the scramble to

International.

Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Abyssinia, on His Throne.

defend colonial empires during the of entry a, or consent to conflict, only to be resumed with the cons an Italian rail- the coming of peace and the re- way. alignment that followed Germany's elimination as a power in Africa.

Mussolini's Plans.

Italy began to look southward with more definite interest in colonial expansion. Mussolini drew a line across the Abyssinian map, a line bisecting Ethiopia, on which he has hoped to build a railroad knitting closer together his separated colonies of Eritrea on the north and Italian Somaliland on the south. More and more Italian troops have been sent to these colonies, and only a few months ago King Victor Emmanuel himself visited them to show the world in general, and Ethiopia in particular, their importance to Italian ambitions.

At the same time France has guarded jealously her railway monopoly and thus effectively blocked Ethiopian negotiations with Italy through which a trans-Abyssinian railroad franchise might be exchanged for an Ethiopian corridor to a free port at Massowa on the Red Sea. Polite but firm threats on the part of the French indicated that they would not consider removal of the French railway terminus from the French port of Djibouti, now the principal port

Great Britain joined with Italy in a two-way treaty which angered Haile Selassie and his people. Italy would cooperate in urging Ethiopia to grant British control of a dam on Lake Tsana for year-round control of the waters of the Nile, and Great Britain, in turn, would urge the granting of the Italian railway concession. Neither plan made any headway until the British, in 1930, compromised on granting permission to the Ethiopians to have an American company build the Tsana dam. Depleted national finances have blocked the carrying out of this dam construction, but the agreement is still in existence.

Meanwhile, Italy, checkmated, has until the last few weeks contented herself with strengthening her colonial armies and staging military and naval demonstrations along the Red Sea coast.

Cooperation of Powers.

France and Italy have managed, despite their rivalries, to work in harmony for the exploitation of interests they have already established in Ethiopia. France runs the railways; the Bank of France shares on an even basis the exploitation of gold and platinum mines that have yielded Golconda-like fortunes for the thousands of years they have been worked, and which as yet show no signs of exhaustion. Italy controls Ethiopian communications through cable and wireless contact with the outer world. The Church of Rome has established friendly relations with the Coptic Church of Ethiopia and Egypt, and papal emissaries are received with honor at Addis Ababa.

In the years since the war, Italy, France and England have maintained an unofficial, yet effective, arms embargo against the Ethiopians. Protests to the League of Nations have been unavailing. Officially there has been no blockade, yet actually legal shipments of arms or ammunition have been blocked because they cannot enter Ethiopia without passing through these countries' possessions. But the Arabian, Syrian and Greek gun runners have not been idle. Great quantities of guns and ammunition, much of it obsolete but most of it effective, have penetrated the embargo.

Japan and Germany have recently appeared on the economic horizon, sending their salesmen to unload quantities of the cheap gimcracks which so fascinate semi-civilized populations. At the same time, Russia could not forbear agitation within the African empire. Quietly, and with little notice from the outer world, the Ethiopians in 1929 expelled a Russian "economic mission." The mission had been too active in forming Communist cells within the Ethiopian Army and in employing Red workers to spread the doctrines of Moscow to a people already in ferment because of the rapid westernization of their country. Russia's hand has not openly reappeared in the boiling African pot.

Border Troubles.

Italy of late has trained great numbers of troops along Ethiopian borders and has hastened to establish definite military outposts at points along the Somali and Eritrean frontiers to mark borders long disputed, but about which no one has ever before been seriously concerned. It was the establishment of such an outpost at the town of Ualal, on the Somali border, that precipitated the armed clashes of the last few weeks.

The Emperor Haile Selassie and a few of those around him well understand the military significance of these comparatively small engagements. They know that an Ethiopian Army, equipped only with ancient rifles, small artillery and a few ramshackle airplanes, can accomplish little against a fighting machine such as Mussolini is prepared to throw into his African possessions, though their people are ready to brandish their shields, don their war capes of lionskin and dash boldly into a fray.

Haile Selassie has counted on the League for protection, but Mussolini denies the jurisdiction of the League. There will perhaps be Abyssinian apologies, drawn more painfully than blood, from a race of land-proud people, or there will perhaps be quick Italian annexation of most or all of Ethiopia, with another King falling from the world's small roster of absolute rulers, either to occupy his throne as a tragic puppet or go into eclipse. The next few months will be crucial in Ethiopia's history.

ABYSSINIA DOES NOT FEAR ITALY, SAYS DR. CHEELZZI

CHARLESTON, S. C.—(ANP)—If Ethiopia has anything to fear from the aggressions of Premier Mussolini and his Italian forces, there is one good Ethiopian who does not know anything about it and who believes if Italy wants to "save face," she had better stop her fooling around.—28-34

This Ethiopian patriot is the Rev. Dr. C. F. Cheelzzi, 74-year-old priest lecturing in this country.

"Zone of Influence"

Interviewed here last week concerning the recent incidents involving his country and Italy, he asserted that Italy was afraid that Japan might get a foothold in what she claims is her "zone of influence" in Africa. He charges that Italy helped to block the marriage of an Ethiopian prince and a Japanese countess. Italy's actions, he believes will drive the two countries together.

"Japan stands as the leading yellow nation in Asia and Ethiopia as the leading black nation in Africa," he explained. "The combination of the two would result in political, industrial, military and educational advantages to both."

"The Ethiopians look upon the Italians with scorn and contempt," he averred. "They have done so ever since the days of Hannibal, the Ethiopian Carthaginian general, and particularly since they meted out a disastrous defeat to the Italians in 1896.

"If Italy attempts to invade Ethiopia, a land that has not been conquered for 3,000 years and the oldest monarchy in the world, it will not only be a great loss to her prestige, but also of the land she is holding bordering my country."

Last week, Ethiopia protested for the second time against Italian aggressions to the League of Nations. Mussolini has demanded that Ethiopia apologize and accept blame for the recent bloodshed.

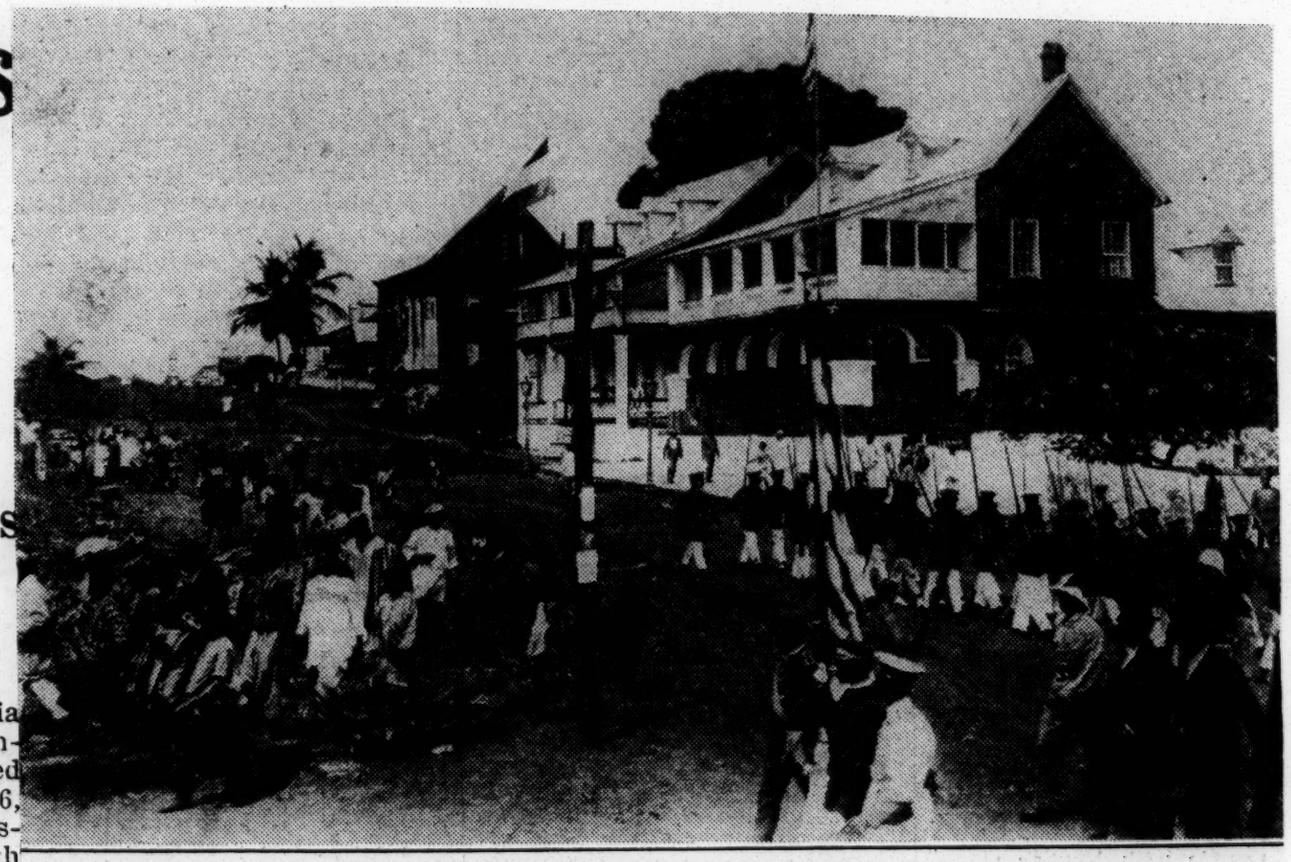
Liberia.

Race Problem - 1934
Africa

Former Consul Says Country Needs Aid, Not Criticism

Believes Country Would Fare Better As Ward of France

By W. J. YERBY



LIBERIAN SOLDIERS are shown here drilling in a typical Monrovian street scene.

The American Colonization society, through which Liberia came into existence and under whose fostering care the country existed for a quarter of a century as a colony, was founded in Washington, D.C., U.S.A., in the month of December, 1816, and the first lot of emigrants sent out under the society's auspices sailed from New York in the ship Elizabeth, on the 5th day of February, 1820. The number of emigrants in this first lot was 88.

The expedition proceeded from the United States by way of Sierra Leone, the British colony just to the north of Liberia, to the Island of Sherbro, on the southern seacoast of Sierra Leone. This spot was found to be very unhealthful, many of the emigrants, including their agents, having soon died there from the terrible effects of the climate.

As a consequence in the following year, 1821, the brig Nautilus, chartered by the United States government, as had been the Elizabeth, sailed from the United States with another but smaller expedition. These along with those who remained from the first expedition were taken to Fourah Bay, Sierra Leone, where they remained until January, 1822, when some of them were then taken to Providence Island, Liberia, at the mouth of the Mesurado river, landing there on the 7th of January, 1822. This constituted the first settlement by American Negroes of that part of West Africa known to us as Liberia. Others followed on the 16th of February, and the remainder on the 7th of April, 1822.

In July, 1822, the little island was abandoned, and the colonists moved over the river to Cape Mesurado; but hostilities with the natives soon followed, most of the surrounding tribes having combined to exterminate the settlers, whose fighting force at that time numbered only thirty-five men and boys. The colonists suffered severely, but through the blessings of God were victorious. Thus the foundation of the first modern Negro republic was laid, though there were frequent petty attacks made upon it from time to time by the hostile tribes, and have been made from time to time since the colony became an independent government, always with the result that the influence of the settlers gradually spread and their control over the country became more firmly fixed.

SOCIETY CONTROLLED COLONY AFFAIRS

At first the American Colonization Society controlled the affairs of the colony; however, difficulties soon arose from the intercourse of the authorities with foreigners who visited the coast. The latter refused to recognize in the colonists any right to exercise jurisdiction over any part of the territory. So, as the only possible way of overcoming this difficulty, the society advised the colonists to assume all the responsibilities of the government, and to become an independent state, or nation. Accordingly, on the 26th day of July, 1847, Liberia was declared a Free, Sovereign and Independent State, and the flag of the Negro republic was unfurled to the political storms of the world for the first time on the 24th day of August, 1847.

Liberia has now a fully organized republican form of government, with every department of state. According to the constitution, the election of president and other officers is held every four years on the first Tuesday in May.

COUNTRY HAS NATURAL WEALTH

There are all the possibilities for the development of a prosperous, happy country in Liberia that one finds in the other parts of West Africa that have made such rapid advancement during the past forty years. The country is rich in mineral resources, in soil suitable for great rubber plantations. It has large hard wood, palm oil and kernel forests. Its soil is also suitable for the cultivation of the cacao or chocolate bean, ginger and other tropical agricultural products.

Then, what is the trouble? Finance! They need money to develop their natural resources—money to purchase agricultural and industrial implements and to build railroads, motor car roads, harbors, etc. Yes, they can get all the money they need if they will only mortgage their entire industrial and political independence. They have realized this for years. It takes a lot of money to develop the resources of a country. The British and French colonies in West Africa have England and France to draw upon not only for all the money needed but for experienced political and industrial officers or leaders. Liberia hasn't; hasn't had time to develop or train then; yet the few leaders the country has are for the most part capable, well educated and trained men; but their number is too small, especially when they lack the money they need, to fill the many places where well educated trained men are needed. However, the country has no need to be ashamed of such leaders as Mr. Barkley, the present president of the country, or ex-President King. Few countries have done as well as Liberia under the government of its handful of faithful scholarly leaders.

LEADERS HAVE DONE WELL

The few who have governed Liberia well. Every president the country has had since and including the first, Joseph Jenkins Roberts, ha been a credit to his people. (Mrs. Yerby, my wife, and one of my daughters had the pleasure of being presented to and conversing with Mrs. Roberts, the wife of the first president, who lived and died in recent years in London, Eng.. She was a grand old lady, as cultured and refined as one would expect to find as the wife of the president of a country. In appearance she was much like the late Queen Victoria of England, for she, as President Roberts was a "white Negro.")

The population of Liberia is estimated at quite two millions; but Liberia, properly speaking, as one sees the country, is that part along the sea coast.

The sea ports of the country are all small and aside from Monrovia are of but little importance. The principal ports—and these are the gates through which one enters or leaves the country—are Roberts, north of Monrovia, Grand Bassa, about 50 miles south of Monrovia; Cess River, 50 miles further on; Sino, still forty or fifty miles to the south, then about 75 miles further, at the extreme southern or southeastern border of the republic is the port of Cape Palmas, where I once spent a full week. Though all of the ports are small and as yet undeveloped, they would grow like saplings if only the country were once well opened by public roads and railways to trade.

But much money must first be spent before any material progress can be expected. The statesmen hesitated for a long time to seek money from the outside though it was always freely(?) offered. The leaders always dreaded "foreign entanglements". Their trouble now is "foreign entanglement"—their loan of a few millions, five, it appears, which the country is unable at present to pay, and slavery. Personally I don't believe there is any more slavery to the square mile in West Africa than there is in other parts of Africa, or in the United States. It is only a matter of form.

RUMORS OF PARTITION DISCUSSED

And now rumor from a rather reliable source has it that Liberia is to be partitioned between two of the large European countries—perhaps as protectorates; but I have never

heard or read of any European country taking over the protection of a small country that at any time relinquished its assumed authority. But in this case let us hope that as at all times in the past the United States will prove the friend in time, and say: "Hands off." The sending of Harry McBride, from the Department of State at Washington, to Monrovia, to me is a sign of the continued friendship of the American government for the black republic. Mr. McBride has been the representative of the American government before at Monrovia, and I think proved himself to be a good friend of the republic and its people.

One may ask since I have spent more than 19 years in West Africa, and while there travelled a deal, coming in contact with hundreds of people in the different sections of the country, and being in the position where I should know better than any other American, the economic condition of the people, their aspiration and the future prospects, what do you think of the future prospects of Liberia? Well, I would like to answer this question; I would like to whisper into the ears of the leaders of Liberia, and if they would give ear I would tell them, for I have given years of thought and study upon this very question. I have not solved it as I have hoped to; but I have a solution, the only practical one. Liberia needs a mother—no, what is best, is to BECOME A PART OF FRANCE. It would make this article too long to give you my reasons for, or to tell you how I arrived at this solution. I will try to give my reasons in a future article if I find any one interested enough to ask it. But in the mean time, let us hope that whatever is done it will be with the full consent of the Liberian people. We as American Negroes should leave our personal wishes out of the question.

Wall Succeeds George at Liberia

Afro-American

WASHINGTON. — Carleton A. Wall, of New York City, who formerly held the post of vice-consul to Liberia from the United States, has been re-instated to that position to succeed William C. George, of Washington, who was recently transferred to Las Palmas, Canary Islands, as vice-consul, the State Department informed the AFRO this week. 10-27-34

Mr. Wall's appointment goes into effect November 2, the day he sails for Liberia, the State Department reported.

Mr. George returned to Washington from Liberia the latter part of last month and will be here for several weeks before taking over his new duties.

Frederick P. Hibbard, white, of the State Department, has been appointed as charge d'affaires to Liberia, the State Department announced, and left last Wednesday for England, where he will spend some time in London before taking over his new post.

As no appointment has been made for minister to Liberia, Mr. Hibbard will be the United States' chief of mission in Monrovia.

Sierra Leoneans in Liberia.

In connection with the reported migration of some thousands of Sierra Leonians to Liberia, the Liberian Government has sent us a copy of a petition received from their representatives. West Africa

In it the desires of 4,836 persons are said to be represented, and the petition sets forth the history of their troubles for the past four years. From it it appears that they brought a number of charges of extortion and over-assessment against their Chief, and after protracted court proceedings obtained a judgment restricting the powers he had sought to exercise, but were awarded, or at any rate received, no costs. 10-6-34

The Commissioner advised them to return to their chiefdom, and they agreed to do so provided various relatives of the Chief and a host of unnecessary job-seekers were dismissed. Shortly afterwards, they claim, they were threatened by the Provincial Commissioner with deportation, and after due consideration decided that they would migrate voluntarily to Liberia, whence their great-grandparents had come. They were received cordially by the Chief of Kposo-Sokpo, and now, therefore, petition the President of the Republic for permission to stay in the area of their choice.

SHUN LIBERIA, FARMER SAYS

Amsterdam News

Ex-Immigrant Claims Negroes Can Find No Opportunity

10-31-34

If American and West Indian Negroes think they can immigrate to Liberia, West Africa, and find a friendly government and civilized citizenry ready to extend them a warm welcome and full co-operation in building up the little republic, they are mistaken.

That is report of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Elliott, formerly of Fayetteville, N. C., who arrived here from West Africa Monday night on the Ward-White Star liner Scythia. Mr. Elliott, who is 63, who had been a farmer and construction worker in the South and in the East all his life, left for Liberia on October 30, 1931.

The Elliotts have saved some money and planned to farm in Liberia. According to their story, when they landed they found no courtesy at the hands of immigration officials. Later, Mr. Elliott said, he heard the then President, Charles C. B. King, state that Liberia did not welcome western Negroes, especially those who do not have plenty of money.

He said there are numerous Americans and West Indians in Liberia penniless, denied work or assistance by the government, and maltreated on the slightest excuse by soldiers, officials and many citizens. Mr. Elliott found a majority of the stores even in Monrovia, the capital, owned by British, Germans, French and Syrians. Everywhere he found the white man extolled and exalted.

After farming for two years with varying success, and finding no market among the Liberians, the Elliotts went to the Phelps-Stokes fund mission at Kakata, seventy-five miles from Monrovia. There Mr. Elliott was the farm superintendent.

The North Carolinian feels that there is no opportunity there for Negroes until there is a change of government. He reported that the future of the republic rests with the natives of the interior, who, he believes, will start a revolution when they have mastered the English language and reached a common understanding. At present they speak a number of dialects.

Race Problem – 1934

Africa

Liberia

LEAGUE DENOUNCES LIBERIA

"System Hardly Distinguishable from Slavery"

(From our Geneva Correspondent.)

The present session of the Council of the League of Nations seems to be justifying Stalin's remarks that the fact that nations with bellicose intentions could not stay in the League was a tribute to its value, and strengthened rather than weakened it. Last week the League appeared to have taken out a new lease of life, thanks to a welcome change in the attitude of the British Government, and Mr. Eden's speech on the subject of assistance to Liberia was one of the strongest yet delivered at a Council meeting.

Count Raczinski (Poland), rapporteur, recalled that last January the Council had decided that the plan of assistance for Liberia must be accepted without reservations, and that unless the Government of Liberia could bring fresh facts before the Council the Council at its May session could do no more than take note of Liberia's decision, and cease all activity in connection with the question. The Liberian Government, however, in its letter of March 26 had maintained the reservation which it had already put forward and which the Council had been unable to accept.

In these circumstances Count Raczinski proposed that the Council should withdraw the offer of assistance to the Liberian Government.

Mr. Eden on the League's Objects

Mr. Eden, in supporting the suggestion of the Rapporteur, said that as long ago as June, 1929, the United States Government called the attention of the Liberian Government to reliable evidence of the existence of a system hardly distinguishable from slavery, in the enforcement of which the services of the Liberian frontier force, and of certain high officials, were constantly and systematically used.

The Liberian Government were forced to appoint an international commission to investigate these allegations, the Christy Commission. The report of this Commission in December, 1930, confirmed the allegations levelled at Liberia. The Commission consisted of one representative each of the League, the United States, and the Liberian Government. The Liberian Government was then asked by certain other Governments, including those of Great Britain and the United States, to appeal to the League for assistance The Council appointed a special committee to deal with the request, and the Brunot Commission of three experts went to Liberia in June, 1931, and their proposals were considered by the Committee in January, 1932.

Mr Eden proceeded to quote passages from the report of this Commission, one of which said:

> Liberia's financial situation is tragic. She has no Budget, no account, no money. . . . Economically and financially Liberia is in imminent danger.

The British Government and the other members of the Council, Mr. Eden said, had always considered the essential objects that the Liberian Committee had in view to be:

> (1) To put an end to the misgovernment of the natives and the practices analogous to slavery that had been shown to exist in Liberia;
>
> (2) To assist Liberia financially to put her house in order;
>
> (3) To ensure beforehand that the requirements to be carried out by the Liberian Government were such as to make it right and just that the League should exercise its influence in order to obtain that financial assistance which was a prerequisite of any programme of reforms.

Having recalled that the Liberian Government found the original plan of the experts' Commission too ambitious and too expensive, Mr. Eden went on to say that a plan was elaborated in June of last year, which the Liberian Committee considered should be satisfactory to all parties. The Council endorsed this view in October last and requested the Liberian Government to state definitely by the next session of the Council whether they accepted the plan as it stood. It was made clear that this was the League's last word.

As the Liberian reply was not received in time for the Council meeting in January, the Council decided to allow the Liberian Government further time. The reply of that Government had now been received. It was described by the Liberian Government as an acceptance of the plan subject to certain reservations. His Majesty's Government could not accept this description, and agreed with the rapporteur in considering that the Liberian Government's reply constituted a refusal of the plan. The League's offer was, in the words of the Council's resolution, "a fair and practical offer" and, in so far as its administrative section was concerned, his Majesty's Government considered that it provided sufficient safeguards for the satisfactory execution of the requirements that were necessary before the League could lend Liberia financial assistance.

Although, Mr. Eden said, the Liberian Government could not help themselves they would not allow the League to help them.

Mr. Eden then proceeded to draw attention to the "sinister significance" of the position on the Kru coast. In March, 1932, reports as to the conduct of certain sections of the Liberian frontier force among the Kru tribes were received of such a nature that the British, American, French, and German Governments were impelled to make identical and strongly worded representations to the Liberian Government, who denied the charges made.

An investigator was sent by the four Governments to study the position on the spot, and his report showed that the charges made against the Liberian Government were only too well justified by the facts. Dr. Mackenzie, a member of the staff of the League Secretariat, was then sent by the League, with the agreement of the Liberian Government, to conduct negotiations for a truce. The report that he brought back with him to Geneva amply confirmed the statements of the previous investigator. The following things were clear:—

> Some 12,000 tribespeople had been driven from their villages, and had taken refuge in the bush.
>
> Their villages and crops had been laid waste.
>
> They themselves were suffering from starvation and exposure.
>
> Men, women, and children to a total approaching 150 had been killed.

This appalling example of the methods of the Liberian Administration emphasised the necessity that the League must be fully satisfied as to the efficacy of the programme of reforms before lending her assistance to Liberia.

Expulsion Justified

Mr. Eden then referred to the fact that Dr. Mackenzie had established a modus vivendi of a year's duration in which the Kru tribes had been given the right to return to their villages, and the Liberian Government had undertaken to treat them properly. Those promises, however, had not been kept. The present situation continued to be of great concern to the British Government. Mr. Eden thought that in these circumstances all the criticisms made against Liberia by the experts in 1931 were to-day still as justified as ever.

Liberia had failed to keep the undertakings to which she had subscribed as a member of the League, and the League would be justified in expelling Liberia by the terms of paragraph 4 of article 16. Such expulsion would probably not facilitate a solution of the problem, but for humanitarian reasons the British Government had no intention of leaving the matter in suspense.

While withdrawing the offer of assistance to Liberia, he suggested that the Council should get into touch with the Government of the United States, which, both from an economic and historical point of view, possessed the closest connection with Liberia. This was the attitude that the British Government was going to adopt.

Mr. Bogaerde, the representative of Liberia, denied that Liberia had refused the plan of assistance, but M. Barthou (France) said that he could not accept the observations of the Liberian representative, and he supported the recommendation of the rapporteur, as did also Baron Aloisi (Italy). The Council unanimously decided to withdraw the offer of assistance to Liberia.

STUDY OF LIBERIA ORDERED

Harry A. McBride Going to Monrovia to Learn Conditions There.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, July 23.—The State Department has instructed Harry A. McBride, assistant to the Secretary of State, to visit Liberia in the late Summer "in order that the United States Government may be fully informed on present conditions in Liberia."

Mr. McBride served the Liberian Government in 1918 and 1919 as receiver of customs and financial adviser, and, according to the State Department's announcement today, "enjoyed to a marked degree the confidence of the Liberian people."

He will sail for Monrovia early in August and return to the State Department by Oct. 1.

Liberia, an independent Negro republic in Africa, has had close association with the United States and contains large rubber plantations owned by American companies.

THE LEAGUE AND LIBERIA.

Offer of Assistance Withdrawn.

GENEVA, May 18.

The League Council this morning discussed in public session the request of the Liberian Republic for financial assistance from the League. A plan of financial assistance elaborated in June last year, which the League Committee considered should be satisfactory to all parties, was accepted by Liberia subject to certain reservations which the British Government regard as a refusal of the plan.

On this occasion Mr. Eden made a full statement of the views of His Majesty's Government. He reminded the Council that in June, 1929, the United States Government called the attention of the Liberian Government to trustworthy evidence of the existence under the ægis of the Liberian Frontier Force and certain high officials of a system amounting to slavery in their territory. The accusation was confirmed by the Christy Commission and the League was informed. Its Special Committee reported also the absence of any attempt by the Liberian Government not only to take any effective steps to control yellow fever or plague, but even to arrange for the notification of yellow fever, as well as the complete lack of medical supervision of ships touching the Liberian coast.

The financial situation of Liberia, the committee reported, was tragic. It had no budget, no accounts, no money Economically and financially the Republic was in imminent danger, but, though the Liberian Government could not help themselves, they would not allow the League to help them.

Approach to United States.

"The Council," Mr. Eden went on, "will recall that, under Article 23 (b) of the League Covenant, the members of the League undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabi-

ants of the territories under their control. It is the view of His Majesty's Government—and I state it with the utmost earnestness—that Liberia has so grossly failed to observe these obligations attaching to her as a member of the League of Nations that the League would be quite entitled to consider her expulsion, under paragraph 4 of Article 16."

His Majesty's Government (Mr. Eden continued) fully realised that the expulsion of Liberia would not in itself be a step which would assist towards a solution of the Liberian problem. They were not, however, prepared, on general humanitarian grounds, to leave this matter, involving questions of gross maladministration, in abeyance, and proposed, provided that the Council concurred in their view and in that of the Rapporteur, that the League's offer of assistance to Liberia must now be withdrawn, to approach the United States Government on the subject, since that Government appeared to be that most closely associated, both historically and economically, with Liberia. They would make that approach in a desire to co-operate with the United States Government in an attempt to find a remedy for a state of affairs the real tragedy of which, with its unrelieved record of misery and mismanagement, must be apparent to every informed and unprejudiced observer.

In spite of a protest from the Liberian delegate, the Council thereupon adopted a resolution that the offer of assistance to Liberia should be withdrawn. The conclusion of Mr. Eden's speech aroused considerable interest, and was interpreted in some quarters as suggesting that the United States Government should be asked to accept a League mandate over Liberia. —"The Times."

The Charges Against Liberia.

In a reply to the new charge against Liberia, namely, that she is a reservoir of yellow fever and malaria from which adjoining territories may be infected, the Liberian Government has obtained statements from local doctors that no yellow fever has been known since 1929, and that the malaria position was much the same as elsewhere in West Africa. Among those reporting thus are Dr. R. G. Fuszek, the Hungarian who directs the local Public Health Department; Dr. W. O. Wehrle, a German with 10 years' residence in the country; Dr. B. W. Payne, a Liberian; and Dr. J. Abayomi Cole, the Sierra Leonean who is now superintendent of the Government Hospital at Monrovia. Probably the most weighty evidence, however, is that of Dr. G. W. Harley, of the American Board of Foreign Missions and of the Harvard Medical College and Rockefeller Institute, whose statement as to the absence of yellow fever and of excessive malaria is based on the treatment of over 10,000 individuals in the hinterland during the past five years. Dr. Harley supplements his statement by saying that of the many blood specimens sent by him to the Rockefeller Foundation in connection with yellow fever investigations not one proved positive.

The League of Nations has published recent correspondence with Mr. Sottile, the Liberian representative at Geneva, on alleged operations by the Liberian Frontier Force against certain Kru tribes disarmed in 1932 by Dr. Mackenzie, the League's special commissioner. While maintaining that the question is a domestic one, reserved both by international law and by the League's Covenant to the exclusive competence of the Government concerned, M. Sottile says that he has been telegraphically informed that the reports are pure invention.

He has also sent to the League a copy of a note by the British Government, dated March 19 last, on the same subject, but stating that denial was hardly possible since the reports had been confirmed by the personal investigation of Vice-Consul Rydings. The Liberian reply to this is that since Mr. Rydings's report, Dr. Mackenzie himself had visited the area, and had found most of the Kru Coast engaged in tribal warfare or in hostilities with the Government. At the time of his visit, the immediate cause of the trouble was intertribal, instigated by Kru political leaders in Monrovia, and aided by the Kru colonies in neighbouring countries, —whence constant efforts were made to smuggle arms and ammunition into Liberia.

A. M. E. Bishops Ask Roosevelt To Save Liberian Republic

A resolution appealing to President Roosevelt to save Liberia from being mandated by some European power by prompt action on the part of the American Government in formulating a plan of assistance for the African republic, supervised by Americans, was enthusiastically adopted at a meeting of the Home and Foreign Mission Board of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, held June 21 in New York City. The resolution was offered by Bishop Reverdy C. Ransom.

Every Bishop present favored the resolution. They were Bishops S. L. Green, H. B. Parks, W. H. Heard, M. H. Davis, R. A. Grant, G. B. Young, W. D. Johnson, J. A. Gregg, W. A. Fountain, Noah D. Williams and the sponsor, Bishop Ransom. The resolution follows:

Whereas, the Republic of Liberia is in serious danger of being mandated by some European power, and

Whereas, the preservation of Liberia's political independence and rehabilitation of her economic and social structures are of deep concern to the American people, and

Whereas, the Plan of Assistance formulated by the League of Nations has been rejected by the Republic of Liberia,

Be it resolved, that the Home and Foreign Mission Board of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, whose membership is composed of the Bishops and other officers of the denomination, appeal to the President of the United States and respectfuly importune that the American Government undertake the responsibility of establishing needy reforms in the Republic of Liberia by providing a Plan of Assistance supervised by Americans, which would insure the country of its continued sovereignty and autonomy, guarantee the administration of law and order and furnish Liberia with a sound financial program, thereby enabling her to win the confidence of the nations of the world and permit her to exert an influence for good in international affairs.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
RECORD

AUG 31 1934

NEGRO ELKS URGE U. S. AID FOR LIBERIA

John Freeman, of Philadelphia, Re-elected Grand Esquire.

By JOSEPH H. RAINEY.

ATLANTIC CITY, Aug. 30.—President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull were asked today by the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World to make it possible for the United States to resume diplomatic relations with Liberia.

A resolution to that effect was adopted at the 35th annual convention of the order in session here. J. Donover Steel, of New York, introduced the resolution for Lester Walton, of New York.

The United States, long the traditional best friend and protector of Liberia, should provide the Liberian Government with a reconstruction program which will insure Liberians a stable government, a continuance of their political independence and the recovery of business, the resolution stated.

League's Plan Rejected.

Liberia has rejected the plan of assistance submitted by the League of Nations on the ground that such a plan would endanger her autonomy.

"It is the sincere wish of Negroes of America that Liberia remain one of the two independent nations in Africa now ruled by the black man, the other being Abyssinia," the plea signed by J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler, read.

Philadelphia Woman Wins.

The fight for grand daughter ruler between Mrs. Abbie Johnson, of Philadelphia, and Mrs. Rosa M. Blocker, of New York, failed to materialize and the Philadelphian was swept into office for the fifth successive term. The new by-laws give Mrs. Johnson a two, instead of the previous one-year term.

John Freeman, of Quaker City Lodge, Philadelphia, was re-elected to serve his third term as grand esquire. Edward W. Simon, New York, former grand esteemed lecturing knight, was elected grand trustee, and Joseph Brown, New York, was elected to Simon's vacated position. Samuel Mitchell, New York, was elected grand auditor.

Race Problem - 1934

Liberia

Africa

REPUBLIC MAY BE EXPELLED FROM LEAGUE

English Claim American Negroes Are Misinformed On Subject

5-25-34

WASHINGTON.—(ANP) —Liberia had rough sledding at the League of Nations Council which held a session at its headquarters in Switzerland, Thursday, May 17. The council was considering the reply of Liberia to its plan of assistance as proposed last fall. Liberia had offered to accept the plan, which called for the appointment of a financial adviser who would have almost absolute power of Liberian finance, but proposed certain reservations in accepting.

It was during the consideration of Liberia's reply, that pyrotechnics came into evidence and threats were made of expulsion for the little country on the west coast of Africa.

Capt. Anthony Eden, British Privy Seal, led in the denunciation of Libera. He dwelt particularly upon mistreatment of the Kroos, native tribes of the interior of Liberia, who were reported to have suffered at the hands of Liberian con[illegible]ary, after giving evidence to an international committee which investigated slavery in Liberia two years ago.

May Withdraw Proposal

"Liberia has so grossly failed to observe the obligation attaching to her as a member of the league, that the league would be entitled to consider her expulsion," Captain Eden said.

The Briton admitted that the expulsion of Liberia from the league would probably not improve conditions, but he urged that the council adopt the motion of the Polish delegate who moved that the league withdraw the proposal of financial and economic assistance which had been made to Liberia.

Liberia protested over the adoption of the amendment from the Polish representative, but it was passed unanimously. Captain Eden then proposed on behalf of Great Britain that the United States be approached, with the hope that America might attempt to find a remedy "for the state of affairs, the real tragedy of which, in its unrelieved record of misery and misgovernment must be apparent to every informed and unprejudiced observer," he said. Capt. Eden gave the impression that Great Britian proposed to sound Washington out, possibly suggesting that the United States as a non-member of the league pull its chestnuts out of the fire by making a naval demonstration off Monrovia.

Liberians themselves are divided over the matter of accepting the original league proposal. Former President King and a group of leading Liberians have signed a round robin urging its acceptance. The withdrawal of the offer closed that avenue of further delay.

Forewarned as to what would happen at the league, a group of American missionary leaders both white and colored called at the state department in Washington last week to urge that American do something to help Liberia.

LONDON, England. — (ANP) — During the recent extended discussion in the House of Lords on the League of Nations Plan of Assistance for Liberia, the attitude of the American Negro and the influence this group exerts in the Liberian controversy were referred to on several occasions. The political strength of the Negro in the United States as a factor in the present negotiations was recognized.

Lord Lugard stated definite information had been received that Liberia is proposing to grant certain Dutch and Danish syndicates concessions of land or minerals. "I imagine," he said, "that the prospect of what the Liberian government can realize by the sale of these concessions is the real explanation of the defiance by the Liberian government of America and the league.

American Negro Misinformed

"The Negro community in the United States appears to be misinformed regarding the true state of affairs in Liberia. We can understand and even sympathize with their desire to prove to the world that the Negro race is capable not only of self-government but of governing a subject people; but the fact that Prof. Charles S. Johnson, an American Negro, was one of the Christy commission which exposed the slave-dealing and misrule, should show them that so far as establishing the prestige of the Negro race in the eyes of the world by championing the cause of the Liberian oligarchy, they are seriously injuring it. Their assistance in carrying out the League plan would be welcomed.

"The American government which is unhampered by membership of the league, cannot evade the responsibility of her long connection with and support of the Liberian government in the past, or the share which men claiming American nationality have had ,and I believe still have in the conduct of Liberian affairs. It would seem that she is in the best position to issue that ultimatum which would at once produce acceptance of the reforms which this costly discussion for five years has failed to secure. All are agreed that nothing short of the fear that worse may befall will induce the Liberian government to agree."

Lord Snell said: "If Liberia persistently and deliberately refuses to accept the plan then her position as a member of the League of Nations should be seriously questioned, with the understanding that if she were excluded from membership of the league, the territory would become suitable for rule by a mandatory power. The noble Lord, Nord Lugard thought that the United States of America might take steps. Well, so they might; but it is right that as practical politicians we should remember that there are 2,000,000 Negro votes in the United States of America, and that therefore, it is not seay to assume that that does not present a problem to the United States government.

"I feel that the United States government has a great responsibility; but there is also this, that an appeal to the Negro peoples of the world might be made. This matter very closely touches their honor, as the noble Lord has suggested. We all know who have been in contact with the Negro people that they are a generous-minded race, and I am sure they would be stricken with horror if they realized all that is happening in Liberia at the present time."

Suggests Liberia Be Expelled

In advocating that Liberia be expelled from the League of Nations and then made a protectorate, the Earl of Buxton said: "I think it is clear that in the circumstances indicated Liberia ought to be struck off the league. She then becomes an independent country entirely apart from the league. The league ceases to have any jurisidiction over her; and who is then to undertake her protection and suzerainty? Really the only country which is in a position to undertake that is the United States. She was responsible for Liberia's creation, and from the very inception of Liberia she has been responsible both politically and financially for her existence. I do not know, of course, what may be the views of the American government, but I understand that they take a very serious view of the position, that they are very anxious to cooperate with England and France and other countries concerned, and that if they were pressed and if it were understood that they would have a free hand, they would be prepared to undertake the protectorate of Liberia. So far as I can judge the United States appears to be the only nation who can undertake it."

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CHURCH ASKS U. S. AID

WASHINGTON.—(ANP) — Postponing an operation for stomach trouble until he had discussed the Liberian crisis with officials of the State department, Dr. J. E. East of Philadelphia, secretary of the Foreign Mission board of the National Baptist convention, Inc., headed a delegation of prominent churchmen here Wednesday, May 16, when by petition and verbally the United States government was appealed to not to withdraw its strong arm of protection from Liberia at this most critical time of the little republic's history.

In answer to Dr. East's statement that the Negroes of the United States would consider it a great calamity were Liberia to lose its political independence, Undersecretary of State Phillips assured the delegation that the sovereignty and autonomy of the West African republic were not jeopardized by the League Plan of Assistance.

Dr. J. H. Randolph, secretary of the Foreign Mission board of the National Baptist convention of America, and the Lott Carey Baptist convention, and John R. Hawkins, financial secretary of the A. M.E. church were among the speakers. Local ministers in the delegation were the Rev. E. L. Harrison, the Rev. G. O. Bullock and the Rev. J. L. S. Holloman.

Three signed petitions were left with the State department. One bore the signatures of secretaries of colored foreign boards doing work in Liberia and set forth that an appeal was being made by representatives of approximately 6,000,000 American Negro Christians that the United States government keep Liberia intact as a Negro republic so that members of the race in America might have an open door at least in one place on the African continent for Negro assertion, self-determination and a place where color will be no barrier to social, religious and industrial work.

Seek American Adviser

"We would point to our state department that we have the gravest fears of the present plan of assistance of the League of Nations for Liberia, unless there should be in the plan of arrangements to have an American as chief adviser," the petitioners declared, further expressing themselves as follows:

"There is no uncertainty about the attitude of European governments, which have colonial holdings in Africa, toward American Negroes. The doors of their possessions are practically closed against American Negroes entering for any purpose whatever. It is obvious that we have grave fears of Liberia coming under their control or supervision in any way whatever.

See Haven for Posterity

"We are not appealing simply on behalf of the few Americo-Liberians who are now in control of the republic, but on behalf of the 12 million citizens of color in this country that Liberia may remain an open door to the Continent of Africa for them. Our forefathers were forced from Africa. We are pleading that our government keep open this door for any of their posterity who may wish to return for social, industrial and religious work.

"For years past the republic of Liberia has been regarded a ward of the United States. Millions and millions of dollars have been spent by our colonization societies, church organizations and even our Federal government for the retaining and development of Liberia. We would pray that there be no shift of policy, that Liberia will not be left to ance that is necessary for Liberia's the mercy of strong Eureopan nations, but that any plan of assist-future good would be furnished by our American government."

TROY, N. Y.
MORNING RECORD

MAY 8 1934

"THE WORST GOVERNED NATION."

According to authorities which hardly can be questioned Liberia is "the worst governed nation in the world." The British government would like to see some authority over its ac-

tivities, some nation made responsible for its development. According to British investigators it is a menace to civilization. If a plague should strike it—and its hygienic standards are low enough to make this possible—the population might dwindle to a mere fraction of present numbers, and other parts of Africa would inevitably be involved.

The story of Liberia is not a pleasant one for the United States to contemplate. It was created as a haven for freed American slaves. People in the United States supported the project morally and financially. It was hoped by some of the more emotional patrons of the scheme that the Negroes of the South might gradually be returned to an African home where they could work out their own salvation unhampered by race prejudice and race exploitation.

Boatload after boatload of these people issued forth from American ports and established this Negro republic. For a time charitable societies in the United States backed the little state. The native tribes retired into the forest and the coast was peopled with English-speaking Afro-Americans. There were perhaps 3,000 of them and eventually they dropped the leading strings of colonization society to "go it alone." The consequence of this policy has been a constant competition between the tribesmen and the descendants of the immigrants, with a resultant chaos most of the time. American commissions have helped in one or two isolated instances; a great rubber company has done something to straighten out the situation.

But certainly something stronger is needed. With not more than 40,000 with any right to the term "civilized" and at least 1,500,000 savages, government by republican methods is impossible. While the United States never has had any official connection with the tiny republic it would seem as though it should exert some sort of a friendly influence on the country or should unite with other governments in helping it out of its straits. The principle behind Liberia is worthy. Well managed, it might become a haven for unfortunate elements among the Afro-American race. As it is today it is nothing but a danger-point from which untold misery might easily issue.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y.
EVE. JOURNAL
MAY 22 1934

AN AGGRESSIVE POLICY

We are advised by press reports that at last the Council of the League of Nations is contemplating a firm stand in its dealings with recalcitrant nations. The day of temporizing is past. The League Council is considering drastic methods of securing obedience to its commands.

The little Negro republic of Liberia on the West African coast has been misbehaving. Specifically it is alleged that some of the tribes in Liberia have been oppressed to the point of slavery. The government itself is inefficient. The League has endeavored to aid the republic with a loan but the republic will not accept the conditions under which a loan will be granted and as a means of impressing upon the Liberians the error of their ways it is stated the possibility of an international naval demonstration off the coast to overawe the government is being discussed. The nations which may participate in that demonstration are not designated but it is certain that the United States is not one of them for the United States is not a member of the League and consequently is not subject to the League's orders.

This is evidence that the League is adopting a more aggressive policy. It may be recalled that when the League commented adversely on Japanese policies with reference to China the Japanese delegates took their marbles and went home and the Japanese government sent a diplomatic note to the effect that the League could attend to its own business and Japan would attend to hers. There was at no time any suggestion that an international naval demonstration would be made off the Japanese coast.

Likewise the League has been considerably disturbed by the war between South American republics, but it has not said anything about warships, but instead has asked the cooperation of the nations in banning the shipment of munitions to the warring countries and according to latest reports is likely to get it, which will be a very simple and inexpensive means of stopping a war.

But with Liberia it is different. Here is a nation which can be made to behave itself and do what it is told. Here is an opportunity for the League to show how firm and uncompromising it can be with nations that do not conform to its standards of right and wrong. In view of this evident intention of the League to stand for no further nonsense we may assume that Liberia will come to taw without further argument.

HOUSTON, TEX.
POST
MAY 18 1934

The League's Descent

THE impotence of the League of Nations was never more clearly demonstrated than when it decided on Monday to take no action on such matters as the war between Bolivia and Paraguay, the coming plebiscite in the Saar, the row between Japan and China, and the problem of disarmament, but would act firmly against Liberia.

If the negro republic does not speedily accept a program of financial reconstruction, to be proposed to it, the League will order a naval demonstration off the Liberian coast.

It is to laugh. The little negro nation needs to be overhauled all right. It is one of the most corrupt spots on the earth. But the idea of the great League of Nations making a display of its strength before a tiny, defenseless little nation, while refraining from expressing an opinion where the stronger nations are concerned, would be ludicrous if it were not so serious.

The League of Nations was intended to be the all-powerful organization that would keep peace in the world. When war goes on between two little nations, even when war threatens between larger ones, and when the question of disarmament is a major issue before the world, the League council threatens to make a naval demonstration off the coast of Liberia.

How have the mighty fallen.

ROME, N. Y.
SENTINEL
MAY 21 1934

After the Little Fellows

All on the same day, the League of Nations was reported as "administering a sharp rebuke" to the tiny African Negro republic of Liberia, including a withdrawal of all financial and economic assistance; the British foreign secretary declared his government would not engage in warfare in the Far East to uphold the treaties and would take no action against any treaty violated without the full cooperation of the United States; the League of Nations proposed to cut off the supply of arms and munitions from Bolivia and Paraguay; President Roosevelt asked the Senate to ratify the Geneva arms and ammunition convention and requested Congress as a whole to declare an embargo on arms shipments to Boliva and Paraguay. Also, Maxim Litvinoff appeared at Geneva and was understood to have made in behalf of Russia new proposals as to a European pact preliminary to an armament agreement.

The reaction of many readers must have been that the powers were all of a sudden becoming very bold—with respect to the tiny nations of the earth. Japan was permitted to grab Manchuria without anything more than talk from the League and the United States. There is even now no disposition to prevent further Japanese penetration into Asia. But Liberia, for its contumacy, is to be cast adrift —presumably to enslave more natives of the interior; Paraguay and Bolivia are to be disciplined for conducting a warfare that can not well extend to involve others, as Austria-Hungary's invasion of Serbia did in 1914.

And yet, if the powers can really get the habit of acting in unity, possibly much will have been gained.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Liberia

LIBERIA AND THE RUBBER PACT

THE British, Dutch and French who control most of the world's rubber output in Malaya, India, Burma, Franch-Indo, China, North Borneo, Sarawak and Siam, have entered into a pact to restrict production and thus boost prices to the United States, the largest consumer of rubber in the world. The rubber powers have refused to consider the repeated requests of the American buyers for representation on the new international committee. The bag has been prepared for Uncle Sam to hold and he has no other alternative at present. Those who buy automobile tires and other rubber products will soon see what the new international pact means in dollars and cents.

It was the Stevenson restriction plan, between 1925 and 1929 which cost American consumers $1,000,000,000, representing a price rise from 14 cents to $1.23 a pound, that spurred large American buyers to seek new and cheaper rubber sources. Thomas Edison experimented with golden rod down South. Henry Ford bought a vast tract of land in the Amazon Valley for a plantation. Harvey Firestone, Sr., leased a tract of 1,000,000 acres from the Liberian government, of which 50,000 acres have been cleared and planted, with a large number of trees yielding.

It was through the Firestone concession that Liberia was able to borrow $2,500,000 to pay off all of her old loans and get a fresh start which was cruelly cut short by official incompetence and the world depression. Offended by the slavery expose and again in search of funds, the Liberian politicians turned to the League of Nations (England, Holland and France) for aid only to be offered a mandate in exchange for her independence. Had Liberia accepted the League Plan, another source of rubber for America would have eventually been cut off and the monopoly of the rubber powers would have been almost complete. This was probably the idea behind the League Plan.

Frightened by her reception at the Hague, Liberia has sensibly turned back to America and American interests who have never demanded her independence but on the contrary have assisted her since her birth with money, knowledge and various forms of assistance, including the tremendous service of keeping England and France from swallowing her up.

With the signing of the new rubber pact, Liberia becomes of tremendous importance again to American rubber interests. Even if the entire 1,000,000 acres of the Firestone concession are cultivated, that would comprise but one seventh of her area, and every rubber growing country today is prosperous, which Liberia has not been in seventy years.

With the industrial development of Liberia and its transformation from a land of swamps, jungles and mountains without roads or railways, it may become a liveable haven for many who desire to make their home there.

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For months Liberia has refused to accept the plan without modifications. The League has refused to change one word in he protocol favorably passed upon by the Council last October. Threats of expelling Liberia from the League of Nations if she did not accept the plan failed to change the irreconcilable position of the Barclay Administration.

Capt. Anthony Eden, British delegate, in appealing for American cooperation said that the United States Government should be approached on the subjec, since it is associated more closely both historically and economically with Liberia. He said that London realized the expulsion of Liberia from the League probably would not facilitate a solution to the problem.

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"The Negro community in the United States appears to be misinformed regarding the true state of affairs in Liberia. We can understand and even sympathize with their desire to prove to the world that the Negro race is capable not only of self-government but of governing a subject people; but the fact that Prof. Johnson, an American Negro, was one of the Christy Commission which exposed the slavedealing and misrule, should show them that so far as establishing the prestige of the Negro race in the eyes of the world by championing the cause of the Liberian oligarchy, they are seriously injuring it. Their assistance in carrying out the League Plan would be welcomed.

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"We would point out to our State Department that we have the bravest fears of the present plan of assistance of the League of Nations for Liberia, unless there should be in the plan of arrangements to have an American as Chief Adviser," the petitioners declared, further expressing themselves as follows:

"There is no uncertainty about the attitude of European Governments, which have colonial holdings in Africa, toward American Negroes. The doors of their possessions are practically closed against American Negroes entering for any purpose whatever. It is obvious that we have grave fears of Liberia coming under their control or supervision in any way whatever.

"We are not appealing simply on behalf of the few Americo-Liberians who are now in control of the republic, but on behalf of the twelve million citizens of color in this country that Liberia may remain an open door to the Continent of Africa for them. Our forefathers were forced from Af-Africa. We are pleading that our Government keep open this door for any of their posterity who may wish to return for social, industrial and religious work.

"For years past the Republic of Liberia has been regarded a ward of the United States. Millions and millions of dollars have been spent by our colonization societies, church organizations and even our Federal Government for the retaining and development of Liberia. We would pray that there be no shift of policy, that Liberia will not be left to the mercy of strong European nations, but that any plan of assistance that is necessary for Liberia's future good would be furnished by our own American Government."

AMERICA, SAVE LIBERIA!

The Liberian Government has refused to accept the League Plan of Assistance in the form which the Council of the League of Nations had adopted. In consequence, on May 18, the League formally withdrew its offer. Thus, three years of diplomatic discussion, the expenditures of much labor and money have gone for naught.

Failure of Geneva and Monrovia to reach an agreement comes as no surprise. Since last October, when the Liberian delegation differed so widely with Lord Cecil and other members of the Liberian International Committee as to the extent of power and authority to be delegated to the Chief Adviser, it was obvious that there was little possibility of a compromise being effected; for Liberia was insistent that certain modifications be made, while the Committee, which was later upheld by the Council of the League, was just as implacable that the rehabilitation program must remain "as is" to enforce its workability. Hence the impasse.

Negro opinion in the United States has not been favorable to the Plan of Assistance formulated by the League of Nations because of its preponderance of European administrative personnel. To a man the American Negro has been distrustful of certain European Powers, feeling that they are looking at the little West African republic out of greedy eyes and are filled with a secret longing to mandate it in some form whenever the time was deemed propitious.

Liberia applied to the League of Nations for assistance. She has turned down the plan offered. The economic and social conditions of the country are so critical it is imperative that the Liberian people receive outside aid, and the sooner the better. To whom should the Americo-Liberian and indigenous population turn at this trying hour? There can be but one answer to this question: Turn to the United States, which is responsible for Liberia's birth, which has been her traditional friend and protector and whose benevolence has materially furthered Liberia's educational and economic development.

On both sides of the water the consensus is that the United States Government is now the logical agency to assume supervision of Liberia's reconstruction. Everybody knows that Uncle Sam has no imperialistic designs on Liberia and will continue to preserve the latter's sovereignty and autonomy. The recent appeals to the Department of State at Washington by leading Negro churchmen and other influential race representatives that the United States resume its former sympathetic and active interest in Liberia correctly reflects the attitude of the American Negro, who wants the republic to remain the ward of this nation.

If Liberia is to be saved and its future political independence assured, it will be through an American Plan of Assistance in which all officials shall be Americans. For three years experts assisted members of the International Liberian Committee at Geneva in formulating the League Plan of Assistance and in its final form this plan had the moral approval of the nations of the world, including official Washington. It was not so much to the plan itself that the American Negro objected as the predominance of European influence in the execution of it.

The plan adopted in the form of a protocol by the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva in October called for the appointment of three Provincial Commissioners to have sole charge of native administrative functions over the three provinces. An American Plan of Assistance might well be patterned after the League Plan and should specifically provide that at least two officials be colored Americans—one to be designated a Provincial Commissioner and the other a whole-time Medical Officer.

Such a Plan of Assistance, entirely under American auspices and supervision, would be most heartily welcomed by friends of Liberia in the United States.

U. S. Lays Plan To Aid Liberia Cure Finances

Washington, D. C. Oct. 6 (AP). —The United States now has under consideration plans designed to assist in bringing economies and financial order in the Republic of Liberia, its African stepchild.

Harry A. McBride, assistant to Secretary of State Hull, has just returned from a special mission in Monrovia, the Liberian capital, during which he made a comprehensive survey of existing conditions and international complications which have prevented establishment and maintenance of an orderly, prosperous government in that African republic.

Any renewed American efforts to assist Liberia in its economic and financial rehabilitation is expected to be based on the McBride report.

McBride, in addition to service in diplomatic posts throughout the world since 1908, acted as receiver general of customs and financial advisor to Liberia and as a member of the Liberian International Debt Commission in 1918-19 when the republic was struggling under previous economic and financial problems.

Frederick P. Hibbard, now on duty in the State Department, has been appointed American Diplomatic representative in Monrovia and soon will sail for his post actually to carry out the proposed American plan of assistance. Hibbard has been specializing in Liberian problems during his State Department service.

Liberia, faced with bankruptcy as a nation, has for several years been the recipient of advice from the League of Nations. President Barclay and the Liberian Congress have, however, refused to accept the League's economic and financial plan.

The Republic of Liberia, founded a century ago by 50,000 American colored ex-slaves, has looked to the United States as its model and ideal of government. The Liberian constitution and government are largely modeled on American lines and the 12,000 descendants of the original American founders constitute the governing class.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Liberia

Liberian Legislature Okeys Good Will Mission

Text of resolution passed by Senate and House of Delegates, following joint sessions in which the AFRO-AMERICAN good-will delegate participated.

Afro-American 2-6-34

1. That an association be organized of American and Liberian citizens to be known as the Afro-Americo-Liberian Association; said organization to have the right of forming auxiliary branches in the United States of America and Liberia, as well in as any other part of the world. The objective of the organization, with its auxiliary branches, will be to create and emphasize mutual interests and co-operation between the people of Liberia and the people of Negro descent all over the world.

2. To readily support and encourage energetic business men of our race in the United States of America and elsewhere, and to establish trade relations and economic developments between the Republic of Liberia and the civilized world.

Baltimore Md

3. Any legitimate measure which may be suggested to improve the educational system of Liberia will be considered as of paramount importance by the people of this country, for it is upon the intellectual development of the youths of Liberia that her future stability depends as a nation. Hence, the people of Liberia will support any vigorous campaign that will be launched to bring about this much-needed result.

4. Although the scheme is to be promoted by men of note in the United States of America (prominent colored people of America of position and standing) who will launch this vigorous campaign of support of Liberia in the United States of America, yet whatever is done in the premises must, in all cases, be reported to the Liberian branch of the association, or to its representative or representatives on the spot.

5. The Liberian branch of the association is to acquire lands from the government for the purpose of building hostels and recreation grounds for the immigrants that may come to Liberia through the auspices of the association.

6. Great force and encouragement is to be given to the road scheme of the government now in course of prosecution; and the association hereby pledges its warm support to said undertaking.

7. To create, through a regularly constituted reputed Negro bank in the United States of America, a scheme whereby financial assistance shall be offered to the organization for the purpose of enhancing and developing economic plans for the betterment and stability of the country, on a civic and national basis.

Respectfully submitted,

C. B. Reeves	R. S. Wiles
F. A. K. Russell, Chairman	W. N. Witherspoo
C. M. Bryant	A. D. Wilson, Jr.
W. J. Clarke	J. A. H. Jones
S. Jerome Dossen	H. H. Marshall
	P. W. A. Gorden

Liberia, Today and Tomorrow

The Liberian Government

By WM. N. JONES

Editor's Note:—This is the second of a series of twelve articles on the Liberian situation as observed by Mr. Jones, who spent several weeks recently on a good-will tour to and in Liberia as a representative of the AFRO-AMERICAN.

Afro-American

The present Liberian governmental system is unique among all governments in the world. Theoretically it is a republic and in so far as Monrovia, Montserrado County, Grand Bassa County, Sinoe County, Grand Cape Mount and Maryland County, are concerned, it is a genuine republic with well functioning governmental machinery based wholly on a constitution similar to that of the United States.

Baltimore Md

When you regard Liberia as a whole, however, you have a mixture of governmental set-ups which are all tending towards the republican representative forms. While every male person 21 years or over in the whole of Liberia as a citizen of the republic, could qualify as a voter and take part in the election of its officers under its constitution, fully 90 per cent of them are governed under a system similar to the colonial set-up used throughout Africa.

There is, however, even here a vast difference between white colonial governmental policies and that used by the Liberian government in native towns; for while the white colonial government is based on the ultimate objective of a white controlled Africa, the Liberian government is based upon the ultimate attainment of self-government.

Native Units

Since the further development of the Liberian system means that the big native population will ultimately come into practical citizenship and exercise more and more the ballot, their present status is important. The smallest native unit is the town which comprises a group of homes with their own selected chief, corresponding to our mayor. He is responsible to a council of elders which in most cases he obeys when it comes to important town matters. Two or more, some times many more, of these towns, make up a paramount chieftancy which corresponds with that of our governor and these paramount chiefs are responsible to the Liberian government at Monrovia through a district commissioner.

Socialized Unit

What may become very significant is the fact that as now constructed each of these towns is a purely socialized unit. The main items of wealth, including the land, is owned jointly by the whole group. The children are owned by the whole group and the whole group is responsible for the care of the aged. In other words there are no orphans or homeless old folk in a native village. The hard cold law of the bush has brought some evils, but it has also prevented some more subtly brutal benefits of civilization. Most of all it has left the native unit town a model in community control. As they become modernized they can take their places in the republican government as have the other more modern settlements of Liberia.

These native towns contribute to the central government a hut tax. They furnish men for road building and produce for the support of the district supervision and hinterland policing.

District Commissioner

The district commissioner, an official appointed by the government to supervise native towns, is that part of the Liberian system which follows the colonial idea. He is the most important factor in native development. Representing the president he is in direct touch with the everyday life of the people. It is obvious that he can be a great factor for either good or evil and some of the most troublesome criticisms aimed at the government have come because of the acts of district commissioners.

When a town or paramount chief cannot settle a local matter it is taken to him. If his decision is not satisfactory to the natives involved, it can be taken to the courts at Monrovia or directly to the President.

President Barclay

President Barclay spends each Tuesday in conference with native chiefs and leaders who come from all parts of the country to discuss local matters with him. Here, too, my observation led me to the conclusion that there have been good and bad district commissioners, but that the system is working now with as much success as it is working in any other part of Africa.

As matters now exist any native may bring a grievance to Monrovia with much more freedom and less relative expense than any of our citizens now living in the far South can bring to our government when they have been treated unjustly. My own observations as to how these appeals are treated leads me to conclude that the government is striving to cultivate and cement friendship between the natives and the government, and that it is only a matter of time when the district commissioner will become a locally selected representative and part of the government in Monrovia. The Liberian government is working towards that end.

Carrying On

On the whole, therefore, despite mistakes and successes, Liberia's official family is carrying on. The important thing is that it is the only government in all Africa except Abyssinia which is headed towards self-government. Other parts of Africa will of course attain self-government, but it will be through the bloody way of war or revolution. They will have to fight for their independence as America once fought, and as India, Ireland and other colonial dependencies are now fighting. To my mind this is one great reason why colored folk throughout the world should strive to preserve this one beacon light of hope on the continent, that this 50,000 square miles of African territory should be preserved forever as a laboratory of self-government.

League of Nations Plan

In my judgment also, the present League of Nations Plan of Assistance would destroy the most important part of the present scheme of government—autonomous self-government. The present constitution makes the President of the republic its chief administrator. It gives to its legislature the making of its laws and it provides for the selection of its members by popular vote of the people. It may be that this system has not worked smoothly, honestly and efficiently in all cases. But it has not worked that way in any part of the world.

How Can Anyone Point a Finger at Liberia?

I sat for instance in Liberia

listening over the radio to speeches being made in America during the recent election fight in New York City. I also heard announcements of lynching. As I sat there with Liberians listening to good Americans parade the corruption of Tammany Hall, and heard of a governor of a great American state who had condoned mob violence, my respect for those Liberians rose. "God Almighty," my very soul blurted out as the sordid situation floated in over the ether—"how can any American have the nerve to point the finger of scorn at the Liberian republic?"

Internal Situation

There are two political parties—the True Whigs and the People's parties. The True Whig is the party of the present administration in Monrovia. The moving spirit in the People's party is the very efficient business man, Thomas J. R. Faulkner. Another political opponent of the government is the able native leader, Momula Massaquoi. He was educated in America and has served in a number of important posts in the government but is now with the opposition. He represents the forces fighting for native control although for most of his political life he has souguht to merge the interests of the native and the Americo-Liberian elements.

Talking to members of both parties I had to conclude that politics in Liberia and the United States are much alike. The party which is out believes that the party which is in is the worst party in the world and the party which is in believes the same thing about the party that is out.

I am certain, however, that there are good men in both parties. I am also certain that things would not be very different if the "out" party came into power.

President Barclay

President Barclay is a native Liberian born and educated in the republic. Had he lived in America where a professional career is oft chosen the way to success, he would have probably been a literary professor in one of our big universities. He plays the violin and writes poetry. He likes the teaching profession so well that even as President he gives his service as teacher in a local college. He married a native Grebo girl who presides over the executive mansion. He likes to dance but unlike ex-President King, he likes a presidential life of less ceremony and pomp. Left to himself he would forget the morning coat and the dinner jacket.

Presidential Grind

He is showing the effects of the presidential grind. In conversation he grasps a point quickly and is not hard to talk to. You leave him feeling that he is meeting his problem with the best of his ability, but that he has courage and self-confidence. He is disliked by the Firestone executives and the American charge d'affaires. It is mutual. He is very much liked by local white business men and missionaries.

The one outstanding thing about him, it seems to me, he understands the trust imposed upon him in his position, the autonomy of the republic. He understands every move that is made to make Liberia a country in which its native people would have no rights any white man is bound to respect. He understands what is going on in other parts of Africa.

Tshekedi

The Tshedeki case dramatized white policy in Africa in that it set forth clearly that as white men enter this black continent they automatically become, because of their race, superior to native laws.

The fact is, it was a similar incident, involving a trial of a white official of a big corporation in Monrovia which brought into action the events out of which the present League of Nations controversy arises. When we, therefore, think of the government of Liberia as that of a republic we must also think of it as a Negro republic in which white men may be brought to account.

Against such black republic are arrayed colonial England, colonial France, and the joint combination of the Firestone corporation and the State Department of the United States.

Liberia Threatens To Turn Down League Plan of Assistance Unless Reservations Are Accepted At Geneva

Age 1-20-34
New York N.Y.

Lester A. Walton is the recipient of a cablegram under date of January 13, from President Barclay of Liberia, the contents of which create the distinct impression that the Liberian Government has politely and diplomatically rejected the plan of assistance formulated by the International Committee and submitted for approval by the Council of the League of Nations. The cablegram follows:

Monrovia, Liberia, Jan. 13, 1934.

Lester A. Walton, 2816 Eighth Avenue, N. Y.

Legislature decides to accept League plan of assistance subject to reservations intimated to Council by Secretary Grimes when you were in Geneva. Legislature refused to agree to provisions of suggested supplementary agreement of Finance Corporation and has authorized President to open up further negotiations with this corporation with a view to coming to more acceptable arrangement. In the event acceptable agreement is concluded between government and corporation and acceptance by League Council of reservations of Liberian Government, League plan might likely go into effect, but not otherwise.

(Signed) BARCLAY.

No other interpretation can be put on the actions of the Liberian Legislature than that it has flatly refused to look with favor on the League plan of assistance chiefly because of Liberia's contention that the protocol drafted by the Internatonal Committee gves the proposed Chief Adviser too much power and authority.

Friendlier Relations Between Government and Firestone

Reference in the cablegram that the Legislature has authorized President Barclay to open further negotiations with the Finance Corporation of America with respect to financial considerations involved [illegible] indicate that Liberia [illegible] reaching an amicable [illegible] with the Firestone interests without an intermediary. This newer attitude toward the Finance Corporation of America to some extent confirms recent advices from Monrovia that within the last few weeks friendlier relations have developed between Liberian officials and representatives of the rubber concern, and that a more cooperative spirit is being manifested.

The reason those who have been closely following negotiations between the League of Nations and the Liberian Government view the likelihood of an agreement being reached between Geneva and Monrovia with marked pessimism is because the Council made it perfectly clear that if Liberia was to receive aid it would be by acceptance of the plan offered in its entirety and without any change whatsoever. First the International Committee and later the Council flatly refused to adopt the reservations which the Legislature now insists must be included in the protocol. That Geneva will reverse its former position is not considered probable.

Some of the amendments offered by the Liberian Government at Geneva to be voted down were:

That the Provincial Commissioner be a representative of the executive power and responsible to the President of the Republic of Liberia, through the intermediary of the Secretary of the Interior.

That no force of police or messengers shall be armed for any purpose except upon the authority of the President of Liberia.

That no body of troops nor gendarmerie shall be placed under the command of foreigners.

That the three Deputy Provincial Commissioners be Liberians.

That the foreign specialists who act as Provincial Commissioners will undertake the administrative training of the Liberian officials by whom they will be succeeded on the expiration of their contracts.

That no official shall be engaged in the service of the Republic of Liberia, even in any of the services supervised by the foreign experts, until the President shall have independently investigated the character and qualifications of the nominee by any means within his power, and after such investigation shall consider him a fit person to be appointed. In all cases required by the Constitution his appointment shall be subject to the confirmation of the Senate of Liberia.

One of the contentions of President Barclay and members of his Cabinet was that Liberia would not increase its indebtedness to the American Finance Corporation and, therefore, could not agree to provisions whereby the company would have to guarantee for five years the salary of foreign experts, with the government having no control over funds furnished for this purpose.

League Warns Liberia

An Associated Press dispatch from Geneva, on January 15, stated that the League of Nations Council told Liberia that it must accept the Council's plan for economic rehabilitation of the country without modifications.

It was pointed out that Liberia is a member of the League and that as such she must abide by its rulings. The only alternative being that she resign.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Liberia

Liberia Today and Tomorrow

By WILLIAM N. JONES

Realignment of Republic With United States and Increasing National Representation Seen as Paramount to Liberia's Permanency.

Afro-American 4-7-34

EDITOR'S NOTE:—This is the twelfth and final of a series of twelve articles on the Liberian situation as observed by Mr. Jones who spent several weeks recently on a good-will tour to and in Liberia as a representative of the AFRO-AMERICAN.

It is my opinion that any effort to establish Liberia as a permanent republic and assure its growth and development will have to be based upon three fundamental foundations: They are:

1. Realignment with the U.S. Government.

2. Employment of expert assistance and adoption of a program for increasing native representation.

3. The regrouping of all agencies working there into a unified program for educational, cultural, industrial and business expansion.

As I pointed out in the last article, the initiative in any immediate program will have to be taken by colored Americans with the co-operation of the Liberian government. The plan herewith outlined gives therefore my conclusions based upon the present situation in Liberia and the growing interest on the part of our people here in America.

American Sanction.

While the complicated European situation involving Liberia may make the State Department hesitate to give immediate recognition to the present regime, the way at last seems clear for the State Department to give its tentative sanction to a general effort on the part of the 14,000,000 U.S. citizens of African descent to help put the affairs of the republic in shape.

It might be stated that a number of outstanding men and women have consented to serve on a special committee to take this specific question up with the administration and State Department.

Before this phase of the plan is consummated, however, it may be necessary to bring the organized weight of opinion of our group throughout the country behind this effort.

Americo-Liberian Commission.

As an initial step in getting up a responsible body through which a program can be carried out I suggest an Americo-Liberian Commission comprising three representatives of the Liberian Republic and three representatives of the American group interested in Liberia.

In discussing the possibility of such a commission while in Liberia the general conclusion was reached that the three Liberian representatives should include one representative of the government, one person selected by civic and business organizations, and one native Liberian.

This commission should set up permanent headquarters with a trained executive to work out its program.

Three Units.

It is suggested that the first objective of this commission will be to set into operation the following three units:

ADMINISTRATIVE: Whatever may be needed in the way of immediate expert assistance from outside sources, this commission should select four experts, one each in education, in public health, in public works, and in business and industrial expansion to represent it in governmental departments in Liberia.

The present Liberian government has expressed officially its approval of such a set-up.

Commercial Interests.

TRADE EXPANSION: This commission should endeavor to stimulate the organization of a trading company to develop American-Liberian trading relations. Millions of dollars worth of cotton goods, steel, cement, tobacco, toilet articles, drugs, shoes, hats, farm implements, trucks, canned goods, cooking utensils and other articles could be sold not only in Liberia, but through Liberia to other parts of Africa.

In addition palm oil, coffee and other Liberian products could be sold here. American colored youth, shut out from the higher brackets of American industry, could find a wide field of operation through the growing trade that increasing wants in Africa is developing. Every nation is sending young men into this rich domain. America, which is seeking new markets, might well encourage her 14,000,000 colored citizens to go after this vast trade in Africa.

SCHOLARSHIPS: This commission should also begin the establishment of a number of special scholarships in various institutions for the training of young men and women for Liberian and other foreign services.

Trained Germans.

It was of particular interest to me to find that even in Nazi Germany the University of Hamburg was maintaining a native African teacher to teach a native African dialect to German young business men contemplating business careers in Africa.

Every week, steamers distribute hundreds of European young men and women on the West Coast of Africa who are going there representing business concerns taking millions out of the country.

Road Building.

In addition to improved harbor facilities one of the first considerations of Liberian development will have to be road building. A general suggestion along this line would be three main heavy duty highways running from the coast towns of Robertsport, Monrovia and Grand Bassa to the upper border. These should be supplemented by two cross-country roads, one skirting the coast and the other cutting across the upper center of the republic.

With native-built feeder roads to these main highways, it would be possible to develop quick transportation to any part of the republic.

Trading Stations.

Trading stations and community recreational centers should be established conveniently along these highways.

While I advocate no back-to-Africa movement, I do believe that with proper road development some of the more pioneering minded of our young men and women would find excellent opportunities in nation-building activities in Liberia.

The United States Government itself might find it highly profitable to finance certain groups which would help to develop American trade in Africa. Certainly American industry would find it profitable.

New Capital.

While Monrovia will always be the most important coast town of the republic, I believe that the future capital of the country should be built upon the more highly elevated central section. In this way the governmental influence would radiate more rapidly among the native population.

Financial Assistance.

The League of Nations plan of assistance contemplated the expenditure of $150,000 yearly, to be provided by the Liberian government through the Firestone Plantation Corporation. Liberia has turned down this plan. The American people might well revive this plan by raising this amount for the first year's effort.

From facts, which I am not at liberty to reveal at this time, I am certain that the raising of this amount will present no serious difficulties. Certainly it will not if the American Government will tentatively sanction an effort of our 14,000,000 citizens to help Liberia.

As has been pointed out, the tremendous issue as to whether we can demonstrate our ability to govern a nation will have profound bearing on the status of our group here in America as well as in other sections of the world.

Must Widen Economic Horizon.

A practical interest in Liberia is also in line with what many leaders see to be the cold necessity of our group's finding new fields for economic expansion. Nowhere else in the world are there 14,000,000 as highly trained, as efficient and as ambitious a group of human beings crowded into such a small economic corner as we are here in America.

I should like to have readers of the AFRO-AMERICAN express their opinion on their attitude to some such program as is here outlined. Would you be interested in helping to put over such a plan?

LEAGUE'S PLAN TO AID REFUSED BY LIBERIA

Afro-American 5-5-34

Simpson Says Proposed Action Would Violate Constitution.

COMMISSION TO BE SENT TO U.S.

Firestone to Be Asked for Better Terms.

WHITE DICTATOR IS NEVER ACCEPTABLE

Reply Advises that Liberian Law Provides that Liberians Shall Rule Them-

Race Problem-1934

Africa

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Financial Assistance.

The League of Nations plan of assistance contemplated the expenditure of $150,000 yearly, to be provided by the Liberian government through the Firestone Plantation Corporation. Liberia has turned down this plan. The American people might well revive this plan by raising this amount for the first year's effort.

From facts, which I am not at liberty to reveal at this time, I am certain that the raising of this amount will present no serious difficulties. Certainly it will not if the American Government will tentatively sanction an effort of our 14,000,000 citizens to help Liberia.

As has been pointed out, the tremendous issue as to whether we can demonstrate our ability to govern a nation will have profound bearing on the status of our group here in America as well as in other sections of the world.

Must Widen Economic Horizon.

A practical interest in Liberia is also in line with what many leaders see to be the cold necessity of our group's finding new fields for economic expansion. Nowhere else in the world are there 14,000,000 as highly trained, as efficient and as ambitious a group of human beings crowded into such a small econimic corner as we are here in America.

I should like to have readers of the AFRO-AMERICAN express their opinion on their attitude to some such program as is here outlined. Would you be interested in helping to put over such a plan?

LEAGUE'S PLAN TO AID REFUSED BY LIBERIA

Afro-American 5-5-34

Simpson Says Proposed Action Would Violate Constitution.

COMMISSION TO BE SENT TO U.S.

Firestone to Be Asked for Better Terms.

WHITE DICTATOR IS NEVER ACCEPTABLE

Reply Advises that Liberian Law Provides that Liberians Shall Rule Them-

selves.

(Exclusively to the AFRO)

MONROVIA, Liberia. — Reiterating that the law of the Republic provides that Liberians rule themselves and that no white dictatorship will ever be acceptable, the Liberian government has submitted to the League of Nations a memorandum rejecting that body's proposed plan of assistance.

The document, forwarded by C. L. Simpson, Secretary of State to be considered by the League at its meeting this month, referred specifically to the proposed supplement to the loan agreement of 1926 as "completely depriving the republic of the last vestige of financial autonomy, or of placing in the hands of sundry foreign officials powers which, by the fundamental laws of the republic, should be retained by officials of Liberian nationality."

A substitute plan, however, is contained in the document, calling for direct negotiations with the Firestone group of companies to obtain further amelioration in the loan contracts, by sending a commission to the United States to enter upon at the earliest time possible and conclude a more acceptable arrangement.

Paid $100,000 on Loan

The government of Liberia, Secretary Simpson further points out, amended its moratorium bill so as to provide for immediate payment of back interest and sinking fund obligations and accordingly tendered $100,000 in February to the Firestone Corporation of America as a first payment on its account of $104,166.67.

Surprise was expressed by the Liberians, however, that the most recently proposed plan of assistance should ignore the conditions upon which the legislature in 1932 had adopted as the general principles of the plan. Certain of the administrative features of the plan, it is pointed out, are in violation of the existing constitution of Liberia.

Last October, Lord Cecil declared that if the Liberian government accepted the plan of assistance, it "would undoubtedly have to modify its laws."

Modification Requires Vote

In answer to this proposal, Secretary Simpson explained to the League:

"There is but one way to adapt the unconstitutional provisions of the plan of assistance to our laws; namely, by amendments to the constitution. But even if the government were whole-heartedly disposed to pursue such a policy, the proposed amendments must first be submitted to, and approved by, two-thirds of all the electors at a regular quadrennial election; the next one of which is to take place in May, 1935.

Aid, Modified, Desirable

Because Liberia is anxious to have the assistance of the League without such a long delay, the document requests that the plan be re-examined, and that the features which are in opposition to the existing Liberian constitution be eliminated. Any assistance which the League may render, the Liberians affirm, must be in conformity with the convenant of the League of Nations and must not be derogatory to the republic's present laws.

Preventing the jeopardizing of the success of the plan rather than keeping inviolate the Liberian constitution, it appears, has been of more concern to outsiders than any other single factor. This attitude has been strongly opposed by the government here and by its delegates at Geneva.

Five-Year Control Feared

"The Liberian government fears," Secretary Simpson concluded, "that the proposed plan is consciously or unconsciously designed to impose for five years a supervisory control over the existing government, which was not only what was not contemplated, but would both be subversive of the existing constitution, and might ultimately adversely affect the position of Liberia as a full member of the League of Nations, as, according to the convenant, only such states as enjoy full independence can be full members thereof.

"The government of Liberia still adheres to its request for assistance, and urges that the plan of assistance be re-examined, so as to be brought within the limits originally applied for by Liberia, and, at least, eliminate those clauses which are patently in violation of the constitution, which is the organic law of the republic, unrepealable even by the legislature of the republic."

Mandate Over African Republic Is Talked In London Political Circles

By BURDETTE JOHNS
Associated Press Foreign Staff

LONDON, May 4.—(AP)—A mandate over Liberia was discussed in political quarters here today as the only possible solution in the controversy between the League of Nations and Liberian authorities over the administration of the negro republic.

Simultaneously Liberia's "continued obstinacy" in rebuffing plans of the League for financial and social assistance was described as being increasingly irksome to the British Government.

League officials here pointed out that the Geneva organization at present has no power to establish such a mandate —thereby alleviating fears expressed in some British quarters that England might be asked to take that responsibility.

A showdown on the Liberian controversy is expected during a session of the League Of Nations council May 14.

The Liberian government, which made reservations virtually killing the League projects, now has asked the council to reconsider the question. The latest developments have included, also, further British charges of repression and overtaxation of the Liberian people.

Financial assistance from the United States is now withheld pending a settlement of the differences.

The African republic was pictured as "the worst country in the world" in a House of Lords discussion on which Earl Stanhope, undersecretary of the foreign office, disclosed that Great Britain is prepared also to withhold further monetary help and ask that the League plan formally be withdrawn unless Liberia puts forward some new project on its own initiative before the coming council meeting.

The discussion was evoked by a peer's question as to the status of the League's scheme. The suggestion that the United States might be willing to assume a protectorate there figured in the debate.

"I can conceive of no country," said the undersecretary, "of which a tale of such misery, illness and misgovernment could rightly and truthfully be told."

The undersecretary added that the British government had no hesitation in saying that unless the Liberian government produces some new plan before the council meets, Great Britain will definitely refused to lend further financial assistance and will recommed that the League plan be withdrawn.

LOWELL, MASS.
COURIER-CITIZEN

FEB 2 1934

While the utter failure of the League of Nations to do anything for the cause of peace and a better understanding among the nations continues to be a favorite topic for twits, jibes and jabs on American editorial pages, the league's plan for cleaning up the American-made mess in Liberia may have to be accepted by this country. The situation at Monrovia seems, if one may give credence to an article by Sir John Harris in the Manchester Guardian, to about this: Ten or 12 thousand American Negroes have been dictators over about 1,500,000 natives occupying territory as big as five states of New England, Maine excluded. The graft, corruption and terrorism practiced by these pupils of American political methods have won them the hatred of their fellow Liberians. Exposure of abuses by the Christy and Brunot commissions was brought some time ago before the league authorities at Geneva. In the past three years Lord Cecil, in face of fierce opposition from the United States, has succeeded in working out a mandatory scheme which looks to give real self-government, ultimately, to the Liberians, and which Mr. Firestone, the American rubber king, accepts. If the United States has, in reality, had a creditable part in this effort, the facts may appear later.

SUN
SPRINGFIELD, O.

JUN 17 1934

LEAGUE AND LIBERIA

So far as England and most of the other important members of the League of Nations are concerned, the problems of Liberia, the world's only Negro republic, are back on the doorstep of the United States.

Washington in 1919 called the attention of the Liberian government to conditions of virtual slavery enforced by the Liberian frontier force and certain high officials. Liberia thereupon appointed an international investigating commission. Its report confirmed the charges and the suggestion was made that Liberia appeal to the League for assistance.

The League dispatched to Africa in 1931 a survey commission which found Liberia "economically and financially . . . in imminent danger." It recommended that certain requirements be met by the country before financial aid was extended. Liberia declared the plan too ambitious and expensive and it was revised. Not until recently did Liberia give its answer on the new version; it could be accepted only with further reservations. England has interpreted this as a refusal of the final League offer. Italy and France agree.

Meanwhile, the British spokesman points out, there is every evidence that the evils pointed out five years ago have since continued unchecked. England, the United States, France and Germany again in 1932 entered a joint protest against oppression of the Kru tribes. An investigator acting for them and another later conducting an inquiry for the League found that some 12,000 tribespeople had been driven out of their villages, their homes and crops destroyed. Almost 150 were killed and others were suffering from starvation and exposure. The government promised to permit them to return to their villages and to assure them proper treatment, but these guarantees, like all before them, were never realized.

Consequently the League council by unanimous decision withdrew its offer of assistance. Liberia could be expelled from the League for failure to meet the obligations of membership, but that would leave the problem farther than ever from solution. England, its representative says, will not for humanitarian reasons see the matter dropped. He suggests that the council call again on the government of the United States, which both from an economic and historical point of view has the closest connection with Liberia.

This is largely correct. Liberia was colonized more than a century ago by American Negroes whose descendants now comprise the ruling class. Monrovia, its capital, is named for President Monroe. The Liberian constitution is patterned largely after our own. The United States in 1912 granted the government a $1,700,000 loan, payable within 40 years, to stave off financial collapse. One of the leading American rubber manufacturers has an extensive industrial stake in the country.

Except for its Atlantic coast, Liberia is bordered wholly by French and British colonies; it is one of the few independent countries on the entire Dark Continent. To some extent that may account for the interest of these particular League members, yet our concern surely should be no less than their own.

Race Problem — 1934

Africa

Liberia

MISRULE IN LIBERIA.

British Appeal to the United States.

A Blue Book concerning affairs in Liberia (Cmd. 4614, price 1s. 6d.) has been issued by the Stationery Office. It covers the period from December, 1930, to May of this year, and deals with the efforts made by the League of Nations and the United States to secure decent treatment of the natives by the Liberian Government.

After recapitulating the successive steps taken by the League up to the withdrawal of the offer of assistance on May 18 last, and the decision of the League Council to approach the United States Government on the subject, the Blue Book closes with a despatch from Sir John Simon, the Foreign Secretary, to the British Ambassador in Washington for the information of the State Department. In this despatch Sir John Simon says that His Majesty's Government feel that the whole situation must be reconsidered.

They feel (Sir John Simon continues) that it would be a dereliction of duty to civilisation if the misgovernment of the native tribes by Liberia were to be allowed to continue, resulting, as it would infallibly result, in the encouragement of such evils as slave trading and the slaughter and maltreatment of the 2,000,000 natives by the corrupt and inefficient oligarchy of Monrovia. At the same time His Majesty's Government cannot believe that the pressure of public opinion, or even the threat of exclusion of Liberia from the League, if that should be practicable, will be adequate to create any real and lasting improvement in Liberia.

American Interests in Liberia.

They are aware of the deep interest which the United States Government have always taken in the fortunes of this State, which, indeed, owes its foundation to American enterprise and philanthropy. On the material side Liberia is rendered dependent upon the United States Government by the extent to which her financial machinery is already in American hands and organised in conformity with a contract entered into between the Liberian Government and an American corporation. His Majesty's Government cannot, therefore, doubt that the United States Government have been as much perturbed as have they themselves by the course of recent events, and they would be grateful for an indication of the policy which the United States Government would in the circumstances recommend. For their own part, His Majesty's Government are ready to co-operate to the utmost of their power in any well-considered measures which the United States Government may consider appropriate to the occasion.

Sir John Simon asks the British Ambassador to address a Note to the United States Government on the lines indicated in his letter.

Misgovernment in Liberia

The Government published on Friday a Blue-book which collects the evidence of atrocious misgovernment in the negro Republic of Liberia and concludes with what is virtually an appeal to the United States to suggest a remedy. The Liberian question has been before the public now for exactly five years. In 1929, after charges of slavery and oppression, the Liberian Government agreed to an international commission of inquiry. Those charges were later amply substantiated. It was found that the Kru native tribes of the interior had been abominably ill-treated by the troops acting for the oligarchy of American freed slaves, who alone hold citizenship rights in the country. A plan for reform was finally drawn up under League auspices—for the administration of the country by officials appointed jointly by Liberia and the League,—but Liberia under one pretext or another has consistently refused to accept it. The Government, however, is already dependent on American money—an American rubber company has large interests,—and the United States is consequently in the best position to apply the much-needed pressure.

AMERICAN MISSION TO LIBERIA.

African World 8-4-34

Mr. Harry A. McBride, one of the U.S. Secretary of State's special assistants, sailed from New York on July 25 for Liberia in order to prepare a first-hand report on conditions in that Republic for the State Department. The decision to send him was the outcome of the Liberian refusal to accept the plan of assistance put forward last year by the international commission appointed by the League of Nations. The plan, which was careful to safeguard the sovereign rights of Liberia, received the full approval of the United States Government.

The continued disintegration of the economic and administrative fabric of Liberia, jeopardising as it does important American financial and rubber interests, has now led the Secretary of State to make a direct attempt to reach agreement with the Liberian Government for the application of remedial measures for what has become a highly critical situation. Mr. McBride, who is well acquainted with the country, having been at one time Receiver of Customs and Financial Adviser to the Liberian Government, is expected to present his report in October.—"The Times."

How Mr. Jones, Negro Editor, Proposes to 'Save' Liberia

Daily Worker 8-31-34 New York, N.Y.

Haywood Declares Plan Would Tighten Grip of Wall Street

By HARRY HAYWOOD

I.

Mr. William N. Jones, one of the editors of the Baltimore Afro-American, in an article appearing in his paper (Aug. 11) takes sharp issue with the Communist estimate of his so-called "Save-Liberia movement." That estimate was made in detail in my report to the Eighth Convention of the Communist Party. (This report was later published in pamphlet form under the title "The Road to Negro Liberation.")

It will be recalled that in this report the plan of Mr. Jones known as the Liberian-American Plan of Co-operation was characterized as an instrument of American imperialism, calculated to tighten the grip of Wall Street and Harvey Firestone on the Liberian people.

Mr. Jones takes vigorous exception to what he terms the "careless statements" which I make concerning his co-operation with George Padmore, expelled renegade from Communism. Jones admits, however, the essential facts: That he had a lengthy conversation with Padmore, and that he and Mr. Padmore agreed quite well on the question of Liberia. He makes much of the fact that this discussion took place, **not, as I said, while he was on his way from Liberia to America, but instead while he was on his way from America to Liberia. Now what possible difference can it make to the Liberian masses whether the plans for their betrayal were made on Mr. Jones' trip there of on Mr. Jones' trip home?**

Mr. Jones—"Revolutionary Marxist"

Mr. Jones in his article hotly denies that his plan is against the interests of the Liberian masses. He denies that the plan is "in any way linked up with imperialism." He denies that it represents a retreat from the program of revolutionary struggle, or that it means, in practice, support for American imperialism and its native hangers-on. He denies also that as far as the American Negroes are concerned, it is a new and more subtle edition of Garvey's Back-to-Africa program.

But this is not all. Mr. Jones not only denies all these accusations—but he actually lays claim to being a Marxist. "I am a Marxist," he says, "and believe in revolutionary struggle." But in the same breath, Mr. Jones, with apparent naivete, would have us believe that his Save-Liberia scheme has no connection with politics, whether imperialist of Communist. Oh no, his plan is merely an "emergency measure backed by a group of friends of Liberia," who have as their sole motive "to save it (Liberia) in a grave and impending emergency."

Having made this "defense," Mr. Jones now takes the offensive against his Communist critics. He attempts to divert the question from his own desertion of the struggle for the liberation of the Negro people, by a "subtle" attack on the Communist Party. Thus Mr. Jones will have us know that although a "revolutionary Marxist," friendly to Communism, and having "respect" for at least "some of the principles of the Communist Party and even some of its leaders," (!) he emphatically rejects what he calls the "goose-step tactics" of the Communist leaders in this country. These tactics, he goes on to say, "make it necessary to dot every 'i' and cross every 't' with Moscow ideology." Mr. Jones **will not be bound by what he would,** no doubt, term the "dictation of Moscow."

Brushing aside for the time being—because space will not allow us to deal with them in this article—the slanderous implications of this statement, we comment now only upon the gist of Mr. Jones' assertions, which are in effect that he will not accept the guidance and decisions of the world leadership of the revolutionary movement, the Communist International.

"Independent" Mr. Jones

"The very freedom," continues Mr. Jones, "which motivates me in not being a slave to the Republican and Democratic parties, when they fail to represent my ideal, would keep me from being a **slave to the Communist Party or any other Party.**" Mr. Jones, the "revolutionary Marxist," further stipulates that he does "not believe that Communism is the last word in human relations. There will come some day even better some day than even the **dictatorship of the proletariat, as administered by Stalin.** When it comes, if I were living, I would not hesitate to turn from Communism to it. In other words, **I shall never be a slave to any party.**" (My emphasis.—H. H.)

We have at the moment no time to analyze all the confusion contained in these statements of Mr. Jones. Let us rather get down to the issues involved in the immediate controversy—that is, to the question of Liberia.

Mr. Jones innocently claims that his only motive is to save Liberia. Now this problem of saving Liberia is one in which we Communists are vitally concerned. But **for whom** to save Liberia. For the money lords of Wall Street? Or for the Liberian masses? That is the question.

Mr. Jones lays claim to being a "revolutionary Marxist." Mr. Jones should then know that it is contingent upon a Marxist, in the Leninist sense, to be independent of all parties and classes, from which he feels himself happily detached. Mr. Jones is an independent man! Let us examine this "non-partisan" position. Let us see where Mr. Jones lines up on the question of Liberia. Is it true that Mr. Jones' plan has no connection with politics? That its sponsors are motivated solely by the noble and humane desire to save Liberia? Mr. Jones makes much ado about his "political independence." He will not "be a slave to any Party." From this sublime state of imagined independence, Mr. Jones looks down upon the vulgar strife of parties and classes, from which he feels himself happily detached. Mr. Jones is an independent man! Let us examine this "non-partisan" position. Let us see where

Class Forces in Liberia

What is the alignment of class forces in the Liberian situation? There are:

1. The imperialist powers—American imperialism, represented mainly by Harvey Firestone, which at present controls the chief economic and financial resources of the country. We have also British and French imperialism, striving—through the League of Nations—to expand their interests in Liberia and increase their share of the plunder.

2. The native upper classes—the small capitalists, occupied chiefly as traders, plantation owners and government officials, aligned with the native chiefs. These classes are represented by the Barclay Government in Monrovia. Their role is that of local policemen, slave-driver, land-thief and recruiter of forced labor for American and other imperialist interests in Liberia.

3. The toiling masses, the indigenous population numbering about 2,000,000, the overwhelming majority in Liberia, suffering under the cruelest yoke of the imperialist slave-drivers and their native lackeys.

Such is the present relationship of class forces in the so-called "Independent Republic of Liberia." Is it not clear that without revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of America and all foreign imperialism, together with their native henchmen, there can be no talk about the freedom of Liberia? Is it not likewise clear that the only force able to carry through this fight are the native toilers, the colonial slaves, who have already engaged in heroic and stubborn struggles against the system of colonial plunder and slavery, the robbery of the native lands, the crushing taxes, the humiliating pass-laws? It is in the hands of these native toilers, supported by the revolutionary movement throughout the world, that the salvation of Liberia rests.

This program of revolutionary struggle by the toiling masses, against foreign imperialism and its native agents, flows out of any honest and realistic examination of the Liberian situation. It is clear that any plan for saving Liberia must first of all give unconditional support to this heroic struggle of the Liberian toilers.

Plan Aids Imperialists

Does the Liberian-American Plan, fathered by Jones and Padmore, fulfill this requirement? Does the plan call for unconditional support of the native toilers of Liberia in their struggle for freedom? Does it call for an uncompromising fight against foreign imperialism? In a word, will this plan, if put into practice, save Liberia for the Liberian masses?

The answer is that the Liberian-American Plan is designed to bolster up a corrupt and tottering native government, whose interests are bound up with the interests of the foreign slave-drivers. The plan plays into the hands of the American imperialists. The plan would tighten the chains of slavery more cruelly upon the Liberian toilers. And by creating illusions about the possible solution of the Negro question in America through Utopian schemes of economic advancement on the African continent, the plan —in this respect a subtle edition of Garveyism — tends to divert the masses of American Negroes from revolutionary struggle against their oppressors.

These contentions we shall prove in tomorrow's article.

LIBERIA TO BE SAVED

Following the public announcement that Secretary of State Hull is giving his personal attention to the solving of Liberian problems, Mrs. Roosevelt, a few evenings ago in a radio talk on current topics, referred to America's traditional interest in the little African republic and the League of Nation's present desire to delegate to the United States the delicate task of putting Liberia on its economic feet and the introduction of needy reforms.

Sympathetic and clear-cut expressions emanating from the White House and the Department of State that the United States Government is in a mood to assume the responsibility of providing Liberia with a comprehensive reconstruction program is heartening to friends of Liberia in America. Doubtless the greatest rejoicing is among Americo-Liberians and aborigines, who regard this country as their friend and protector, and who throughout the crisis have voiced the conviction that if Liberia was to be saved and its political integrity preserved it would be through the initiative and unselfish endeavors of the United States.

It is said that Secretary Hull will be guided in his future movements by the report submitted by Harry A. McBride, his capable assistant, who has just returned from Monrovia where he conducted a thorough investigation of the situation. There is no denying that Liberia is in a bad way and the sooner it receives assistance the better. The next important step after the United States formulates a practical plan will be that of supervision. Here is where Liberian cooperation will be most essential; for unless there is complete accord between high government officials at Monrovia and those entrusted to carry out the administrative features of the program, the economic, sanitary and sociological conditions of the country will undergo but little improvement. However, if reports are true that the Liberian Government is greatly desirous of American assistance, the team-work so vital to ultimate accomplishment is anticipated.

Thanks to the Roosevelt Administration, the U. S. Marines have been withdrawn from Haiti, that country has been provided with a financial system more to its liking, and the economic rehabilitation of the Virgin Islands is assured. Hearkening to insistent and oft-repeated demands from near and afar, the administration at Washington now sponsors another humanitarian undertaking of particular and deep concern to colored Americans—that of saving Liberia! It is hoped that rapprochement between the United States and Liberia, for the latter's well-being, will come in the near future.

EDUCATOR TO PRESS PROGRAM IN LIBERIA

Samuel B. Coles sailed last Friday for Liberia to take charge of extension and educational services at the Booker Washington Agricultural and Industrial Institute at Kakata, fifty miles from Monrovia.

He took with him a considerable amount of machinery for building and agricultural operations. Mr. Coles was born in Alabama, attended Snow Hill Institute and is a graduate of Talladega College. For ten years he rendered valuable service as a missionary educator with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, and was stationed at Angola, West Africa.

Race Problem - 1934

Africa

Liberia

Liberia Today and Tomorrow

Afro American

~~2-4-34~~ 2-3-34

Liberian Natural Resources

By WM. N. JONES

EDITOR'S NOTE:—This the fifth of a series of twelve articles on the Liberian situation as observed by Mr. Jones, who spent several weeks recently on a good-will tour to and in Liberia as a representative of the AFRO-AMERICAN.

Can the Republic of Liberia support itself, pay its public debt and institute a program of internal development?

This is a question which both the Liberian officials and the experts of the League of Nations answer in the affirmative. The difference in their answers, however, is that the Liberian officials and most of the Liberian people believe that it can be done with Liberians in control of the government machinery, while the League of Nations experts, including the present U.S. State Department, believe it can be done only under white administrative control.

National Resources

This brings us naturally to Liberia's national resources, her present and future financial programs. For it is around these that any future plan must be built.

Liberia's main exportable products are palm kernels, palm oil, piassava and coffee. African rice is exportable and there are undeveloped possibilities in fruits, woods and minerals. Cattle growing must await a long development owing to certain destructive insects which would have to be eradicated, not only in Liberia, but in her bordering sections.

Baltimore Md.

But the possibilities of the soil are almost unlimited. If one sticks a freshly cut piece of wood in the ground it will develop roots and grow. Poultry and dairy production can be developed, but the present native African chicken is a smaller bird than the more highly developed species. With a long shore line there could be developed a profitable fishing industry. In fact the Kroo people, who follow more than any other tribe, the fishing industry, possess the largest per capita amounts of money.

Seventy years ago Liberia was listed in official tables of the United States Government, itself, as the 18th in importance among 60 countries with which this country had commercial relations. At the present time the trade between Liberia and the United States is practically nil. At that time the Liberian traders controlled forty-five vessels due to the importance of their export and import trade.

Liberia's coffee production reached at one time more than 4,000,000 pounds yearly. Her trade with the United States alone once went above the $2,000,000 mark.

~~2-4-34~~ 2-3-34

Controlled Industry

A more interesting observation is that twenty-five years ago there were but three European firms listed as doing resident business in Monrovia. At that time there were eight Liberians conducting representative businesses.

But today the proportion is just reversed. A large percentage of the retail and barter trade throughout the republic is done by white men sent down by European firms. No one can blame the white European firms, but if there is sufficient profitable business in Liberia to attract white Europeans to come down there and bring their families as many of them do, it certainly should be attractive to American citizens who gave Liberia its birth.

Sugar Loafs

In looking over some old records in Monrovia I was surprised to find that in 1866 Liberia produced more than 575,000 pounds of sugar and a large amount of cotton. On one sugar farm on the St. Paul River a man named Sharpe produced alone 120,000 pounds of sugar in that year.

But practically all of the sugar used in Liberia today is imported. The cotton industry has been reduced practically to no importance, and one finds natives far up into the interior using compressed sugar lumps made in some American or European refinery.

Melting Pot

But the fact that there have been efficient leaders in both government and industry in Liberia is the hope of the country. What has happened has not been deliberate degeneracy, but the lack of new blood to take the place of that swallowed up by the impact of native culture.

The Americo-Liberians have been thinning themselves out by inter-marriage and by the terrific demands of the struggle to build the country. They have had to compete with nations who could put millions into internal development of their provinces. Without a constant stream of new blood it will be only a matter of time when the Americo-Liberian will be completely lost in the African melting pot.

The one essential, therefore, to any future development of the country, is manpower assistance. Liberia needs money, but she needs more brains, more trained men and women. Under present conditions these cannot be produced fast enough by purely internal production. Her educational institutions are inadequate for the job. They must come from outside and Liberia must be willing to accept and cooperate with outside help, if the republic is to exist.

And, it seems to me, this gives us in America an unusual opportunity. All white nations are sending their young men and women to Africa to get their share of its wealth. Not only do we need the wealth, but we need the activities the getting of such wealth involves for our full development. Too, the United States Government cannot afford to miss a chance at keeping an open door to Liberian trade and what would be more appropriate than to stimulate our 14,000,000 citizens here, who by reason of blood, can make quicker and more substantial inroads, to develop a vast African trade.

Widen Horizon

Then we could develop and use our engineers, our super-business and industry. We could build shipping lines, great warehouse projects and wholesale industries which would give thousands of young men and women here outlets in the higher brackets, so generally denied to us now.

At present Liberia's greatest need is roads and a harbor. Some of her leaders, like Thomas J. Faulkner, believe she needs railroads, but it seems to me that three fast auto and truck roads running from the coast towns of Monrovia, Grand Bassa and Robertsport to the border, cut my two lateral roads across the country, would lay the foundation for the best internal development.

Due to the depression, the internal development of the republic has been halted. For the most of this time Liberia's fiscal policy has been built upon borrowing and upon import duty money as set off against export products. Mostly has she depended upon getting from time to time additional loans.

From August, 1932 to August 1933, Liberian imports amounted to $701,859.72. Exports were $688,753.15. Now let's go back a little. In 1913 Liberia exported $1,288,915. Long before the depression in 1917 these exports had fallen to $618,536. Away back in 1862 her exports amounted to $2,062,723. So that it must be frankly admitted that the republic has not always been under the guidance of equally efficient administrations.

Instead of the League of Nations proposal which saddles an additional $150,000 yearly upon the country, I believe it would pay the American group to provide this money, use most of it for internal development and the sending of young men and women from this country to help develop affairs there.

President Barclay and other leaders have gone on record favoring such a proposition.

Liberia should not depend upon her palm oil, coffee, cola nuts and piassava alone. She should raise and manufacture cotton and sugar products, especially preserved fruits. She should establish a furniture industry, for she could put on any market the finest grades of furniture cheaper than any nation outside of Africa. Her hardwoods are especially adapted to fine furniture making, since woods that can stand the African climate would be double-lived in any other country.

But, as I have said, the key to all of this is additional trained manpower. This manpower should come from America.

LOUISVILLE, KY.
COURIER JOURNAL
MAR 8 1934

LIBERIA SEEKS RECOGNITION

The little Negro republic of Liberia—the only long-established Government not recognized by the United States—is now seeking to restore commercial and diplomatic relations. It is not making an open bid as yet. It is going in a somewhat roundabout way. It is knocking at the door of the Firestone Rubber Company and seeking a discussion on its long defaulted debt with the American corporation preparatory to negotiations with Government officials.

Liberia's status is different from that of most countries. It was established with the aid of the United States to provide a home for freed slaves and to offer a haven from slavery. It has become one of the few places in the world where slavery is openly practiced. The descendants of the American Negroes prey upon the native tribes and the country is bankrupt socially, financially and from the standpoint of general health.

The League of Nation's Council has sought to aid the little country and last year it proposed an international commission to take over its affairs. As the result of a protest from the Liberians the United States withdrew its demand that its representative hold the purse strings of the republic. It declared in favor of any impartial outside administration that would prohibit slavery, combat malaria and smallpox and put the republic's treasury on its feet. Liberia, however, made reservations that would nullify the efforts of the Council, and now seeks the aid of the United States.

Ordinarily recognition is based solely on the questions whether the Government seeking relations with this country represents a substantial part of the population and is able to guarantee stability. Liberia, however, is a quasi ward of the United States. It stands convicted before the world. The nations at Geneva have sought to help it to attain a position of respectability. It is seeking American recognition in an effort to frustrate the good offices of the Council

U. S. State Department Requested To Resume Diplomatic Relations With The Republic Of Liberia

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Representatives of the Foreign Mission Boards of the National Baptist Convention, Inc., National Baptist Convention of America and Lott Carey Baptist Convention, A. M. E. and A. M. E. Zion Churches, Methodist Episcopal ,Protestant Episcopal and Lutheran Churches, and other friends of Liberia, held a roundtable conference on the Liberian crisis at the Twelfth Street Branch of the Y. M. C. A., Wednesday, February 7.

The conference was sponsored by secretaries of the four colored foreign mission boards doing work in Liberia—Dr. J. E. East, Dr. H. T. Medford, Dr. J. H. Randolph and Dr. L. I. Berry. Dr. East presided. Religious leaders were present from every section of the counry except the Far East.

For informational purposes, representatives of white organizations familiar with conditions in Liberia were invited to attend. Among those to take part were Henry L. West, president of the American Colonization Society; Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Educational Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund; Harvey S. Firestone jr., of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company; Dr. Thomas F. Donough of the Methodist Episcopal Foreign Board; George G. Wolkins of the Trustees of Donations, Boston, and the Rev. H. A. Donovan of the Protestant Episcopal Foreign Board.

Other speakers were Bishop W. W. Matthews of the A. M. E. Zion Church,, the Rev. W. H. Jernagin, the Rev. Walter H. Brooks, Dr. Emmett J. Scott and Dr. Ernest Lyon, Liberian Consul General in the United States.

Following the withdrawal of the white participants, the conference discussed and adopted a statement which has been presented to Secretary Hull of the State Department by a delegation composed of secretaries of the four colored foreign mission boards, Dr. Emmett J. Scott and Miss Nannie H. Burroughs.

The statement follows:

1. That the Government of the United States be urged to resume diplomatic relations with the Republic of Liberia.

2. That the League of Nations Plan of Assistance to Liberia in her present crisis be thoroughly considered in the light and spirit of Liberia's reservations, and that the Liberian Government be urged to do every thing possible to regain the traditional interest and support of the American Government.

a. (The "reservations" here referred to are those that may not have been considered by the League of Nations.)

b. (It was the general feeling of the conference that the acceptance of the plan as it may finally be approved by the League of Nations after consideration of reservations adopted by the Liberian Legislature January 12, 1934, is essential to the political independence and stability of Liberia and its economic and social progress.

c. (Further, it was the feeling of the conference that the appointment of an American Advisor will greatly contribute to the restoration of the traditional interest and support of the American people, who have been Liberia's main dependence during all the years of her history.

3. That in view of the large interests in Liberia of men and money invested by the respective foreign boards, channels of communication be kept open so that the missionary effort remain under the guidance of America influence.

4. It is recommended that representatives of the Liberian Government now en route to America be invited into conference by the abovementioned boards so that relationships of goodwill may be continued.

Finally, it is recommended that representatives of the respective boards seek to convey to Negro public opinion in America and to all right-thinking Americans and to the Liberian Government, an earnest desire to help preserve the sovereignty and autonomy of Liberia. It is our earnest desire that there be resumed the historical relationships of confidence between the U. S. Department of State and the Government of Liberia. Liberia was founded as a colony for freed American Negroes by the American Colonization Society in 1822. Our Government, therefore, has a day and responsibility which cannot be evaded. Liberia also has a duty and responsibility to maintain a stable government which will command the respect of the powers of the world.

SAVE THE LEAGUE PLAN.

The latest official information from Geneva is that the Council of the League of Nations will consider any new reservations submitted by the Liberian Government at the May session and that unless an agreement is then reached all negotiations will positively come to an end.

It would be nothing short of a calamity if the three years of inquiry and deliberations were to prove fruitless and all for naught. Liberia would find herself exactly in the same critical position as when she applied to the League of Nations for assistance. Certainly, it would redound more to the credit of the League of Nations if its efforts to give the Negro republic a comprehensive, practicable rehabilitation program spelt success rather than a failure.

The New York Age refuses to view the present impasse with abject pessimism. More complex and momentous international problems have been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. If the United States, Great Britain and France, acting in concert, initiate a determined endeavor to iron out the chief points at issue, the curtain undoubtedly will be rung down on the drama at Geneva, in which Liberia is the central figure, with a happy ending.

The sincerity of the League of Nations to give Liberia a workable plan of assistance, one which will enable it to carry out much needed reforms, cannot be questioned. The Liberian Government has asked for aid and frankly admits same will gladly be accepted. The chief bone of contention appears to be Liberia's suspicions and fears that in the new scheme of things its autonomy and sovereignty are in jeopardy. Surely the United States, Great Britain and France can bridge this objection and convince the Liberian people that the League of Nations is going to give the country a pilot and not a dictator.

At the conference on the Liberian crisis held at Washington in February under the auspices of secretaries of the four colored foreign mission boards doing work in Liberia, it was the sentiment of this representative gathering of church leaders that Liberia's interest would best be conserved by the naming of an American as Chief Advisor. This is a true index of what the masses of colored Americans think on what was unnecessarily agitated last summer into a moot question.

The League Plan of Assistance should not be permitted to die. It must be saved to save Liberia. This responsibility is chiefly that of the United States, Great Britain and France, who working cooperatively and understandingly, can and will achieve the desired results.

THE SITUATION IN LIBERIA.

Coming Debate in the House of Lords.

The situation in Liberia is causing a good deal of concern to Governments interested in the subject.

The Committee appointed by the League of Nations prepared a plan for the economic and social administrative reform of the Republic, which, it was believed, all parties would accept. Unfortunately the Liberian Government has demanded limitations in the scope of the plan which will certainly prevent its application. In view of this situation, the following motion has been placed upon the Order Paper of the House of Lords for April 18 by the Rt. Hon. Lord Meston:—

"To ask His Majesty's Government whether they have any information they can give to the House in reference to the position in Liberia. and to move for Papers."

Race Problem -1934

Liberia

Africa.

One Million Acres Of Rubber Producing Land Acquired By U. S. Firestone Interests

Writer Discloses "Pawn System" In Vogue In Many Parts of Africa Under European Rule

By L. G. JORDAN

Sect. Emeritus-Historian, National Bapt. Convention, N.B.C.

Back in 1824 a "Back to Africa" movement grew among Negroes whose freedom had been secured in divers ways. Some fresh from the chase by hounds were still smarting from the lash, others were encouraged by white friends as a precaution against runaways and uprisings among slaves who might long for freedom.

They went to West Africa, preferring to risk the perils of jungle fever, venomous serpents, ferocious beasts, and even the hostile savages who would be their neighbors rather than endure the chains of American slavery.

The country they settled, Liberia, lived as an independent republic for 100 years, ostensibly under the protection of the United States and with the capital city, Monrovia, named in honor of an American president. Soon after the close of the World War, the little Black Republic found herself in dire need of funds to make the improvements and meet the demands of the enlarged vision of life's civic and social status which confronted all nations as an aftermath of that dreadful conflict.

On tentative promise, Liberia sent her President, C. D. B. King, to the American capital, asking for a loan of $5,000,000. With Liberia's potential and unlimited natural resources it should have been easy to secure this comparatively small sum, but it was not.

LOANS FAIL

Over on one pretext or another she was put off, and up to the present the loan has not materialized. Shortly then after America woke to the consciousness of an alarming situation. The machine age had come to stay and rubber was indispensable, but Great Britain had a corner on the rubber market.

Secure in possession of a practical monopoly on the raw product, Sir Winston Churchill is reported as saying: "One of our principal means of paying our debt to the United States is in the provision of rubber." Great Britian then proceeded to make the most of her advantage.

When the current market for rubber was fourteen cents a pound, an Act of Parliament established an official "fair price" of thirty-six cents a pound. This was later increased to forty-two and forty-eight cents, and ultimately climbed in July, 1925 to $1.25 a pound. Meantime Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, has startled this nation with his warning that if England continues in this intrenched monopoly she will be able to collect all she owes the United States as a war debt from the United States herself.

At this time the United States was consuming three-fourths of all the rubber produced—with an ever-expanding demand. Each time rubber was advanced a penny a pound, it cost the American people $8,000,000

During the six years of British monopoly the American total bill for rubber amounted to $1, 250,000,000 more than it would have been had the market continued at fourteen cents, the price current at the time the disturbing Act became effective

RUBBER HUNTERS

What was to be done? Indignant and resentful of what seemed an imposition, three of America's most gifted sons turned rubber hunters Thomas Edison established laboratories in New Jersey and in Florida, and though, at the time he began, experimenting was over seventy-nine years of age, for six years he worked night and day with plants and chemicals in search of rubber-producing substances. Henry Ford rushes an expensive expedition to Brazil, native home of the finest variety of rubber; Harvey Firestone turns to Liberia. The Black Republic proved to be a friend in need

Firestone published the welcome news that the Firestone Rubber Farms in Liberia could furnish all the rubber necessary to "tire" every vehicle in the country. This was a relief to the patriots who had been considering the danger that in an emergency the rubber supply could be seriously curtailed, if not instantly shut off. They said: "Remember we have only enough rubber in warehouses to operate 24,000,000 vehicles three to six months. While there is a floating cargo of rubber constantly on the way that must be transported ten thousand miles or further, any one of a half-dozen foreign powers could check this movement and soon stop the wheels of our motor transports."

But Firestone had achieved his triumph by leasing for 99 years exactly one million acres of rubber-producing lands in Liberia. Her friends now claim that the United States ought to stand by her in the light in which she now finds herself confronted before the League of Nations with the charge that slavery is practiced in her borders.

It is the British representative who most loudly clamors for her extinction, and the member of Parliament who was most vehement in his denunciation of Liberia had himself been haled before the courts in London for cruelty to natives in Nigeria. *It so happened that this writer was in London at the time the case was being tried.*

Two native lawyers of Nigeria represented the plaintiffs, two native women whose sole offense being that they crossed this official's yard as a short cut, were stripped of their clothing, tied up and severely flogged in the presence of men and boys, by order of the very man who who demanded that Liberia be wiped out of existence because she was accused of encouraging the slave trade.

The official was whitewashed —and though the two Negro lawyers put up a splendid fight, they lost the case, but after all a mighty victory was won in that the Prime Minister of England in consequence of the facts revealed during the trial, issued a proclamation that thenceforth all flogging of natives should cease in any part of the world where the British flag floats. Far be it from us to condone cruelty or oppression of the weak by the strong, but Liberia's friends are asking why Liberia should be singled out for punishment when the deplorable "pawn system" has been and still is widely prevalent in many parts of Africa under European rule.

It appears that only in Liberia it is seen so plainly that representatives from equally guilty countries hold up hypocritical hands in holy horror and protest her unfit to be included in the family of the nations. Thoughtful American Negroes should study carefully the records of barbarities and atrocities practiced on natives in all parts of the continent and endeavor to understand why Liberia should be singled out for attack. Much as we condemn any sort of injustice or inhumanity towards helpless sufferers, a few questions rise in the minds of Liberia's friends, questions which like Banquo's ghost, "will not down:"

1. Why cannot Liberia receive the help from the U. S. A. that will enable her to remedy conditions within her borders?

2. Does not the contribution Liberia made to the American people in the crisis of rubber shortage render this country her debtor for all time to come?

3. Why should not the great industrial organization Liberia has admitted to operate on her land take an emphatic stand for fair play and justice towards the little republic which shelters it?

Race Problem - 1934 I

Asia

WASHINGTON, D. C.
POST

MAY 13 1934

China's Republic a Failure, Japan Best Guide, Says Envoy Saito

Finds Unrest In Far East World Peril

Ambassador Thinks War of Chinese Factions Must Be Quelled.

Points to Investments of Japan as Cause for Action.

By James Martin Miller.

His Excellency Hiroshi Saito, the new Japanese Ambassador to the United States, spent an hour with me this week, during which he discussed some recent tendencies and events in Asiatic and world affairs. My questions were not sent him in advance. He answered them quickly with absolute frankness and patience.

Sometimes statesmen of the Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic or Latin races become vexed when questions are propounded to them they think too "leading." Never does the Oriental resent any kind of interrogation. He smiles graciously, and offers you a 50-cent Embassy cigar. Particularly is this attitude true of the trained diplomats of the most modern, progressive, and civilized of all Oriental nations, Japan.

Mr. Saito made little more than a passing reference to the recent declaration of Japan concerning that country's new policy in China, which has disturbed the leading nations for a fortnight. Eliminating most of my questions, I can quote the Ambassador as follows:

United States Model for Republics.

"The United States is the model Republic, or democracy, of the world. In the century and a half of its existence it has increased its population more than 40 times and has become the richest and most powerful nation of the world. Monarchies and kingdoms in Europe, in South America and former colonial islands such as Cuba have in comparatively recent years become republics, and have had serious troubles. Most of these republics have copied very closely the Constitution of the United States. Some years before the World War China set up a republic, then another and another. The people of the United States have proven themselves capable of what is called 'self-government.' But have China, Cuba and some others that are trying to be republics?

"The people of the Western democracies applauded and praised China without stint when she became a 'free country with the rule of its people in true democratic fashion.' For some 30 years now China has been a republic and a government in name only. The noble experiment' of that unhappy country has resulted only in disastrous chaos. It has not only destroyed the peace of China's own people, but the conditions there have been a thorn in the flesh of its nearest neighbor nations, have constantly disturbed the peace of the entire world and caused friction between the great nations of the earth.

Conditions in China Growing Worse.

"No doubt China, or any other nation, has the right to have the kind of government it desires, whether the form of government be a republic or a kingdom. But nearly a third of a century of internal warfare between factions of that country of 400,000,000 people would seem to be enough, with conditions becoming worse rather than better.

"Not only Japan but other countries view the situation in that light. No nation would be happier than Japan in seeing peace and prosperity in China. For many years Japan has had, and now has, extensive investments in China in the way of industrial and financial establishments. Our losses have been very great because of the turmoil there. In addition to this the situation keeps the peace of Japan and our neighboring countries in a constant foment, as I have pointed out.

"In the United States, the people of your Southern States have always claimed that the people of the Northern States do not understand the Negro and that the Southern people do understand them and therefore know better how to get along with the Negro race than they do in the North. The South has had far more experience with them, they claim.

"Japan, as a government and as a people, has had closer contacts with the Chinese people than any other people in the world. Perhaps no one will deny this. Now I am going to hazard the statement that Japan and our people, because of our traditional contacts with them, and because of racial similarity, understand the Chinese people and their idiosyncrasies far better than any other race or nation. Japan has no designs on the sovereignity of China.

"The world should know, by this time, the reasons why we were forced to act as we did in Manchuria, with its 34,000,000 population menaced by banditry and warfare. Our own property there was destroyed and peaceful occupations were impossible. Our treaty rights and established interests were constantly and flagrantly violated. The Chinese inhabitants, for the most part, welcomed us. We established an orderly government there. Since the establishment of a new Manchukuo government some two years ago, Chinese inhabitants from the mainland of their country have poured into that country at the rate of approximately 1,000,000 a year. At present they have employment and peace in the new, orderly Kingdom of Manchukuo.

"The United States is the only republic in the world that was established with and on raw material, so to speak. It started with some 3,000,000 rugged colonists, and almost the entire country, from sea to sea, was a vast and unknown wilderness. As it was explored and its vast expanses became known and added to by acquisition and conquest, it was found to contain resources more valuable than those possessed in any land of the earth in all history.

More Prosperity Here Than Elsewhere.

"Your prosperity and contentment in the United States has never been approached, perhaps, by any nation in the annals of all history. True, at the present time you, with all the rest of the countries of the world, are having some vicissitudes, but that is just a passing phase. At the same time, your troubles are, without a doubt, less than those of any other nation. The people of the United States are today far better off than were those in many other nations in their most prosperous years.

"Nearly all the other republics of the world were founded upon the ruins of monarchies, some of them with the traditions of thousands of years as stumbling blocks. That is why I have just said that your Republic was founded on and with raw material. You had no traditions in the sense I mean. For the most part, what 'royalists' you had left after the War of the Revolution left the New England States and settled in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the 'Old Country.' As nearly as humans could those of your forefathers left in the thirteen original States pulled together as one happy family, with a minimum of dissensions among the hardy forefathers in their task of building this great Nation.

"My contacts with statesmen and other thinking men in this and other countries, as I listen to their views often outspokenly expressed, make me wonder if there is a formidable tide of public sentiment, and a growing one, that the democratic form of government, or 'the absolute rule of the people,' has proven such governments unwieldy and inefficient, with some of them downright failures. Besides I hear it stated that republics, or democracies, are much more extravagant than kingdoms or monarchies.

"Perhaps Europe never had a more striking example of an efficient, prosperous and happy government than the imperial government of Germany which endured and progressed so long a time before the World War. This with the possible exception of Great Britain.

"Perhaps there were no more contented, patriotic and happy people in the world than the strong and intelligent citizens of the mighty German empire. Their only trouble was that a portion of their people were laboring under misguided ambitions and aims. Japan did not want to join in the unfortunate World War, but we entered into it to protect our interests in the Pacific and our merchant marine encircling the globe, and to live up to our alliance with Great Britain.

Did Not Fight For Democracy.

"We never claimed we went into it to 'save democracy.' An impartial study of any war-like moves on our part would, I think, convince any government or individual that Japan has been patient and long suffering and will never have war unless we are forced into it for our protection and self-preservation. It is unfortunate if there are doubters who will question such a statement.

"Some of the governments of central Europe, including recently set up republics, have supplanted the rule of their kings and presidents, as well as their parliaments, with dictators who are more despotic than any king or monarch ever was. Besides, these nations are imbued with Nazism, Facism and Communism. The propaganda from these countries has been extended to most of the countries of the world, particularly to the democracies, and is threatening their very existence. We can but feel thankful that Japan is free from this kind of propaganda and pro-

poses to remain unmolested by it.

"The 'Republic' of China has tens of millions of Communists, constituting one of the gravest menaces in that unhappy country. It is unthinkable that the United States, Great Britain or France would relish seeing China adopt the Soviet system, if it is a system. And there is very great danger confronting China in this respect.

"Do John Bull and Uncle Sam want to see a Communistic China? For the preservation of the civilized world, and of China itself, Communism in that country should be dealt with. And the only way to do this is to help China establish a stabilized and safe-for-the-world government. I do not mean to say that Japan proposes to do this or that my nation contemplates establishing a sort of 'Monroe Doctrine' in the Orient. I am simply pointing this out as a warning to the great and powerful nations as to what is very likely to happen if matters in China drift along as they have been doing these many years.

Republics Foster Dangerous "Isms."

"Permit me to make the observation here that the monarchies of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, like Japan, are not as favorable fields for the propaganda of Communism, Nazism and Fascism as the republics, and those countries with dictators, who themselves have introduced these 'isms' into their countries. These 'isms' constitute a supergovernment and are supreme over all and are proving to be the most despotic governments the world has ever seen.

"Some believe these 'isms,' born of the World War, are simply epidemics, as the measles and mumps in children, and that they will, in time, run their course and disappear when the world becomes normal. But such diseases as measles and mumps must be treated and quarantined lest they spread to others and prove fatal to their victims."

In answer to other questions, Mr. Saito added:

"Women in Japan do not vote; they are the home makers and the real mothers of their children. We have the Conservative and the Liberal political parties. There is a Socialist party but it is insignificant. We have no Communism, nor Nazism or Fascism in Japan. We have freedom of the press. There is comparatively little crime in our country. It is dealt with severely."

[illegible] people have often [illegible] became a modern [illegible] our Commodore [illegible] years ago, [illegible] civilization [illegible]

country,'" I observed.

Learned From Western World.

"Yes," the ambassador replied, "we have profited enormously through our contact with Western civilization. We have learned modern sciences, modern forms of government, and modern arts of warfare. We have created a modern army and navy, fashioned after those of America and other Christian nations. Many in your country and in Europe praised us for this when we slaughtered and maimed a hundred thousand or so of Chinese in the war around the Gulf of Pichili in 1895, and then again in 1904 and 1905 in what has been called our successful war with Russia. You praised us as a nation of the first magnitude and proudly said: 'We taught Japan how to build up an army and navy. We told Japan how to do it.' In the same breath, almost, when the good people of Europe and America thought the wars had gone far enough you demanded that they stop in the name of humanity.

"Up to about this time we were rated a second class nation, with only a minister exchanged with the principal countries of the world, as China has to this day. After these wars we were rated a nation of the first class and the Christian nations exchanged ambassadors with us. It is claimed that it was the example of the Western nations which prompted Japan to build up its army and navy from nothing at the beginning. After we progressed this much toward adopting the 'Western standards of civilization' the nations of Europe and America expressed great fear of us when there was and is really no reason for it. I repeat, no nation desires peace more than Japan."

Japan Best Guide for Asia.

"How would it appeal to you, Mr. Saito, to establish a joint commission representing the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan to go to China with the consent of the heads of different factions in China to bring that country out of chaos and help China to organize a stable and civilized government?"

Mr. Saito answered by putting a counter question: "Would the United States consider favorably a scheme of setting up a joint commission composed of representatives of a group of leading nations to handle matters in Cuba or Nicaragua? It is always a mistake, to my mind, to intrust a solution of an important local question to a group of nations having widely different degrees of interests involved. Distant nations are apt to give apathetic and doctrinal opinions, disregarding real actualities."

H. U. PROFESSOR AND WIFE AMONG 4 TO GO TO INDIA

Washington Post 7-26-35

Quartet to Lecture in Colleges and Schools of Asiatic Country

The Christian Student Movement of the colleges and universities of India have requested of the American Student Movement that they send a group of Negro representatives to lecture in their colleges.

The National Student Councils of the YWCA and YMCA, have answered the request by selecting four colored Americans who will be sent in the fall of 1935. The tour will be financed by the Student Movements of the United States and India.

The request is distinctive and significant, in that it is the first of its kind to come from one of the national movements affiliated with the World's Student Christian Federation.

The person selected to be chairman of the group is Howard Thurman, associate professor of Christian Theology, and chairman of the committee on Religious Life, Howard University.

With Mr. Thurman will be associated Mrs. Howard Thurman (Sue Bailey), Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, and Edward Carroll of Baltimore.

Mrs. Thurman, a graduate of Oberlin College, was for two years an instructor of music in the Teachers' College of Hampton and general secretary of the Student YWCA.

Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton who has been on the staff of LeMoyne College, is the wife of the dean of the college and is a graduate of Atlanta and Ohio State Universities.

Edward Carroll is a graduate of Morgan College and of the Yale Divinity School. He is the pastor of the Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church of Salem, Virginia, and instructor in the Addison High School, Roanoke, Virginia.

Race problem - 1934 II

Asia

Japan understands Asia as no Western nation can, according to His Excellency Hiroshi Saito (right), Ambassador to the United States. Above are Japanese settlers on the march into Manchuria.

Asia's Peace Is Her Goal, He Declares

Western Nations Can Not Solve Problems of Yellow Race.

Close Ties Exist Between Japanese and Chinese.

Race Problem - 1934

Asia

Rosenwald Fund Head Explains American Distrust Of Japan

Americans Who Hate the Japanese Call Them "Bad Niggers"—Lecturer Tells Fisk Students Of Darker Races.

CHICAGO, Mar. 15—(ANP)—Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, says Americans who hate the Japanese call them "bad niggers."

In a course of lectures at Fisk University on "The Peoples of the Pacific," Mr. Embree discussed the races of the South Seas, Australia, the East Indies, China and Japan.

"All of the peoples of the Pacific," he said, "have been subjugated by the white nations of the west with the single exception of Japan. As a result, America and Europe are friendly though patronizing to the Polynesians, the Malays and the Chinese. But they resent bitterly the independence of Japan.

"As a matter of fact the Japanese are the most capable and in many ways the most attractive people of the whole area. The Japanese landscape is the most beautiful in the world. The Japanese themselves are courteous, talented and amazingly resourceful. Japan has a civilization, which by any standard is among the highest of all world history. China may have been greater in the remote past, but Japan has today a living active culture, which puts her at the head of the whole Pacific region. Her art and architecture and landscape gardening, as well as her modern industry and science, are equal to the best anywhere.

"Why then is there so much prejudice against Japan in America? Why are our newspapers full of criticism and abuse? Why are propagandists crying for war against her?

"The answers are simple. First, we want the markets of the Far East anr we fear Japan as a rival in trade. Second, and more deep-rooted, we resent the fact that any 'colored' nation should pretend to be equal to the great white nations of the west.

"All over the Pacific the white man goes as lord and master. England has seized and colonized Australia and New Zealand. America has annexed Hawaii, rules the Philippines, and in co-operation with European powers controls all the South Seas. Holland owns the great Malay archipelago—the East Indies—an empire of sixty million people. The western powers have long held China in a position of dependence. But Japan has not been conquered. She has beaten western nations tat their own game. She has armed herself as effectively as America or the British Empire. She has introduced factories and world trade so successfully that she is steadily seizing the markets of the whole Far East. She is now outdoing the west even in imperialism. At a time when America is giving to the Philippines, when England is being forced to every compromise in order to hold India, when Holland is being asked to leave the East Indies—at just this time Japan is spreading her empire to Formosa, Korea and Manchuria.

"Furthermore, while the white man may do almost anything he pleases as he travels over the South Seas and China, he has to behave himself in Japan. The Japanese are courteous, but full of self-respect and pride. They will not allow anyone to insult them or bully them in their own country.

"The white man naturally thinks of most of the Pacific peoples as very good 'niggers' because they bow before him and do whatever he says. But the upstanding, self-reliant Japanese he calls 'bad niggers.' America resents so greatly the independence of this colored nation that many influential people are trying to foment a war so that we may humble our only rival in the Pacific area, our only colored rival in the whole world."

NEW YORK AMERICAN

AUG 26 1934

Oswald Spengler Calls Peace of 1918 'First Great Triumph of the Colored World'

By OSWALD SPENGLER,

Distinguished German Philosopher and Author of "The Decline of the West," "Man and Technics" and Other Noted Works.

(Translated from the German by Charles Francis Atkinson.)

THE WESTERN Civilization of this century is threatened, not by one, but by two world revolutions of major dimensions. The one comes from below, the other from without: *class war and race war.* The one now lies to a large extent behind us, although its decisive blows—in the Anglo-American zone, for instance—are probably still to come.

The other first became definite in the World War, and it is rapidly acquiring direction and form. In the next few centuries both will fight side by side, *possibly as allies;* it will be the severest crisis through which the white peoples will have to pass in common—whether united or not—if they will intend to have any future.

White humanity has scattered itself to all quarters in its ungovernable urge to infinite distance; over both Americas, South Africa, Australia and innumerable strategic points between.

The Yellow-Brown-Black-Red menace lurks *within* the field of white power. It penetrates into and participates in the military and revolutionary agreements and disagreements of the white powers and threatens one day to take matters into its own hands.

OSWALD SPENGLER.

What, then does the "colored" world include? Not only Africa, the Indies—as well as the Negroes and half-breeds—of the whole of America, the Islamic [redacted], China, and India extending to Java, but, above all, Japan and *RUSSIA*, which has become an Asiatic, "Mongolian" State.

When the Japanese beat Russia, a young Asiatic State, had, by Western methods, forced the greatest power of the West to its knees, and thereby destroyed the aureole of invincibility which surrounded Europe. It was as a beacon, in India, in Turkey, even in Cape Colony and the Sahara. So it WAS possible to pay back the white peoples for all the pains and humiliations of a century!

And now Russia, after suffering in 1916 its second great defeat from the West, has removed its "white" mask, to the mocking satisfaction of its ally England, has again become Asiatic with all its soul and is filled with a burning hatred of Europe.

The World War was a defeat of the white races, and the Peace of 1918 was the first great triumph of the colored world: symbolized by the fact that today it is allowed to have a say in the disputes of the white states among themselves in the Geneva League of Nations—which is nothing but a miserable symbol of shameful things.

It was not Germany that lost the World War; the West lost it when it lost the respect of the colored races.

The importance of this shift of the political center of gravity was first realized in Moscow. In Western Europe it is still not realized.

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For the first time since the siege of Vienna by the Turks they (the white races) have again been put on the defensive, and they will have to commit great forces, both spiritual and military, into the hands of very great men if they intend to weather the first mighty storm which will not be long in coming.

In Russia, "white" Bolshevism is rapidly on the wane. The Marxian face is only worn for the benefit of the outside world, for Southern Asia, **Africa**, America, where it is desired to let loose and direct rebellion against the white powers.

Russia is the lord of Asia. Russia *is* Asia. Japan belongs to Asia only geographically. From the ethnographical point of view it undoubtedly stands closer to the eastern Malay and the Polynesians, and certain Indian peoples on the west side of America. But on the sea it is what Russia is on land; lord of a wide domain in which the Western powers no longer count.

England is not even remotely master of "her" Empire to the same extent, even in the colored "Crown" colonies. Japan extends her influence over a wide radius. It is felt in Peru and on the Panama Canal.

In Russia and Japan today are the only *active* forces in the world. Through them Asia has become the decisive element in the world. The white world happenings. The white powers are actuated by its present sure in their dealings and do not even know it.

This pressure consists in the activity of the Colored. Racial Revolution, which is already using the White Revolution of the class war as its tool. After the revolution from below in Labor-Socialism weapon, the political form of Labor-Socialism had with its weapon, the cal wage, made the breach. economy, headed by colored Russia and Japan, with the lower wage, pressed in tries have to ask for wage, and is now much even to complete the destruction.

When we hear that in Java Japan sells bicycles family offer the self-harvested lings and electric light bulbs for sack of rice at half the cost which a half-penny, while white officials is obliged to demand, then indeed we get a glimpse into the abysses of this **themselves; when the little Javanese peasant with his wife and**

Race Problem - 1934

Asia

Rosenwald Fund Head Explains American Distrust Of Japan

Americans Who Hate the Japanese Call Them "Bad Niggers"—Lecturer Tells Fisk Students Of Darker Races.

CHICAGO, Mar. 15—(ANP)—Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, says Americans who hate the Japanese call them "bad niggers."

In a course of lectures at Fisk University on "The Peoples of the Pacific," Mr. Embree discussed the races of the South Seas, Australia, the East Indies, China and Japan.

"All of the peoples of the Pacific," he said, "have been subjugated by the white nations of the west with the single exception of Japan. As a result, America and Europe are friendly though patronizing to the Polynesians, the Malays and the Chinese. But they resent bitterly the independence of Japan.

"As a matter of fact the Japanese are the most capable and in many ways the most attractive people of the whole area. The Japanese landscape is the most beautiful in the world. The Japanese themselves are courteous, talented and amazingly resourceful. Japan has a civilization, which by any standard is among the highest of all world history. China may have been greater in the remote past, but Japan has today a living active culture, which puts her at the head of the whole Pacific region. Her art and architecture and landscape gardening, as well as her modern industry and science, are equal to the best anywhere.

"Why then is there so much prejudice against Japan in America? Why are our newspapers full of criticism and abuse? Why are propagandists crying for war against her?

"The answers are simple. First, we want the markets of the Far East anr we fear Japan as a rival in trade. Second, and more deep-rooted, we resent the fact that any 'colored' nation should pretend to be equal to the great white nations of the west.

"All over the Pacific the white man goes as lord and master. England has seized and colonized Australia and New Zealand. America has annexed Hawaii, rules the Philippines, and in co-operation with European powers controls all the South Seas. Holland owns the great Malay archipelago—the East Indies—an empire of sixty million people. The western powers have long held China in a position of dependence. But Japan has not been conquered. She has beaten western nations tat their own game. She has armed herself as effectively as America or the British Empire. She has introduced factories and world trade so successfully that she is steadily seizing the markets of the whole Far East. She is now outdoing the west even in imperialism. At a time when America is giving to the Philippines, when England is being forced to every compromise in order to hold India, when Holland is being asked to leave the East Indies—at just this time Japan is spreading her empire to Formosa, Korea and Manchuria.

"Furthermore, while the white man may do almost anything he pleases as he travels over the South Seas and China, he has to behave himself in Japan. The Japanese are courteous, but full of self-respect and pride. They will not allow anyone to insult them or bully them in their own country.

"The white man naturally thinks of most of the Pacific peoples as very good 'niggers' because they bow before him and do whatever he says. But the upstanding, self-reliant Japanese he calls 'bad niggers.' America resents so greatly the independence of this colored nation that many influential people are trying to foment a war so that we may humble our only rival in the Pacific area, our only colored rival in the whole world."

NEW YORK AMERICAN

AUG 26 1934

Oswald Spengler Calls Peace of 1918 'First Great Triumph of the Colored World'

By OSWALD SPENGLER,

Distinguished German Philosopher and Author of "The Decline of the West," "Man and Technics" and Other Noted Works.

(Translated from the German by Charles Francis Atkinson.)

THE WESTERN Civilization of this century is threatened, not by one, but by two world revolutions of major dimensions. The one comes from below, the other from without: *class war and race war.* The one now lies to a large extent behind us, although its decisive blows—in the Anglo-American zone, for instance—are probably still to come.

The other first became definite in the World War, and it is rapidly acquiring direction and form. In the next few centuries both will fight side by side, *possibly as allies;* it will be the severest crisis through which the white peoples will have to pass in common—whether united or not—if they will intend to have any future.

White humanity has scattered itself to all quarters in its ungovernable urge to infinite distance; over both Americas, South Africa, Australia and innumerable strategic points between.

The Yellow-Brown-Black-Red menace lurks *within* the field of white power. It penetrates into and participates in the military and revolutionary agreements and disagreements of the white powers and threatens one day to take matters into its own hands.

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In Russia and Japan today the form of Labor-Socialism with its weapon, the political wage, made economy, headed by colored Japan, pressed in Russia and the wage, and is now with the lower wage, with the white proceeding with the destruction.

When we hear that in Java the Japanese peasant with his wife and family offer the self-harvested sack of rice at half the cost which the modern planter with his white officials is obliged to demand, then indeed we get a glimpse into the abysses of this revolution from below in

struggle. **Since Western technique is no longer secret and can be copied to perfection, the contrast is no longer in the method of construction, but only in the cost of that production.**

To this must be added political-social propaganda in enormous quantities, the true Asiatic diplomacy of our day. It pervades all India and Japan. It has led in Java and Sumatra to the erection of a race front against the Dutch and the disintegration of army and navy. It pays court, all the way from Eastern Asia to the highly gifted Indian race living from Mexico to Chili, and it inculcates for the first time in the Negroes a community feeling that is being directed against the white ruling nations.

In Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador, Aymara is the second official and educational language. There is open practice of a cult based on the alleged Communism of the Incas, which receives encouragement from Moscow. The race ideal of a pure Indian rule is perhaps on the verge of realization.

In Africa it is the Christian missionary who, in all innocence, with the doctrine that all men are equal before God and that wealth is sinful, plows the soil on which the Bolshevist envoy sows and reaps. And from the North and East the missionary of Islam follows up his tracks with great success, penetrating these days as far as the Zambesi in Nyassaland.

This general colored revolution over the whole earth marches under the guide of varied tendencies—national, economic, social.

But ever since the Boxer Revolution in China, the India Mutiny, and the revolt of the Mexicans against the Emperor Maximilian, there will be found, deep down, everywhere, one and and the same thing. *Hatred of the white race and an unconditional determination to destroy it.*

The colored races of the world up to now have been twice as strong numerically as the white. But about 1930 Russia had an annual excess of births of four million, Japan of two million, and India, between 1921 and 1931, increased her population by thirty-four million. In Africa the extraordinarily prolific Negro population will increase still more enormously now that European medicine has been introduced to check disease.

In contrast, Germany and Italy have a surplus of births of less than half a million, England—the country of publicity-encouraged birth control—less than half this amount, and France and the old established Yankee element in the United States none at all. This applies equally to the white element in South Africa and Australia.

In France some departments have lost over a third of their population in the last fifty years. In certain cases the birth rate is only half the death rate. There are small towns and villages which are almost empty. From the south there is an influx of Catalonians and Italians as land workers. Poles and Negroes are found in every grade, even the middle classes. There are black clergymen, officers and judges. The genuine Frenchman will soon be no longer master in France.

A strong race requires not only an inexhaustible birth-rate but also a severe selection process, which is provided by the resistance to living represented by misfortune, sickness and war.

The number of incurable mental cases in England and Wales has increased during twenty years from 4.6 to 8.6 per thousand. In Germany the number of feeble-minded is almost half a million, in the United States over a million.

According to a report by ex-President Hoover, youthful America has a record of 136,000 deaf and dumb, 1,000,000 with heart disease, 875,000 educationally subnormal or criminal, 450,000 feeble-minded, 300,000 cripples, and 60,000 blind.

But added to these are the terrible numbers of abnormal people of every description mental, spiritual, and physical, the hysterical, moral and nerve cases who can neither beget nor bear healthy children. A strong stock demands strong parents.

The battle for the planet has begun. The pacifism of the century of Liberalism must be overcome if we are to go on living. The colored races are NOT pacifists. They do not cling to a life whose length is its sole value. Once they feared the white man; now they despise him.

Race Problem-1934

Book Reviews.

Off The Bench

By JUDGE WALTER B. JONES

STARS FELL ON ALABAMA

One of the poorest books I've ever read in all my life, and one of the worst written, is Carl Carmer's "Stars Fell On Alabama." We don't mind the stars falling on Alabama, but we do regret to have such a ridiculous book as Prof. Carmer's fall on Alabama or anywhere else.

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

JUDGE JONES

While going through the Dearborn Street Railway Station at Chicago Sunday a week ago, I chanced to stop by the newsstand to get a New York Times, a Literary Digest, and a News-Week to read on the journey home. I had heard of Prof. Carmer's book through a news review, and there the book was staring me in the face on the news-stand. The jacket was fairly attractive, so I opened it on the inside to see what sort of a book I was about to shell out $3 for.

Exciting and Vital

And here's what I read (probably written by the author himself or some high-pressure writer for the publishers):

"'Stars Fell On Alabama'—'a book whose beauty quickens the overtones of the past and catches the turbulent music of the present.' That's off to a good start, but read on: "In his foreword, the author says of Alabama: 'The Congo is not more different from Massachusetts or Kansas, and have chosen to write about it, not as a State which is part of a nation, but as a strange country in which I once lived and from which I have now returned." So we are a strange country, Professor Carmer, and you are glad to have returned to your home? Well, we are glad to have you go. If, after six years of life among the people of Alabama, most of it in the old and cultured city of Tuscaloosa, your book is the best thing to give Alabama, you haven't been appreciative of her hospitality, or deserving of the pay she gave you for living in Alabama, and as far as Alabama and her people are concerned, you can go and stay without any regrets down here.

Lore of the Black Dwellers

But let us continue the description of the book, the description we get from the jacket of the book:

"Descendants of the Spanish conquistadors, the early Scotch colonists, creoles from the French occupation, the enigmatic Cajans, remnants of the Indian tribes, and Negroes but a few generations removed from the jungle—they all contribute to this brilliant procession.

"There are tales from the days of LaFitte, the pirate, stories of soldiers and notorious outlaws and the lore of the black dwellers of the Canebrake. There are stories of the present day—of alligator hunts, barn dances, feuds, river baptisms and lynchings. One reads that today white-hooded citizens of this incredible State march in torch-light parades to exorcise the menace of the black man and the hope. Negro conjure women submit to their clients aromatic sesames to seduction, and young men fight duels and pay lip-service to the honor and the chastity of Southern women.

Great Mint-Julep Drinkers

"These people live through each page, provincial, incongruous and lovable. In the evening they drowse over their mint-juleps and admit to one another that the two places in the world where civilized man can comfortably live are Paris and Alabama.

"'Stars Fell On Alabama' is exciting and vital, and its beauty is genuine and permanent." That's well said, isn't it? The only trouble with the statement is that there's no truth in it. In the first place the book's beauty (if there be any) is not genuine, and in the second place, there's nothing permanent about it at all. But let us read on from the jacket of the book: "Without it (the book), no one can fully understand Alabama—and a library of Americana is incomplete."

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The Fruit of His Residence

And so this book, largely composed of vulgar Negro lore, badly told tales of local outlaws, slanders of a people who gave its writer shelter and hospitality for six years, and ridiculous descriptions of a great people, is the fruit of the great intellect of the college professor who taught at the University!

One would have thought that a wonderful intellectual like Prof. Carmer, one said to be gifted as a poet, one said to have a well educated mind, would have seen, during his six-year stay among the people of Alabama, something worth while to put in a book. Perhaps the heroic struggle the courageous pioneers made to wrest the State from the Indians and the wild animals of the forest; perhaps the great days between the 40's and 60's in Alabama when Southern culture was at its flower; perhaps the heroic scenes connected with Alabama's secession from the Union; perhaps stories of her great civil and military leaders; perhaps the noble fight made by the people of the State to overthrow Carpet-Bagger, Scalawag, Radical and Black Republican rule; perhaps, all these things should have furnished the distinguished college professor material for a book about Alabama; perhaps stories and accounts of these things would have shown the true history of the State. But, instead, what do we find?

Bunk of the Worst Sort

The great college professor driving half across the State to find and reduce to writing such gems of mountain and Negro superstitions as these:

"Putting a hat on a baby's head will cause bad teething.

"If one dreams of crossing muddy water some of the family will soon die.

"When an owl hoots at night, put the shovel in the fire, tie a knot in a corner of a sheet, or turn all your pockets wrong-side out to make it hush.

"If the pictures are not turned toward the wall after a death, some other member of the family will die.

"If you walk backwards nine steps and then dig in the ground, you will find a hair the color of that of your husband-to-be.

"Rubbing a baby's knee with greasy dish-water will make it walk early."

And many pages of such stuff. It must be a great benefit to the State to have a man filled with Prof. Carmer's zeal and learning, go chasing all over the State interviewing Negro crones to get all this precious learning so that it might be put in permanent form. I shudder to think what would have happened to Alabama, if Prof. Carmer had not realized the extraordinary importance of the things he prints in his book and saved them for us. Perhaps the stars would have fallen again, perhaps the story of Alabama wouldn't have been complete, perhaps we would still be drowsing over our mint-juleps and admitting to 'one another that the two places in the world where civilized man can comfortably live are Paris and Alabama.' Perhaps we would still be spending all of our time at barn dances, riding around at night in a pillow case on a dray horse, perhaps we might not be different from the Congo or Massachusetts!! Perish such dreadful thoughts. Alabama is all right. Prof Carmer has written a book (so one Northern critic says) that 'is worth a thousand formal histories of a State.' He has written with 'eyes to see and heart to understand,' so says Walter Bridges in The New York Sun. So, no matter what comes, Alabama's great histroy has been preserved. 'Perfessor' Carl Carmer has seen to that. He went about telling Negroes and others that he was 'putting things down in a book about them' and he seems to have put down in his book all the ridiculous things they told him.

Well, so much for the book. It's about as unfaithful and incorrect a picture of Alabama as could be conjured up. Professor Carmer has not added to his laurels as a writer (if he had any to begin with), he has done the people of a great State an injustice which he can never remedy, and he has shown that he is not such a great intellectual after all. If you want to throw away three dollars and be bored for three hours (the length of time to read the book) then go buy the book. And you'll be asking some friend afterwards to bore you for the hollow horn.

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser
July 2, 1934

MR. STRIBLING SHUNS ALABAMA

Mr. T. S. Stribling, the writer-man, who has turned out three first-class novels about life in and around Florence, Alabama, tells a New York reporter that he has not visited Florence since he started writing about its people.

"No, I don't go to Alabama any more," he tells the New York reporter. "They find it extremely hard to lynch a person by radio or telepathy, so I'm still in good condition."

Perhaps Mr. Stribling would not be so embarrassed today if his first book of North Alabama folk had been accepted at its true value—as fiction from a mind that is in love with sewage fantasy. But the Yankees, who love to be fooled, as we all do, saw in Stribling's work something fascinatingly unclean. And they reasoned, as most Americans do reason, that where there is so much dirt there must be some true earth. So they called the pale, thin-faced writer from Tennessee a realist.

And Mr. Stribling, who had spent a lifetime supplying the pulp magazines with simon-pure fiction, liked the name. He set out to be a realist with a vengeance.

Now we Alabamians sometimes are prone to live too much in the past. And because there is something beautiful in memories that is forever lacking in the world of the living, we are inclined to see only the beauty in the past—our past—the past of our people before the War Between the States.

We are a sentimental and a sensitive people. Which is all well and good so long as we do not allow those two qualities to run away with our lives.

To the outsider, Alabama is a picturesque State. We have preserved much of the charm—and much of the weakness—of provincial life.

Alabama is a rich field for fiction.

Half-truths about Alabama can be woven into romance, adventure, drama, all the stuff that goes to make fiction.

And there is room in Alabama for the so-called realist. There is need here for reform.

Mr. Stribling is not what we like to call a realist. He is not even a reformer, though we do not hold that against him.

Stribling doubtless would have built his novels around the same filthy skeletons if he had lived in any other section of the country. For his mind leans toward exaggerating human evils that are to be found wherever the son of Adam searches for them.

Florence, Alabama, just happens to be the goat.

"Life is sad," says Mr. Stribling, "and coming even a sensational realist, inasmuch as the International Labor Defense League, an unsporting shyster lawyer and no less than a dozen Communists, set the precedent for professing alarm without there's no use trying to minimize it."

Mr. Stribling's fertile novelist's imagi- when it was anticipation of his coming to that nation did his heart an injustice when it caused him to say, in so many words, that the people of Florence have built a bonfire and have ordered a bottle of tar in anticipation of his coming to that smirched city.

Such a bid for cheap publicity is unbecoming such a bon-due cause.

Mr. Stribling can be forgiven for turning out smut.

Some Alabamians can forgive Mr. Stribling for allowing his smut to be called "realism."

But we can not forgive Mr. Stribling for announcing to the New York press that he is afraid to return to Alabama, intimating that the people of Florence would be glad to lynch him.

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"If you walk backwards nine steps and then dig in the ground, you will find a hair the color of that of your husband-to-be.

"Rubbing a baby's knee with greasy dish-water will make it walk early."

And many pages of such stuff. It must be a great benefit to the State to have a man filled with Prof. Carmer's zeal and learning, go chasing all over the State interviewing Negro crones to get all this precious learning so that it might be put in permanent form. I shudder to think what would have happened to Alabama, if Prof. Carmer had not realized the extraordinary importance of the things he points in his book and saved them for us. Perhaps the stars would have fallen again, perhaps the story of Alabama wouldn't have been complete, perhaps we would still be drowsing over our mint-juleps and admitting to 'one another that the two places in the world where civilized man can comfortably live are Paris and Alabama.' Perhaps we would still be spending all of our time at barn dances, riding around at night in a pillow case on a dray horse, perhaps we might not be different from the Congo or Massachusetts!! Perish such dreadful thoughts. Alabama is all right. Prof Carmer has written a book (so one Northern critic says) that 'is worth a thousand formal histories of a State.' He has written with 'eyes to see and heart to understand,' so says Walter Bridges in The New York Sun. So, no matter what comes, Alabama's great histroy has been preserved. 'Perfessor' Carl Carmer has seen to that. He went about telling Negroes and others that he was 'putting things down in a book about them' and he seems to have put down in his book all the ridiculous things they told him.

Well, so much for the book. It's about as unfaithful and incorrect a picture of Alabama as could be conjured up. Professor Carmer has not added to his laurels as a writer (if he had any to begin with), he has done the people of a great State an injustice which he can never remedy, and he has shown that he is not such a great intellectual after all. If you want to throw away three dollars and be bored for three hours (the length of time to read the book) then go buy the book. And you'll be asking some friend afterwards to bore you for the hollow horn.

Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser
July 2, 1934

MR. STRIBLING SHUNS ALABAMA

Mr. T. S. Stribling, the writer-man, who has turned out three first-class novels about life in and around Florence, Alabama, tells a New York reporter that he has not visited Florence since he started writing about its people.

"No, I don't go to Alabama any more," he tells the New York reporter. "They find it extremely hard to lynch a person by radio or telepathy, so I'm still in good condition."

Perhaps Mr. Stribling would not be so embarrassed today if his first book of North Alabama folk had been accepted at its true value—as fiction from a mind that is in love with sewage fantasy. But the Yankees, who love to be fooled, as we all do, saw in Stribling's work something fascinatingly unclean. And they reasoned, as most Americans do reason, that where there is so much dirt there must be some true earth. So they called the pale, thin-faced writer from Tennessee a realist.

And Mr. Stribling, who had spent a lifetime supplying the pulp magazines with simon-pure fiction, liked the name. He set out to be a realist with a vengeance.

Now we Alabamians sometimes are prone to live too much in the past. And because there is something beautiful in memories that is forever lacking in the world of the living, we are inclined to see only the beauty in the past—our past—the past of our people before the War Between the States.

We are a sentimental and a sensitive people. Which is all well and good so long as we do not allow those two qualities to run away with our lives.

To the outsider, Alabama is a picturesque State. We have preserved much of the charm—and much of the weakness—of provincial life.

Alabama is a rich field for fiction. Half-truths about Alabama can be woven into romance, adventure, drama, all the stuff that goes to make fiction.

And there is room in Alabama for the so-called realist. There is need here for reform.

Mr. Stribling is not what we like to call a realist. He is not even a reformer, though we do not hold that against him. Stribling doubtless would have built his novels around the same filthy skeletons if he had lived in any other section of the country. For his mind leans toward exaggerating human evils that are to be found wherever the son of Adam searches for them.

Florence, Alabama, just happens to be the goat.

"Life is sad," says Mr. Stribling, "and there's no use trying to minimize it." Mr. Stribling's fertile novelist's imagination did his heart an injustice when it caused him to say, in so many words, that the people of Florence have built a bonfire and have ordered a bottle of tar in anticipation of his coming to that city.

Such a bid for cheap publicity is unbelievable. Mr. Stribling can be forgiven for turning out smut.

Some Alabamians can forgive Mr. Stribling for allowing his smut to be called "realism."

But we can not forgive Mr. Stribling for announcing to the New York press that he is afraid to return to Alabama, intimating that the people of Florence would be glad to lynch him.

Some Alabamians can forgive Mr. Stribling, "an coming even a sensational realist, inasmuch as the International Labor Defense League, an unsporting shyster lawyer and no less than a dozen Communists, set the precedent for professing alarm without due cause.

Letters To The Editor

Please be brief. We reserve the right to cut letters more than 300 words long.

MORE "STARS FELL ON ALABAMA"

Editor The Advertiser:

One of the most fascinating experiences of my life has been the reading of Carl Carmer's recent book, "Stars Fell On Alabama." This thrilling, living, human document has been the subject of severe, or rather I say, the harshest of criticism from both Northern and Southern critics. Since reading the book I firmly believe that neither side was warranted in taking the stand that it did with reference of such a masterly piece of literary work. It is a lasting contribution to the field of Southern history and folklore.

It is true that the Ku Klux Klan, the Scottsboro trials, and the few lynchings that it was our misfortune to have had in the past, are sore spots with most Alabamians, but on the other hand I do believe that the great majority of the citizens of our State are broad-minded and liberal enough in their thinking to appreciate a book of the type this one is. It refreshes our memory with those beautiful word pictures of the old colonial homes that were at one time the centers of culture and refinement in the Old South. Here many romances began and ended; here the balmy atmosphere was fragrant with the scent of magnolias, jasmine, lilacs and honeysuckle; the moonlight nights on the bayous and rivers are scenes unsurpassed in all literature.

Professor Carmer did not portray the vulgar and barbaric side of the life of our people, should they be so unfortunate as to possess such traits of character. It is true that he did mention a few things that we do not like to speak about unless it is to each other, but these had to be brought into the book to show just a little bit of the other side of the beautiful story of the life of a great people—the people of Alabama. These two or three things which an Alabama author would have omitted are not important, but on the other hand are just a few of the results of life as it is lived by us. These things have happened so slowly, and are still happening, that we who have a part in them are unconscious of their presence. Let's forget the things which have evoked all of this criticism and look at the real, the worthwhile things as they are written in such an easy style by Prof. Carmer.

His description of the Square Dance in the red hills of North Alabama is true, because I have seen them and heard them calling the dance for a mile or two away. We have conjure women in south Alabama and "pig-eating" alligators, no one will deny this. We still have all-day singings and footwashings. Those old plantation mansions, Thorn Hill, Rosemount and Gaineswood, are still here to speak for themselves. The Processional or "turn-out" day is still an annual event with the negroes of south Alabama. Illicit distilleries still cause smoke to curl up through the tree tops in the hills of north Alabama, the State and Federal officers will agree to this. The tales, and remember that the author calls them tales, of the Tombigbee outlaws have been handed down from mouth to ear for several generations. And lastly, no true Alabamian is going to object to the matchless descriptions of Mobile, Birmingham, the Cajan country, and Dauphin Island as are pictured in this book—Stars Fell On Alabama.

One has only to sit and think for a while to realize that it is entirely possible and altogether probable that our customs, our black neighbors without whom we would be lost, our traditions and folklore, our memories of the Old South, all of these do seem foreign to one who was born and educated as far away as New York. These things are a part of our very being—and may they ever be. We love them and would be lost without them. Then why become annoyed and even provoked to the extent that we are prone to severely criticize a fellow citizen when all that he has done is to hold these things up to us on the golden platter of beautiful language.

He has given us a record, that we may ever cherish, of the great State of Alabama. Show me a record of any people that is free from all fault. Wasn't it Frank L. Stanton who said that with every rose there is also a thorn?

Happy should be the people of Alabama because in this wonderfully fascinating book of Carl Carmer's the roses are in the ascendancy over the thorns as the heavens are over the earth. I heartily and unreservedly commend to booklovers everywhere—Stars Fell On Alabama, as one of the great books of the year.

Headland, Ala. JACK M. BRIDGES

SHADOW OF THE PLANTATION, by Charles S. Johnson. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 212 pp. $2.50.

Reviewed by VIRGINIA MORAE

Coming to us with a sound perceptive basis gained through experience as Professor of Sociology at Fisk University, former Director of Research of the National Urban League of New York City, and Editor of Opportunity, Journal of Negro Life, Mr. Johnson cannot help but convince us, if not by an amazing array of statistics then certainly by the deftness wtih which he probes into the "Heart of the Black Belt," and exposes it to view in its diastole.

While this volume will speak to us as a chatty neighbor about such places as Atlanta, Macon, Fort Valley, Birmingham, and Montgomery, it will by no means be restricted to merely local interest. It must of necessity be invaluable to the student of Sociology and to all those alive to the transition of the marginal folk everywhere be it in Mexico or Macon County.

Macon County, Alabama, was selected for the survey. Intensive study was made into conditions in 612 families, totaling 2,432 individuals. As we meet Riley, Zack, and Asbestos we almost lose sight of the scientific significance of the study in our enjoyment of the folk-lore.

The shadows of the old plantation are first reflected in unpainted or white-washed cabins grouped conveniently for plantation development, bound together by an almost imperceptible network of footpaths. We visit the inhabitants of these cabins, some of whom own their homes and have children in college, and some of whom answer quite dryly upon being questioned, "We stayed here outdoors all las' year. When it rain we haft git up longside the wall." Actual photographs make us wonder when Mr. Johnson peeped over our own back-fence.

The matriarchal characteristics of the system are reflected in several marked differences in regards to (1) size of families, (2) economic self-sufficiency, (3) number of still-births and miscarriages, 4) infant mortality, (5) amount of sickness, and (6) the attitudes of the families towards themselves and towards life in families where the wife has received education. The educational status of the male head of the house seems to have no such appreciable effect. To quote from the author, "The irony of the situation seems to lie in the fact that the life of a tenant in the economic system under which they live is not always congenial when he broadens his horizon." Income seems to fluctuate little in proportion to education.

The church in this particular group has made a pronounced development as a social center, while as an influence for social control it has been negligible. To belong to the church is respectable and entertaining. The charge that the pattern of the Negro's religion was borrowed from the whites seems not unwarranted. Church suppers and lodge meetings form the hub of rural recreation.

Health work has been carried on here as an experiment by the Rosenwald Fund, particularly in regards to syphilis. Of 3,684 Wassermanns taken, 1,474 were positive. This was the highest percentage of those taken in six demonstrations. The next highest percentage, 26, was found in a county in Georgia, based upon 5,775 tests. The summary of the attitudes towards health seems comprehensive.

To gauge by the standard which the author himself erected: "to portray realistically the life of a rural Negro community under the influence of a plantation economy," we cannot but acclaim his work a noteworthy success.

About Books

Cabin in the Cotton

SHADOW OF THE PLANTATION, by Charles S. Johnson. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. $2.50. 212 pp.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE is a world famous institution. The American government as well as foreign countries having dominion over disadvantaged groups consult the Tuskegee administration on educational and social policies. A constant stream of educators, social workers and colonial administrators from Latin America, Europe, Africa and the Orient visit the school in search of enlightenment.

The light which Tuskegee Institute has to offer the world blazes brightly afar; yet in its own backyard it glows but dimly as is revealed by this study of 600 Negro families within twenty miles of the institution. In the communities which Mr. Johnson studied there is but slight evidence that the influence of Tuskegee has penetrated in any appreciable way. In the very shadow of the institute the plantation persists much the same as in the years before the Civil War.

Mr. Johnson has essayed a thorough piece of work in this study of the folkways and lores of the people of the plantation. He has not romanticized the Negro peasant as a contented, happy-go-lucky fellow as did Mrs. Julia Peterkin in her "Roll, Jordan, Roll." Nor has he sentimentalized the tragic elements in the life of the black peasantry. In a large measure he has established direct contact between the reader and the subject by permitting the latter to tell his story in his own language.

The system of tenancy in the cotton belt is one of the most vicious institutions in this country. It robs the tenant of initiative and is dependent for its perpetuation upon his ignorance and submissiveness. It places the landlord above the law and thus stimulates that lawlessness which is characteristic of the South. It is a blind alley, trapping all those who enter.

To its conditions, according to this book, most of the tenants are resigned. There is some little resentment, Mr. Johnson's investigators found. Indeed, there must be much more than is indicated in this book, for it was not far from the communities surveyed that the Camp Hill revolt flared. Even Negro investigators may often be deceived as to the depth of feeling on the part of the backwoods Negro. for as this book points out there is a considerable cultural gap which separates the educated Negro from his illiterate and semi-literate brother.

Weighted by its own inadequacies, the plantation system, already anachronistic, is doomed to inevitable destruction, carrying with it both the Negro tenant and the white landlord. Although Mr. Johnson indicates the hopelessness of the system and points out its basic conflict with the times, he offers no solution. Neither government aid nor independent land ownership offers permanent relief. The obvious solution which Mr. Johnson does not suggest is social revolution: the introduction of a system which will place the control of the land in the hands of those who cultivate it and whose goal will be production for use rather than for profit.

"Shadow of the Plantation" is a valuable source book for any student who wishes a realistic portrait of the distressing conditions which prevail under this decadent system.—H. L. M.

Race Problem -1934

Book Reviews

Young Erskine Caldwell's Ugly Picture Of Georgia

In a sense it is regrettable that several of the most widely read novelists of the South should be so strongly inclined to emphasize the more unpleasant phases of life in this part of the country.

T. S. Stribling, in "The Store," struck off a view of an Alabama town which has proved highly disagreeable to the inhabitants. William Faulkner certainly has not added to the comfort of the people of Mississippi with his "Sanctuary" and "Light in August." Across in Georgia, Erskine Caldwell has brought upon himself a good deal of resentment because of his "God's Little Acre" and "Tobacco Road."

3-3-34

One can never tell just how the resentment against such novels will take form. The forces of protest seem to concentrate in the most unexpected places. For instance, a news dispatch informs us that the library of the teachers' college at Columbia University, of all places, has removed Mr. Caldwell's two books from its shelves.

Whether "Tobacco Road" and "God's Little Acre" have been placed on the "black shelves"—where mature scholars of firm morals may have a glance at them in the interest of scientific research—or whether they have peremptorily been consigned to the furnace is not disclosed by The Associated Press. But it seems to be clear enough that Mr. Caldwell's presentation of the Georgia landscape is far from being acceptable to the powers that rule the teachers' college at Columbia.

Mr. Caldwell also has been having his troubles at home. From the record, it appears that he write in New Masses—a rather wild periodical issued from New York—an account of social conditions in some of the Georgia counties. What Mr. Caldwell said proved to be highly objectionable to the subjects of his portraits. And forthwith they saw to it that the author was brought into court to testify to the source and accuracy of his information.

The state of Georgia is still somewhat on edge because of the exceedingly unfavorable publicity it received from the sensational moving picture entitled "I Am a Fugitive From a Chaingang." Vociferous protests from the prison authorities of Georgia perhaps have not been sufficient to erase the heavy bias produced over the country by the popular emotional response to that stirring moving picture.

To have the chaingang publicity topped almost at once by the impression produced by the success of the stage version of Mr. Caldwell's "Tobacco Road" in New York is a pretty tough dose for the people of Georgia.

And the Georgians undoubtedly have plenty of reason for their indignation. The conditions portrayed in the prison movie may, or may not, have been overdrawn on the screen. But it stands to reason that conditions as bad or worse could be found in other parts of the country. Similarly, the characters in Erskine Caldwell's unpleasant novels ought to be accepted as representing the lower depths of life more or less universally. It is obvious that the author had to place his scene somewhere, and his familiarity with Georgia naturally led him to choose that locale.

But to take it for granted that Mr. Stribling, Mr. Faulkner and Mr. Caldwell are exhibiting conditions which are generally typical of life in Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia would be a serious mistake. That such an assumption seems to have been made rather broad with respect to the work of Erskine Caldwell carries implications which the Georgians have reason to resent with some asperity.

.·. Book Review .·.

COME IN AT THE DOOR. By William March. 349 pages. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. $2.50.

Mr. William March, author of "Company K," has written a beautiful novel about the growing up of a white boy in the deep south. His materials—like those of his fellow workers in the same section, William Faulkner, with whom he seems to have a certain kinship—are grotesque, often, but he handles the eccentric and the horrible with a simple matter-of-courseness which somehow tempers their strangeness.

The title, drawn from a Negro spiritual, phrases the theme of the novel with utmost passion. "My lord is so high, you can't go over him, My lord is so wide, you cant' go 'round him, My lord is so deep, you can't go under him, You must come in at the door." But its application to that forlorn little half-orphan lad, Chester Hurry, whose story this is, is Freudian rather than religious. The progress of the book, after the first few introductory pages, records young Chester's troubled, unconscious effort to "come in at the door."

Chester, when we meet him first, is eight years old; of a swift intelligence and sensitive spirit. He is in the care of a decadent father who once studied for the law — whom disapproving relatives always refer to as "That Man"—and of Mitty, a devoted colored servant who came to the Hurry farm all the way from Pearl county with Chester's mother. When the story opens Mitty is in loving command over Chester's destiny: she has tried to take his dead mother's place in every possible way — even (much against her conscience) to sharing the master's bed.

The important event which pushes little Chester from babyhood into childhood and changes the whole color of his emotional experience thereafter, is the arrival on the farm of an educated mulatto, Simon Laroque Baptiste. In a moment of concern over his small son's ignorance, Hurry instructs the mulatto to teach the lad what he ought to know. In Baptiste's company, therefore, Chester learns to speak French, looks into other important intellectual matters beyond his previous ken, and gets his first stimulating taste of that vast delight which the play of mind on mind can provide. Yet through a curious childish perversity of his own, the affectionate Chester sends Baptiste, essentially blameless, to his doom; and looks on, with Mitty in the courthouse square, while his friend is hanged. His anguish of spirit and sense of childish guilt bring on an almost fatal illness—from which he recovers oblivious of what had happened in the recent past, but with a troubled sense that there is something which he has forgotten, but must remember. He is sent off to his mother's relatives to recuperate. School days, his marriage and the struggle of that idea up into consciousness occupy, most successfully, the remaining chapters of "Come in at the Door." The tattooing of the significant scene upon the sufferer's body as an emotional purgation—a graphic act of psychoanalysis, so to speak—figures in Chester's story; and the conflict between the demands which a loving woman puts on him and his insistent yet aways elusive duty to the dead Baptiste is a war in the mind which the woman is foreordained to lose.

"C o m e in at the Door" is plentifully and persuasively peopled. The personalities of the four colored folk at the Hurry farm—Mitty and Baptiste, and old Jim and Hattie who work outdoors — are most sympathetically drawn. The mixture of fear and affection which makes up the relation of the Negroes to the whites is deftly indicated. The progress of a "conjur" laying hold of the comparatively sophisticated Baptiste and throwing him back grovelling in fear among the superstitions of his origin is as dramatic as the breakdown of the jaunty courage of the Emperor Jones.

Among the whites, too, besides the all-important Chester, are interesting characters: particularly Chester's amiably eccentric Uncle Bushrod with his crazy passion for the lecherous Ruby, destined to bring him at once his lifetime romance and his loathesome death. Almost all the characters, white and black and mixed blood, are warped and driven by powerful obsessions stamped upon them by conflicting traditions, not only of racial inheritance but of a present at war with the past.

"Come in at the Door," is beautifully written, and with so delicate a perception of values that ugliness is almost invariably transmuted into beauty. There are occasional startling solecisms in grammar, however, and the horribly gauche recurrent phrase "But such was not the case" comes as a shock in the midst of a context otherwise so invariably congruous.

—F. H. BRITTEN

Liberalism As A Factor In The Southern Outlook

The traditional social and economic atmosphere of the Southern part of the United States has not been conducive to the growth of the liberal spirit. Since most of the cultural patterns of this region were developed during the centu-

ries in which the plantation dominated the landscape, it is not the most natural thing for a Southerner to think it terms of the liberties of all individuals.

In other words, when a Southern man speaks of individualism, he is very likely to have in mind the persons belonging to a certain elevated cultural and economic class. The lines of demarcation between groups in the South are more emphatically recognized than is the case elsewhere in the United States. 3-17-34

Any other point of view would be unnatural, in the light of the Southern heritage. This attitude is rather clearly understood by the country as a whole. For instance, one of the interesting criticisms made of the book entitled "Liberalism in the South," by Virginius Dabney, was that the volume contains about 450 pages—and that there simply never has been that much real liberalism in the South.

Another striking comment on the subject was recently made by Donald Davidson, the distinguished poet and essayist of Vanderbilt University. In an article published in The American Mercury, Mr. Davidson throws some revealing light upon what he calls "the plight of the Southern liberal."

Perhaps it would be accurate to represent Mr. Davidson as saying, in effect, that the so-called Southern liberals have at last found themselves in the position of advocating social and economic philosophies which are unrelated to the traditional and fundamental spirit of this region. His conclusion, which is reached after a brilliant discourse on the subject, is that the only way that the liberals of this section can emerge from their present plight is by becoming "more Southern" in their outlook and efforts.

That is to say, liberalism, as it is generally understood, is not consonant with a strictly Southern attitude of mind. In such a contention, Mr. Davidson is so correct that his views should be thoughtfully considered by Southerners who have the welfare of this region at heart.

In the current issue of The New York Times Magazine, P. W. Wilson defines liberalism "as a challenging assertion of the rights of man and a courageous defiance of man's wrongs." Liberalism, so conceived, has had enough force, as Mr. Wilson shows, to shake civilization to its foundations in many past instances. In doing so, however, it has always destroyed certain traditional values. Liberals of this section, then, should be sure that they understand and reverence the cultural values which are strictly Southern.

WE ARE GLAD THAT "STARS FELL ON ALABAMA"

John Temple Graves, Birmingham Age-Herald columnist, says:

Whether or no Carl Carmer is such an outsider, Alabamians seem unable to agree. Those who have read Northern reviews of his book rather than the book itself are not qualified to judge. Those reviews seize joyfully upon the unpleasant things said of this State and have little or no report of the beautiful scenes and passages, even though the net total of impression with which one finishes the book is decidedly favorable to Alabama. In our opinion Alabamians and New Yorkers who are disputing the book as something which attempts to pass moral judgment on this State are mistaken. Carl Carmer, as James Saxon Childers has pointed out, is obviously a mere story teller. He tells what he thinks is interesting and colorful, passing no judgments of his own and asking none from his readers.

This paragraph refers to Prof. Carl Carmer's new book, "Stars Fell on Alabama," which has received extensive and deserved notice in the nation's press. Prof. Carmer was on the faculty of the University of Alabama for a number of years, but more recently has devoted himself to his literary and journalistic talents in New York.

The Advertiser confesses that it has been somewhat amused and at times impatient at the tenor of Alabama comment on this innocent, honest and utterly charming book.

If the same book had been written about Wyoming or West Virginia—only people don't write books about West Virginia and Wyoming—no Alabamian who read it would have taken exception to it.

He would have sat himself down and enjoyed the book or not enjoyed it according to the dictates of his literary tastes, and not according to the prejudices of bone felon patriotism which even a feather may excite sometimes into a paroxyism of pain.

Prof. Carmer has not attempted a history of Alabama; neither has he attempted to pass judgment upon Alabamians. Rather has he, a Yankee, perceived and described a color scheme in human life which, we regret to say, no native writer has perceived and described so well. Indeed, had a native Alabamian written the book we doubt if there would have been an outcry against it—except possibly by outsiders.

Carmer has mingled fact and fiction in gay abandon, but he has taken few liberties with essential truth. He has sought neither to asperse the State nor yet to exalt it above measure. Plainly he loves Alabama and was so moved by its charm that he went to great pains, after the manner of the laboratory scientist, to check his data, and to write as faithfully as possible.

What other Alabama writer has taken the trouble that Carmer has to study at first hand the prejudices, the graces, the weaknesses, the sources of strength, the speech and manners and customs of this people?

What other writer has taken the pains that he has taken to collect the legends and anecdotes of our people?

He seems to have been ready at all times to ride day after day to get one perfect human story, and authenticate it.

He has done something that other Alabama writers have lacked the enterprise, if not the imagination and insight to do, and The Advertiser, for one, wishes to be counted among those who applaud him for his distinguished achievement.

The book, to be sure, has minor faults; but so would any book have that was written about Alabama or about any other country.

There are minor inaccuracies, and one regrettable omission. Carmer writes with zest of the hill country, of Tuscaloosa, and the University there, of the Black Belt, particularly of Eutaw and Demopolis.

His account of the pathetic venture of the vine and olive colony of Marengo is moving.

He writes affectionately of exotic Mobile and rakishly of Birmingham the New—but there is no chapter on Montgomery.

We do not pretend to understand how one who is striving to catch the spirit of a whole people could avoid a study of its capital city; for it happens that Montgomery, while deriving its character from the whole State, nevertheless is different from Mobile, different from Tuscaloosa and different from Birmingham, as well as different from Valley Head and other mountain towns.

This is an error of omission which is not pardonable; otherwise "Stars Fell on Alabama" is fairly free from errors of omission, however much one may differ from the writer in some of his conclusions and impressions, and however numerous may be the minor inaccuracies of fact.

To The Advertiser nothing in the book is more remarkable than the evidence of Carmer's sensitive ear for language. His Negro dialect is superlative. We doubt if any previous Northern-born writer has done so well with Negro dialect, always a difficult and treacherous form. His reports of native white conversations are equally charming. The flavor of the native, uneducated white runs deep and rich in his anecdotes.

If there is an occasional jarring note in this study of Alabamians, no one need take exception. We lay the book down with the feeling that every jolt in it is a love lick.

Certainly "Stars Fell on Alabama" is beautifully done.

Race Problem - 1937

Book Reviews.

"Negro" Arrives at Last

Nancy Cunard's Anthology Found Invaluable Document

World History of Race Outlined in Tome by 150 Contributors

By HENRY LEE MOON.

EVERYWHERE in Harlem people were talking. In night clubs in speakeasies, at bohemian parties, at gatherings of radicals, at meetings of various sorts, in streets wherever people met, they were talking. They were saying, "That' she." More probably, "That's her That's that English woman." Dark eyed women glanced cuttingly at her as she went about in constant company of a well known and debonair figure in Harlem's theatrical circles Sharp tongues added sharp comment

"That English woman" was Nancy Cunard, who in the summer of 1933 visited Harlem in quest of the materials with which she has compiled her truly monumental volume "Negro," lately published in England I remember her as a pale rail-thin woman with an unfortunate faculty for procuring reams of scandalous publicity. Just another white woman, sated with the decadence of Anglo-Saxon society, rebelling against its restrictive code, seeking new thrills, new fields to explore, searching for color, color and more color she was not to be taken seriously.

I must confess that I shared with Harlem the quite general impression that we were again having inflicted upon us a sort of female soldier of fortune. An impression most effectively expressed by a slight upward twist of the lip and a vague shrug of the shoulders. But that was before "Negro" came to my desk; before I had thumbed the pages or read a line of this huge (there are 850 pages measuring 12 by 9½ inches) and magnificently bound volume.

* * *

MISS CUNARD has essayed a work which will be invaluable for any future study of the Negro in these times. She calls her book an anthology. It is more. It is an encyclopedia of Negro life in the Americas, in Africa and in Europe. Of the lands in which black folk live only Australia is omitted. Here are presented surveys of the Negro's history and present condition, accounts of the obstacles he meets at work, play and study, records of his achievements, selections from his literature, reproductions and appraisals of his artistic creations in music, the theatre and sculpture, studies of his folkways. All in one comprehensive volume.

NANCY CUNARD and Taylor Gordon are shown above as they appeared in Harlem when the English woman was gathering material for the massive book, "Negro," which is shown in the background.

A foreword, a poem and articles on Harlem, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (a reactionary Negro organization she calls it), the American mind and color, Scottsboro, Jamaica, and the color bar in Europe are the compiler's contributions to the book. Miss Cunard approaches her subject with a definite Communist bias. This approach leads the author on occasions to conclusions which, however desirable, are more expressive of a hope than the facts warrants. But it makes for clarity of expression. She writes succinctly with a directness born of conviction. "It was necessary to make this book," Miss Cunard writes in her foreword. And one may believe, from the earnest tone of her contributions, that the making of "Negro" had her all a-tingle, that the long hours of study, travel and gathering of materials (despite untoward incidents) was a pleasure to her, that energy, words, thought, flowed from her to create this book.

I know of no other article in which Harlem is so starkly portrayed as in Miss Cunard's "Harlem Reviewed." Highlights and shadows are here presented in clear perspective. What she likes, she likes and says so warmly. What she dislikes she harshly criticizes, as the Negro papers of which, she says, there is only one "honest" one in the entire country.

"Harlem.....is hard and strong; its noises, heat, cold, cries and color are so. And the nostalgia is violent too; the eternal radio seeping through everything day and night, indoors and out, becomes somehow the personification of restlessness, desire, brooding. And then the gorgeous roughness, the gargle of Louis Armstrong's voice breaks through. As everywhere the real people are in the street. I mean those young men on the corner, and the people sitting on the steps throughout the breathless, leaden summer. I mean the young men in Pelham Park; the sports groups (and one sees many in bright sweaters), the strength of a race, its beauty."

* * *

THAT IS WHAT Miss Cunard saw in Harlem. And again: "One of the first things I was impressed by, the best thing that remains of Harlem, was the magnificent strength

and lustiness of the Negro children. As I walked from end to end of it, down the length of Seventh avenue, schools were just out. The children rushed by in rough leather jackets in the cold wind, some of them playing ball on roller skates, shouting, free. May these gorgeous children in their leathers be the living symbol of the finally liberated Negro people."

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Race Problem - 1934

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Commercial Appeal

What is a power in the grand style today? First of all there is "Moscow," quite mysterious and to Western thought and feeling quite incalculabe, the decisive factor for Europe since 1812, but since 1917 for the whole world. Asia has regained Russia, which 'Europe" in the shape of Peter the Great had annexed. The conception "Europe" therefore disappears from practical political thought—or ought to if we and whole armies from one side or another.

had any outstanding statesmen. But this "Asia" is an idea, and an idea with a future, too. 8-19-34

The population of this mightiest of the earth's inland areas is unassailable from outside. The great industrial areas which are important to power politics have all been built up east of Moscow, for the greater part, east of the Urals as far as the Altai and on the south down to the Caucasus.

Memphis, Tenn.

The whole area west of Moscow could be sacrificed without a crash of the whole system. But by the same token any idea of an offensive from the west has become senseless. It would be a thrust into empty space.

* * *

BUT this power can conduct no foreign wars, either to west or to east, otherwise than by propaganda. It would not survive a defeat, since it could not even survive a victory; the Moscow bureaucracy if confronted with a victorious general would be lost and Soviet Russia would be succeeded by some other Russia, the ruling horde being probably massacred.

The Russian attitude in Manchuria and the non-aggression pacts in the west certainly disclose a determination to avoid a military test in any circumstances.

* * *

JAPAN, on the contrary, holds a very strong position. She is almost unassailable by sea owing to her conformation as a chain of islands, the narrow channels between which can be safely barred by mine fields, submarines and aircraft, so as to put the China Sea out of reach of any foreign fleet. Further, she has secured in Manchuria a slice of the mainland which will be of enormous importance politically.

The least attempt by the Bolsheviks to take military measures against this shifting of power would lead to the taking of Vladivostok, Eastern Mongolia and probably Peking. The only practical counteracting influence is the Red Revolution in China, but since the founding of the Kuomintang this has come to grief again and again through the buying off of generals

Once the Pacific problem was a European one. If England retires from her former position in these seas, thereby exposing Australia to the Japanese pressure, that continent will certainly leave the empire and attach itself to America.

* * *

AMERICA is the only serious opponent, but how strong is even she at this point on the water? The Panama Canal, San Francisco and Hawaii lie much too far apart to serve as naval bases against Japan; the Philippines can scarcely be held, and Japan has potential allies against New York in Latin America, whose significance does not diminish through not being talked about.

Is the United States a power with a future? Before 1914 superficial observers talked of unlimited possibilities after they had looked about them for a week or two, and post-war "society" from Western Europe, compounded of snobs and mobs, was full of enthusiasm for "husky" young America as being far superior to ourselves—nay, positively a model for us to follow.

But for purposes of durable form, records and dollars must not be taken to represent the spiritual strength, and depth of the people to whom they belong; neither must sport be confused with race-soundness nor business intelligence with spirit and mind.

What is "100 per cent Americanism?" A mass existence standardized to a low average level, a primitive pose, or a promise for the future?

All we know is that so far there is neither a real nation nor a real state. Can both of these develop but of the knocks of fate, or is this possibility excluded by the very fact of the Colonial type, whose spiritual type belongs elsewhere and is now dead? The American does not talk of state or Mother Country like the Englishman, but of "this country."

Actually what is amounts to is a boundless field and a population of trappers, drifting from town to town in the dollar-hunt, unscrupulous and dissolute; for the law is only for those who are not cunning or powerful enough to ignore it.

The resemblance to Bolshevik Russia is far greater than one imagines. Commercial

Life is organized exclusively from the economic side and consequently lacks depth, all the more because it contains nothing of that element of historic tragedy, of great destiny, that has widened and chastened the soul of western peoples through the centuries. Their religion, originally a strict form of Puritanism, has become a sort of obligatory entertainment, and the war was a novel sport.

And there is the same dictatorship there as in Russia (it does not matter that it is imposed by society instead of a party), affecting everything — flirtation and church-going, shoes and lipstick, dances and novels a la mode, thought food, and recreation—that in the western world is left to the option of individuals. 8-19-34

There is one standardized type of American, and, above all, American woman, in body, clothes and mind; any departure from or open criticism of the type arouses public condemnation in New York as in Moscow. Memphis,

Finally, there is an almost Russian form of state socialism or state capitalism, represented by the mass of trusts, which, like the Russian economic administrations, systematically standardize and control every detail of production and marketing. These are the real lords of the land in both cases. It is the Faustian will-to-power, but translated from organic growth to soulless mechanization. Tenn.

Dollar imperialism which invades the whole of America down to Santiago and Buenos Aires and seeks to undermine and eliminate West European (and, above all, English) trade, is entirely analogous in its control of economic trends by political power to Bolshevik imperialism.

The Bolshevik motto: "Asia for Asiatics," too, corresponds in principle to the present-day conception of the Monroe Doctrine for Latin-America—namely, all America for the economic power of the United States. This is the ultimate meaning of the founding of "independent" republics like Cuba and Panama, of the intervention in Nicaragua and the overthrow by the might of the dollar of unaccommodating presidents right down to the extreme south.

But this "liberty" of existence on the purely economic basis, free of state and of law, has its other side. Out of it has arisen a sea power which is beginning to be stronger than England's and controls two oceans. Colonial possessions have arisen; the Philippines, Hawaii, islands of the West Indies. And business interests and English propaganda dragged the country deeper and deeper into the first World War, even to the extent of military participation. But the United States has thereby become a leading element in international politics, whether it would or no, and it must either now learn to think and act internally and externally in accordance with a state policy or else, in its present form, disappear. There is now no going back.

Is the "Yankee" equal to this difficult task? Does he stand for an indestructible kind of life or is he only a fashion in physical, mental and moral clothing? And, moreover, how many inhabitants of the country are there who inwardly do not belong to this ruling Anglo-Saxon type?

Quite apart from the negroes, the immigrants during the 20 years before the war included—with only a small proportion of Germans, English and Scandinavians—no less than 15 million Poles, Russians, Czechs, Balkan Slavs, eastern Jews, Greeks, inhabitants of Asia Minor, Spaniards and Italians.

The greater part of these have not been incorporated in Americanism, but form an alien, foreign-thinking and very prolific proletariat with its spiritual home in Chicago. They, too, desire unrestricted economic war, but have a different conception of it.'

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This is the first of a series of articles from the most recent work of the distinguished German philosopher, Oswald Spengler, "The Hour of Decision." Another will appear in an early issue, probably next Sunday.

An Alabama Tale

STORMY ROAD. By Thomas Rowan. 305 pp. New York: Ives Washburn, Inc. $2.

A FEW seasons ago "Stormy Road" might have seemed much more striking and impressive than it does now. Too many writers following in the footsteps of Kaulkner and Caldwell have given us stark and brutal, or raw and Rabelaisian descriptions of life among the poor whites of the South. This kind of thing is all very well in its place—and it undeniably had a place. But since it relies for its effect partly upon novelty, since it is doubtless not altogether free of the desire to shock, it is especially liable to be dulled by repetition.

Any honest and detailed account of life as it is actually lived in any part of the country is an acceptable contribution to the literature of localism. But unless it goes a bit further and gives us character and emotion as well as dialect and color, its function is a decidedly limited one. "Stormy Road," rowdy and brutal as it is, is unmistakably sincere. Mr. Rowan knows his people. At least he knows them in the sense that he knows what they eat and wear, how they talk and fight and make love. He knows the songs they sing and the hopes they cherish. But for all that, the value of his novel is chiefly descriptive. He does not call upon us to feel deeply with his characters.

As description, however, "Stormy Road" is excellent. The story is seen through the eyes of a small boy—a rather neglected little fellow who adores his horse-trading, hell-raising father, hates and fears his half-brother, Ira, and dreads his mother's volcanic outbursts of jealousy. These people, scratching a living from their barren little Alabama farm, are unacquainted with many of the bare necessities of living. There is little amusement to be had except an occasional drunk on corn liquor, a little fiddle playing and buck-and-wing dancing, a little chasing after women and a good deal of vicious fighting.

Bill, the boy's father, manages a livelier time than most. He is, according to Ben Bullard, "hell among the daisies when it comes to wimmin." The jealousy of his eldest stepson, Ira, is a constant menace to the peace of the household. Ira, taking him unaware one fine evening, lays Bill's head open with a poker, and the whole family pulls up stakes and moves on. It seems quite probable that Bill will not survive and that Ira may be called upon to explain himself to a jury of his peers.

Prosperity attends the move. Bill turns up presently, badly scarred but as lusty and vigorous as ever, and gets a job as night watchman in an iron foundry. His wage of $8 a week represents undreamed-of affluence. In addition, he and Ben Bullard manage to turn a penny now and then by horse-trading. Bill evens his score with Ira in a knifing-scrape and continues his innumerable affairs with women. However, a meddlesome gossip sets a husband or two on his trail. There is a serious shooting, husband and wife separate and the boy, who had watched the whole thing with a precocious and growing comprehension, seizes the opportunity to strike out for himself in the world.

The tale is told in a salty idiom. There is a good deal of brawny and plenty of action to keep it lively and readable to the end.

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Commercial Appeal

What is a power in the grand style today? First of all there is "Moscow," quite mysterious and to Western thought and feeling quite incalculabe, the decisive factor for Europe since 1812, but since 1917 for the whole world. Asia has regained Russia, which 'E'urope" in the shape of Peter the Great had annexed. The conception "Europe" therefore disappears from practical political thought—or ought to if we had any outstanding statesmen. But this "Asia" is an idea, and an idea with a future, too. 8-19-34

The population of this mightiest of the earth's inland areas is unassailable from outside. The great industrial areas which are important to power politics have all been built up east of Moscow, for the greater part, east of the Urals as far as the Altai and on the south down to the Caucasus.

Memphis, Tenn.

The whole area west of Moscow could be sacrificed without a crash of the whole system. But by the same token any idea of an offensive from the west has become senseless. It would be a thrust into empty space.

* * *

BUT this power can conduct no foreign wars, either to west or to east, otherwise than by propaganda. It would not survive a defeat, since it could not even survive a victory; the Moscow bureaucracy if confronted with a victorious general would be lost and Soviet Russia would be succeeded by some other Russia, the ruling horde being probably massacred.

The Russian attitude in Manchuria and the non-aggression pacts in the west certainly disclose a determination to avoid a military test in any circumstances.

* * *

JAPAN, on the contrary, holds a very strong position. She is almost unassailable by sea owing to her conformation as a chain of islands, the narrow channels between which can be safely barred by mine fields, submarines and aircraft, so as to put the China Sea out of reach of any foreign fleet. Further, she has secured in Manchuria a slice of the mainland which will be of enormous importance politically.

The least attempt by the Bolsheviks to take military measures against this shifting of power would lead to the taking of Vladivostok, Eastern Mongolia and probably Peking. The only practical counteracting influence is the Red Revolution in China, but since the founding of the Kuomintang this has come to grief again and again through the buying off of generals only for those who are not cunning or powerful enough to ignore it.

The resemblance to Bolshevik Russia is far greater than one imagines. Commercial

Life is organized exclusively from the economic side, and consequently lacks depth, all the more because it contains nothing of that element of historic tragedy, of great destiny, that has widened and chastened the soul of western peoples through the centuries. Their religion, originally a strict form of Puritanism, has become a sort of obligatory entertainment, and the war was a novel sport.

And there is the same dictatorship there as in Russia (it does not matter that it is imposed by society instead of a party), affecting everything — flirtation and church-going, shoes and lipstick, dances and novels a la mode, thought food, and recreation—that in the western world is left to the option of individuals. 8-19-34

There is one standardized type of American, and, above all, American woman, in body, clothes and mind; any departure from or open criticism of the type arouses public condemnation in New York as in Moscow.

Memphis

Finally, there is an almost Russian form of state socialism or state capitalism, represented by the mass of trusts, which, like the Russian economic administrations, systematically standardize and control every detail of production and marketing. These are the real lords of the land in both cases. It is the Faustian will-to-power, but translated from organic growth to soulless mechanization.

Memphis

Dollar imperialism which invades the whole of America down to Santiago and Buenos Aires and seeks to undermine and eliminate West European (and, above all, English) trade, is entirely analogous in its control of economic trends by political power to Bolshevik imperialism.

The Bolshevik motto: "Asia for Asiatics," too, corresponds in principle to the present-day conception of the Monroe Doctrine for Latin-America—namely, all America for the economic power of the United States. This is the ultimate meaning of the founding of "independent" republics like Cuba and Panama, of the intervention in Nicaragua and the overthrow by the might of the dollar of unaccommodating presidents right down to the extreme south.

But this "liberty" of existence on only for those who are not cunning or powerful enough to ignore it.

Out of it has arisen a sea power which is beginning to be stronger than England's and controls two oceans. Colonial possessions have arisen; the Philippines, Hawaii, islands of the West Indies. And business interests and English propaganda dragged the country deeper and deeper into the first World War, even to the extent of military participation. But the United States has thereby become a leading element in international politics, whether it would or no, and it must either now learn to think and act internally and externally in accordance with a state policy or else, in its present form, disappear. There is now no going back.

Is the "Yankee" equal to this difficult task? Does he stand for an indestructible kind of life or is he only a fashion in physical, mental and moral clothing? And, moreover, how many inhabitants of the country are there who inwardly do not belong to this ruling Anglo-Saxon type?

Quite apart from the negroes, the immigrants during the 20 years before the war included—with only a small proportion of Germans, English and Scandinavians—no less than 15 million Poles, Russians, Czechs, Balkan Slavs, eastern Jews, Greeks, inhabitants of Asia Minor, Spaniards and Italians.

The greater part of these have not been incorporated in Americanism, but form an alien, foreign-thinking and very prolific proletariat with its spiritual home in Chicago. They, too, desire unrestricted economic war, but have a different conception of it.

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This is the first of a series of articles from the most recent work of the distinguished German philosopher, Oswald Spengler, "The Hour of Decision." Another will appear in an early issue, probably next Sunday.

An Alabama Tale

STORMY ROAD. By Thomas Rowan. 305 pp. New York: Ives Washburn, Inc. $2.

A FEW seasons ago "Stormy Road" might have seemed much more striking and impressive than it does now. Too many writers following in the footsteps of Kaulkner and Caldwell have given us stark and brutal, or raw and Rabelaisian descriptions of life among the poor whites of the South. This kind of thing is all very well in its place—and it undeniably had a place. But since it relies for its effect partly upon novelty, since it is doubtless not altogether free of the desire to shock, it is especially liable to be dulled by repetition.

Any honest and detailed account of life as it is actually lived in any part of the country is an acceptable contribution to the literature of localism. But unless it goes a bit further and gives us character and emotion as well as dialect and color, its function is a decidedly limited one. "Stormy Road," rowdy and brutal as it is, is unmistakably sincere. Mr. Rowan knows his people. At least he knows them in the sense that he knows what they eat and wear, how they talk and fight and make love. He knows the songs they sing and the hopes they cherish. But for all that, the value of his novel is chiefly descriptive. He does not call upon us to feel deeply with his characters.

As description, however, "Stormy Road" is excellent. The story is seen through the eyes of a small boy—a rather neglected little fellow who adores his horse-trading, hell-raising father, hates and fears his half-brother, Ira, and dreads his mother's volcanic outbursts of jealousy. These people, scratching a living from their barren little Alabama farm, are unacquainted with many of the bare necessities of living. There is little amusement to be had except an occasional drunk on corn liquor, a little fiddle playing and buck-and-wing dancing, a little chasing after women and a good deal of vicious fighting.

Bill, the boy's father, manages a livelier time than most. He is, according to Ben Bullard, "hell among the daisies when it comes to wimmin." The jealousy of his eldest stepson, Ira, is a constant menace to the peace of the household. Ira, taking him unaware one fine evening, lays Bill's head open with a poker, and the whole family pulls up stakes and moves on. It seems quite probable that Bill will not survive and that Ira may be called upon to explain himself to a jury of his peers.

Prosperity attends the move. Bill turns up presently, badly scarred but as lusty and vigorous as ever, and gets a job as night watchman in an iron foundry. His wage of $8 a week represents undreamed-of affluence. In addition, he and Ben Bullard manage to turn a penny now and then by horse-trading. Bill evens his score with Ira in a knife-ing-scrape and continues his innumerable affairs with women. However, a meddlesome gossip sets a husband or two on his trail. There is a serious shooting, but

band and wife separate and the whole thing with a precocious and growing comprehension, seizes the opportunity to strike out for himself in the world.

The tale is told in a salty idiom. There is a good deal of brawny humor and plenty of action to keep it lively and readable to the end.

Criticism Should Stir Action, Not Anger

Reader Of 'Stars Fell' Laughs At Author's Naive Thought Of Serious Attitude

Post 8-18-34

Editor, The Post:

I gather that a certain number of Alabamians are resenting Carl Carmer's book, "Stars Fell on Alabama."

Can it be that some of their resentment is due to the sting of unpleasant truth? And wouldn't it be an advance if these objectors started to resenting actual evils (such as race prejudice and narrow political views) instead of merely resenting the fact that a Northerner has noticed such things?

I discovered enough truth in the book to be impressed anew with the fact that a certain amount of overhauling ought to be done down here.

But mostly the book amused me. At times Mr. Carmer is so naively serious about several situations where the natives were amiably spoofing him!

One most questionable thing in the book is this: "No one knows what storms are brewing in the soul of his jovial golf partner, his sedate colleague on the university faculty, the lanky sallow-faced farmer at the street market, the black cook singing at her work in the kitchen. Tomorrow any one of them may have committed a 'crime passionel.' "

Mr. Carmer evidently intended to include all kinds of persons—and particularly the most unsuspected persons—in his charge that Alabamians are exceedingly inflammatory, just because they are Alabamians.

That doesn't seem to me to be a "scientific" a reason for inner strife as this reason: "Human nature is human nature." That will presumably include some of the more civilized seething—in persons North of the Mason and Dixon line.

IRIS JUSTIN.

CRITICISM OF SOME RECENT BOOKS ABOUT ALABAMA

Editor The Advertiser:

Ever since the days of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" it has been a favorite pastime of some northern authors to write books depicting the South as a semi-barbarous country. Early writers of this type seem to have been crusaders, inspired by altruistic motives, though Uncle Tom's Cabin is said to have sold at the rate of half a million copies in the first five years, and must have made a comfortable even if unexpected fortune for its authoress.

More recently the profit motive has become more prominent, and some misguided southerners have joined the "anvil chorus," and written very unflattering articles and books about their native land, with the evident expectation of selling them in the North. Of course people who like to gloat over the alleged savagery of the South may not be in the majority in the North, but even if only one Yankee in a hundred bought each book of that kind, its profits would be very large.

Another tendency, of ancient origin but more prevalent now than ever before, is the production of salacious shows, stories, books, etc., which now find a ready market throughout the country, especially in cities, in spite of spasmodic denunciations by clergymen and others. I have little time or inclination to read such books, and know of them chiefly through reviews and comments in the newspapers; but three recent ones dealing with Alabama, and combining the elements of salaciousness and unfairness to the South, have come to my notice.

One is a satire on life in and around one of our colleges, by a native Alabamian; one a novel whose scenes are laid in and around Florence, by a Tennessean who attended the University of Alabama about 30 years ago, and has written several other novels; and one a collection of stories, with varying proportions of personal experience, hearsay and folk-lore, by a northern man who spent six years in Alabama.

The first-named, though not intended to be taken seriously, presents a very distorted picture of life in a college town, and especially of the doings of the co-eds, and might discourage some northern people from sending their children to Alabama to college, as many of them have been doing in recent years.

The novelist is the oldest and most experienced of the three men, and although his book shows considerable literary skill, there is too much murder in it, and too many suggestive passages, that would have been frowned upon by polite society a generation ago

The collection of stories, strange to say, has received many more compliments locally than the other two books, though its style is rather crude, and it is liberally sprinkled with lynchings and other scandals, and contains many nauseating passages, that nullify any possible good that may be in it, just as a single drop of poison can spoil a whole glass of water. But all reviewers seem to have passed these over without comment, while praising the rest of the book.

If space permitted, passages could be quoted from each book to show just how the authors have tried, by insinuation or otherwise, to put us in a bad light. Even if all the murders and lynchings narrated really happened, not one person in a thousand in Alabama ever takes part in such an affair, and it is grossly unfair to give the impression that they are popular sports here. And after all, I have never understood just why lynching a man believed to be guilty of a crime punishable by death, which happens about once a month in the South, should be any worse than killing a perfectly innocent person for his money, as happens nearly every day somewhere in the North. Can it be because the North has a large majority of people, and the majority assumes that it is right and the minority wrong?

The authors of such books may make "realism" their excuse, but why should the doings of a very small depraved element of the population receive so much more space than those of the decent majority? We can read enough about them in the newspapers, without buying books about them. A much more likely motive is the prospect of selling the books to South-haters or sensation lovers, or both; and any Southerner who buys a copy is merely encouraging further outbursts. A book about the gangsters of New York or Chicago probably would not attract much attention, except among social workers and the like.

According to the latest information obtainable from "Who's Who," the two Southern writers mentioned, whose objectionable passages are suggestive rather than obscene, are bachelors, and the northern man, who seems to revel in slime, has been married twice but has no children. It is a very significant fact, which seems to have escaped notice, that fathers (and mothers) of large families seldom if ever stoop to write filth. There was comparatively little of it in the 19th century, when families were considerably larger than they are now, but families are getting smaller all the time (the birth-rate in the United States in 1933 was the lowest on record), and it is to be feared that we will have more and more salacious literature hereafter. It seems to be turned out much more in the North, where families are smaller than in the South, which has not gotten so far away from the old-time ideals yet.

University, Ala. ROLAND M. HARPER

Book Chat

What To Read

THAT WHICH CONCERNS ME: Sonnets and other poems by J. Harvey L. Baxter, Published by the Magic City Press, Roanoke, Va. Price $2.

Journal and Guide

Reviewed by Frank Marshall Davis (For The A. N. P.)

Despite a deep-seated prejudice to rhymed verse in general and religious poetry in particular, I am nevertheless forced to concede that Mr. Baxter has produced a most worthy volume. His words flow along smoothly and musically, particularly in the lyric section which is superior to his sonnets.

The author, who has for more than 15 years fought for Negro poetry, is intelligently devout in his Christian verse. He is likewise a lover of the sea and a quiet yet firm believer in the brotherhood of man. Yet his reference to race is so subdued and infrequent that the hasty reader might easily believe Mr. Baxter speaks only for beauty's sake and never for Duskymerican propaganda. The one notable exception is "Paint Me a God," from which I quote:

Paint me a God, as black as I am black
As black as night, as black as ebony,
Whose comely hue and flowing locks shall be,
But as the down on an albino's back.

A God tha I can ponder day and night,
And in my dreamings see a swarthy face,
A God to keep my racial armor bright,
On land or sea, in high and lowly place;
Endow him with the hue of ebonite;
Paint me a God, in likeness of my face.

Particularly pleasing peoms include, "I Am The Tides," "Wrath," "No Room," "Sea Phantom," "My Brother and I," "To L. H.," and "Who." This volume merits a place on the shelf of any lover of good verse and I hope Mr. Baxter will release still other books as h intimates on the cover.

Mr. M. S. S. of Baltimore, Md. is interested in reading some popu ar, non-technical books on abnorma psychology—"Abnormal Behavior.' An introduction to the study of ab normal and anti-social behavior.

Hart, Bernard—"Psychology o Insanity." A brief, popular discussion of the phenomena of insanity and the explanation of them according to recent developments in abnormal psychology.

Hillyer, Jane — "Reluctantly Told." The author writes the autobiography of her mind during four years of partial or complete derangement.

Wembridge, E. R.—"Life Among the Lowbrows." A group of case studies, in story form, based on the author's experiences in Cuyahogaya County Court, in Cleveland, Ohio.

Beers, C. W.—"Mind That Found Itself." An account of the author's experiences in a private sanitorium and an insane asylum.

Mrs. E. D. B. of Erie, Pa., asks for some books on China, her history, civilization and present political conditions.

Giles, H. A.—"Civilization of China." An outline of Chinese culture from ancient times to the present century.

Latourette, K. S.—"The Development of China." The essential facts of Chinese history and development and of the historial setting for her present day problems.

Sokolsky, G. E.—"The Tinder Box of Asia." A review of the political events of the last few years in China and Manchuria and of the relations of Japan and Russia with China.

Ebby, Sherwood—"The Challenge of Asia." The economic, political and intellectual unrest and problems of seven Asiatic countries, presented as a challenge to the western world.

We will be glad to help you solve your book problems, plan outlines for courses of stuly in any desired subject, or give competent direction in the choice of books.

Race Problem - 1934

Canada

Boston Tourists Meet Prejudice In Canada

French Proprietor Asks Objecting Whites to Leave

Chronicle

Rev. and Mrs. S. L. Laviscount, and Attorney and Mrs. Joseph S. Mitchell in their recent motor trip through Canada experienced the far-reaching influence of racial prejudice, as projected everywhere by white southerners. Happily for the local party the proprietor of the hotel, in which the difficulty occurred,, a French Canadian, was not the least bit interested in racial prejudice as manifested in the United States, and therefore turned down the suggestion that the Negro tourists be ejected in the night.

8-25-34

The Laviscount-Mitchell party went to the Governor's Garden Hotel in Quebec and engaged rooms without any difficulty and then went out to see the city. When they returned about nine o'clock in passing through the lobby they heard a controversy going on between the proprietor and three white ladies. Paying no attention to the incident at themoment they went to their rooms. A little later Rev. Laviscount again entered the lobby on his way to post some letters and observed the same conversation in progress in a decidedly more heated manner. His curiosity aroused he sensed a situation and inquired of the difficulty. He was told by the proprietor, M. Arthur Jobidon, that the ladies had observed Atty. Mitchell passing thru the lobby and asked that he be requested to leave, as they were not in the habit of staying in the same hotel with Negroes. M. Jobidon informed them that he catered to the public on the basis of respectability and ability to pay, and that this guest had met both to his satisfaction, and he did not see the necessity of insulting such guest to satisfy the whims of others who had no real grievance. The white guests in reply attempted to point out the fact tha Negroes were inferior and undesirable, and that in the "States" such a condition would not be tolerated.

Finally the proprietor suggested that a possible solution would be for these fine white ladies to seek other quarters for the night. . .as he had no idea of requesting his Negro guests to leave the hotel. Further, he explained that in so leaving they would be expected to leave a sum of $10. to cover the inconvenience suffered by the hotel in preparing for them. Slapping the money down in a fit of rage, the three white ladies from the state of Maryland swished from the hotel at ten o'clock at night to seek a "lily white" hotel.

The Laviscount-Mitchell party covered 1200 miles visiting Montreal, the city of Quebec, The Shrine of St. Anne de Beaupre, The Dufferin Terrace, The Plains of Abraham and many other points of interest, with no other unpleasant experiences.

Race Problem - 1934

Central America and Mexico

Oklahoma City, Okla.
OKLAHOMAN
JUN 25 1934

And Now Mexico

ADDED cause for American disquietude is furnished by the 100 percent Mexicans who have formed a band to drive undesirable aliens from their country. For it is easily possible that the movement to expel Jews, Chinese, Negroes and Armenians may soon include ~~Amer~~icans also. Prejudice is something that expands rapidly under encouraging treatment, and a prejudice sufficiently strong to hate all members of one race may soon become strong enough to manifest an antipathy for all other races. And the Mexican has more reason, perhaps, for hating the United States than he has for hating any other nation.

If the program of the Mexican agitators is carried very far, the republic is certain to give offense to some other power, and that trouble will almost inevitably become the trouble of the United States. Naturally an offensive movement against the Americans now residing in Mexico would draw emphatic protest from Washington. Surely the world has enough trouble nowadays. It is a poor time for racial majorities to expatriate men who are made in the image of God and whose single offense is a different color or language.

Race Problem—1934

Europe

2 Duels Involving French Officials Are Believed Imminent in Paris

PARIS, Jan. 19.—(AP)—Two duels involving deputies appeared imminent today. Both were results of the Stavisky scandal.

A negro member of the chamber of deputies, Joseph Samuel Lagrosilliere, of Martinique, twice slapped Deputy Desire Ferry, the editor of the newspaper La Liberte, in the face. Ferry retaliated by punching his adversary.

Lagrosilliere said he understood Ferry had coupled his name with perjury charges in connection with the collapse of Serge Stavisky's Bayonne pawnshop and the resultant loss to investors of $40,000,000.

Seconds for two other notables met in the chamber to decide which of their principals had been offended in another argument.

They represented Anatole De Monzie, minister of education, and Deputy Philippe Henriot.

These seconds selected Francois Pietri, former cabinet minister and noted swordsman, to decide whether their principals ought to fight a duel and which one, under the code of honor, had been offended.

This, they considered, was an important matter, for the offended party has the choice of weapons.

Ferry, however, did not leave the matter of whether he should duel up to any one else. He immediately chose as his seconds two fellow deputies, Joseph Laniel and Marcel Heraud, and instructed them to present his formal challenge at once to Lagrosilliere demanding "satisfaction by arms."

A few moments later he reversed his personal decision, announcing that he had decided to complain to the courts.

The De Monzie-Henriot challenging likewise had its ups and downs. The seconds smoothed everything over to their own satisfaction, deciding that the official text of a speech Henriot had made yesterday in the chamber showed that he really had not insulted De Monzie.

All Henriot had to do, the seconds decided, was to retract his statement.

But Henriot refused to retract anything. De Monzie, therefore, insisted that the preparations for the duel go on.

Philippe Henriot gave a final diplomatic decision which was accepted by the principals and apparently left everybody happy.

It found Henriot 100 per cent in the wrong when he accused De Monzie, during a chamber of deputies speech, of being the attorney of Mme. Stavisky, widow of Serge Stavisky, whose municipal pawnshop in Bayonne recently collapsed with a loss of $40,000,000 to investors.

It decided also that Henriot acted in good faith on information given him by individuals "who should have known the truth."

Two French Deputies Settle Row Amicably

PARIS, Jan. 20.—(AP)—Bitter threats of a duel and demands for "satisfaction, perhaps on the field of honor" between two French deputies ended today with polite words in a dull communique, instead of a dramatic crossing of swords in the chill, gray dawn.

A "court of honor" named to iron out differences between Anatole De Monzie, minister of education, and

FRENCH DEPUTIES ON VERGE OF DUEL

PARIS.—After Joseph Samuel Lagrosilliere of Martinique, member of the chamber of deputies, had slapped Deputy Deside Ferry, white, editor of La Liberte, for alleged slanderous remarks, Ferry challenged Lagrosilliere to a duel.

The editor later changed his mind, saying that the "judicial antecedents" of the colored deputy prevented a duel. He will seek court justice.

NAZIS ORDER ALL AFRICAN ART TORN DOWN

By Special Correspondent

BERLIN, Germany — The extent to which Hitler and his Nazi followers intend to ban Jews and colored people was demonstrated last week when Coburg officials ordered all manifestations of African art removed from public buildings within seven days.

As a result of this order, workmen started immediately to alter the municipal coat-of-arms which featured the head of a colored man and is therefore not considered to be in keeping with the new "racial ideals" policy.

To Design New Image.

Nazi artists have been asked to suggest new designs to take the place of the African image in the coat-of-arms.

Although Germany's merchants are encouraged to carry on a profitable trade with West African towns, her political leaders are carrying on propaganda to bar all colored peoples from Nazi-controlled territory.

THE NAZIS AND RACIAL MADNESS

Austrian Bishops' Statement

(From our Vienna Correspondent.)

In an earlier message I summarised the main points of a Christmas pastoral letter, which had been issued by the seven Austrian bishops. This remarkable pronouncement cannot fail to have an important effect on the relations between National Socialism and the Catholic Church in Germany as well as Austria. It goes without saying that it was issued with the approval of the Vatican. It therefore seems worth while to give a fuller idea of its contents.

After mentioning the success of the Catholic Congress held in Vienna this year, the pastoral points out that it is not often that the Pope praises a Government so unstintingly as he has praised the Austrian Government. "We Austrian Catholics feel ourselves bound in absolute loyalty to this our Government, which the Pope himself has publicly exalted."

The Pastoral goes on to condemn all acts of violence against the State and to detail the achievements of the Government.

It has suppressed anti-social plots with energy, has taken ample measures for the safeguarding of morals . . . and the revival of the religious spirit in school and teaching, has set about the reorganisation of the army on Christian lines, has negotiated a Concordat with the Holy See, and has embarked on the gigantic labour of creating a new Constitution on the basis of a corporative and Christian society; in a word, it has made its object the Christianisation of the whole of public life along with peaceful collaboration between Church and State for the good of all.

Austria stands to-day at the centre of public interest as an example of Christian order and truly peaceful policy. She wishes to be what she was hundreds of years ago—a bulwark of peace among nations, a centre of Western culture and a rock of Christian faith.

An unfortunate quarrel has created an artificial barrier between Germany and Austria. . . . We Austrians are not responsible for this quarrel, which has been forced upon us. We have repeatedly offered our hand in peace and we shall continue to do so until it is accepted. But a lasting peace can only be concluded on a basis of right. If our Government demands complete independence for Austria, it is only demanding rights which no sovereign State can surrender without surrendering itself. . . .

This quarrel has more than a political character. It has its origin deep down in the attitude of National Socialism towards religion. Years ago the German bishops condemned National Socialism unanimously. They have maintained their condemnation of its religious and ecclesiastical errors, though they have been able to accept the new Government of Germany in view of the solemn official assurances which it has given of a Christian relationship between Church and State. In the same way the conclusion of a Concordat between Germany and the Holy See was only concerned with this legal relationship between Church and State and did not in the very least imply any recognition or approval of the religious and ecclesiastical errors of National Socialism. It is for the Holy See to decide how far this Concordat is in fact being carried out. All the world knows how strained relations are between State and Church in the German Reich. No one should, therefore, be surprised if we Austrian Catholics fear for our religion should National Socialism obtain power among us. The Christian Government of Austria is not only defending its legitimate political rights and interests; it has, at the same time, established a mighty dam against the onrush of these religious errors.

We oppose four basic truths to the teaching of National Socialism:—

First, humanity constitutes a single family, based on justice and love. Therefore we condemn the racial madness of the National Socialists, which leads, nay, must lead, to racial hatred and to conflicts between peoples. We also condemn the unchristian sterilisation law, which stands in clear contradiction with natural rights and with the principles of Catholic Christianity.

Secondly, true Christian nationalism is willed by God and approved by the Church, for love of one's own people and loyalty to country are rooted in man's nature. Therefore we teach the virtue of Christian patriotism, we condemn treason to country, we condemn extreme racial anti-Semitism.

Thirdly, nation and State are two different things, and the State stands above the nation. Therefore we condemn the extreme application of the principle of nationality; we defend the historic rights of our country, we hail the promotion of the Austrian idea.

Fourthly, above all nationalisms stands religion, which is not national but above nations. . . . Religion is not restricted to certain peoples; it brings the good news to all. . . . Therefore we condemn all ideas which must lead to a national church and in the last resort to open breach with the Catholic Church.

We are well aware that not all followers of National Socialism share its religious errors, but we look deeper and have reason to fear that the logic of ideas and facts as well as external influences will in the last resort lead to consequences which all believing Catholics must reject along with us.

We bishops have proved how far we stand above party by our recent resolution ordering all priests to withdraw from party organisations. We hope and desire that the proposed reform of the Constitution will recognise and protect the Church's right to influence; that is why our resolution is only "temporary" out of regard to the embittered political struggles of the present. . . . The Church has recalled its priests but is ready, when the State has been reordered, to place them again at its disposal, as and when it thinks fit.

If ever unity was necessary it is necessary in these decisive hours. "Viribus unitis" ("with united forces"); we make this watchword of an earlier time our watchword for to-day; it will lead us to a peaceful, happy future.

The letter is signed by Cardinal Innitzer, Archbishop of Vienna, by the Archbishop of Salzburg, and by the five other Austrian bishops.

The Rule of Law and German Jews

Guardian Weekly

Civilised States rest on a rule of law. A Constitution prescribes the nature of the law-making body; laws are then made and published, and independent judicial courts base their decisions on whether or not a known law has been violated. In Germany we have been given to understand that the counter-revolution is over. But if anarchy no longer reigns, laws must be upheld. And if Nazi laws supply no guidance the Courts must be guided by the laws of the Second Reich. Now the avowed purpose of the Nazi revolutionaries is to eliminate the Jew from the ordinary life of the new State. But although laws have been passed ruling that most Jews are to be excluded from the Civil Service and the universities, no law has yet laid down the principle that the mere possession of Jewish blood is sufficient to exclude a man from employment. Some of the lower Labour Courts, constituted to arbitrate on labour disputes under the Constitution of Weimar, have therefore held that "the fact that an employee "belongs to the Jewish race is not "itself sufficient ground for dismissal "without notice," and the Prussian Labour Court has upheld the right of Jews (or non-Aryans) to represent their organisations in lower Labour Courts. But two recent rulings, one by the Supreme Federal Labour Court and another by the Berlin Supreme Court, have justified the dismissal of Jews on the sole ground that the Government's policy is anti-Jewish. Such decisions, of course, make a sheer mockery of any known rule of law. The principle that they enshrine—namely, complete outlawry of a large section of citizens—is iniquitous enough. But if Nazi Germany is to lay claim to be a civilised State, it should at least make explicit its principle by legal proclamation. A country which permits its law courts to rest its decisions merely on an interpretation of Governmental policy is, by ordinary standards, not a State but an anarchy.

Sterilization of All Negroes in Reich Demanded by Nazis

Daily Worker 2-9-34

Similar Moves Now Being Made by Southern White Ruling Class

BERLIN, Feb. 8.—Immediate sterilization of all Negroes in Germany and the children of Negro and German parents was demanded today by Heinz Schroeder, fascist eugenics "authority," writing in the Nazi newspaper "Deutsche Zeitung."

Schroeder declared there were in Germany at least 600 children of Negro and German parentage. These children are German citizens and could marry later with "additional racial mixtures resulting," he declared adding "we have enough non-Aryans in Germany at present."

Schroeder's proposal further exposes the glaring chauvinist and aimed at wreaking vengeance on the Nazi sterilization law. Passed under the pretense of sterilizing the weak-minded and incurables, it is actually aifed at wreaking vengeance on the opponents of the bloody fascist regime and on Negroes, Jews and other minority groups. 2-9-34

* * *

NEW YORK.—With the increasing fascization of American democracy various proposals are being made for the use of sterilization as a weapon against the working-class, and especially the Negro masses. Sterilization laws are already on the statutes of 27 states. Last week, the women's advisory board to the mayor and aldermen of Savannah, Georgia, advocated the passage of a sterilization law in that city. The committee plans to launch a campaign for a State sterilization law. It is clear that such a law would be used against the Negro masses and white workers rallying to their defense against the increasing fascist lynch terror.

Cold News.
Verne Sankey Went Out.
A Foolish Babe.
600 Little Mulattoes.

By Arthur Brisbane

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Atlanta, Ga.

IN THE German Rhineland and Ruhr Districts are six hundred children that German authorities call "negroid." We should call them mulattoes. Herr Schroeder, protector of "German race purity," says these are the children of negro soldiers that the French brought onto German territory and he wants them all "sterilized," that they may never have children.

When the war was at its height the French and others were fond of saying that the Prussians were "Huns," meaning that their ancestors were Mongols, Tartars and other invaders from the East. They did not suggest sterilization.

Protest Sterilization Of Negro Children By Nazi Government

Telegrams Sent to German Ambassador and Government

Daily Worker

NEW YORK. — Telegrams and cables, protesting the sterilization of 600 Negro children, as an act of inhuman cruelty of the Nazi regime were sent to Hans Luther in Washington and Schroeder in Berlin, by the Brooklyn Allied Professional Committee and the West Side Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism. 2-10-34

A protest against the continued imprisonment of the defendants and a city-wide anti-Hitler rally will be held February 24th, at Mecca Temple. At this meeting Lord Marley, who is now touring the United States in behalf of the victims of German Fascism, will give a complete report on the latest developments in Germany and particularly on the number of atrocities and the latest methods of brutal torture which are used by the blo dy Hitler government.

New York Times

FEB 8 1934

ASKS NEGRO STERILIZATIO

German Strikes at Children Lef Behind by French Colonials.

BERLIN, Feb. 7 (AP).—Immediat sterilization of Negroid children i the Rhineland and Ruhr district was demanded today by Hei Schroeder, eugenics authority, writ ng in the newspaper Deutsche Zei tung.

The Negro population of thes districts is Germany's legacy fron invading French colonial troop during the war.

Herr Schroeder further recom mended sterilization of all Negr and hybrid races in the entir Reich, estimating that the countr had at least 600 children of Negr fathers by German mothers.

He explained that these children were German citizens because of their mothers' citizenship and could marry later with additional racial mixtures resulting.

"Their children would be regarded as non-Aryans, and we have enough non-Aryans in Germany already," he said.

Berlin University announced today the establishment of eugenics courses for psychiatrists.

A Slap in the Face

Amsterdam News 2-21-34

AMERICAN NEGROES who have been loud in their praise of Hitler and his reign in the Reich—and, strange as it may seem, there are hundreds of these supporters in Harlem and other parts of the country—probably felt themselves slapped in the face recently by the Chancellor's demand that all Negroid children of Germany be sterilized. The actual demand was not mouthed by Hitler, but one does not have to be a profound student of modern history to know that no demand is made publicly in the Third Reich without the sanction or order of the Nazi chieftain.

New York, N.Y.

Paradoxically, these black supporters of Hitler have based their defense of the Chancellor on the one phase of his regime which they, of all peoples, should have condemned—his disgraceful and brutal persecution of the Jews. Not only in Lenox avenue poolrooms and Seventh avenue barber shops, but in Strivers Row drawing rooms and Sugar Hill salons, the voices of these partisans have been lifted often in praise of Herr Hitler and in absurd attempts to justify his inhuman program. "The dirty Jews," they said, in much the same tone that the average Southerner might say "The dirty niggers," "got exactly what was coming to them."

Short-sighted, as are the followers of all demagogues, these black Hitlerites could not foresee the inevitable conclusion of this Jewish persecution. They could not realize that it is imposible to oppress and persecute a minority group in one country without affecting the destinies of all minority groups in all countries. They could not, or would not, see that Hitler defended his actions against Jews in Germany by pointing to similar activities against Negroes in America. But, blinded by prejudice as they must be, even the most rabid of the Chancellor's black partisans must realize now that this latest purported move against those defenseless Negroid German children is but a logical step in the Hitler program of "race purification."

Dominant groups throughout history have fostered animosities among minority groups as a means of furthering the oppression and exploitation of these weaker peoples. And Negroes, one of the most persecuted groups in modern civilization, have readily allowed themselves to be victimized by this practice. This recent unmasking of Hitler—if, indeed, he ever needed unmasking—should serve as a warning to the unthinking Negroes who allow their petty prejudices to endanger their own future. No Negro can afford to encourage race prejudice

Race Problem - 1934

Europe.

J. A. ROGERS

International Correspondent

THE COLOR BAR IN ENGLAND

The Four Mills Brothers and their company are reported as having been barred from London hotels. The same happened to Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson and Marcus Garvey, R. S. Abbott and others. The unpleasant fact is that while the lighter-colored Negroes are accepted almost anywhere in England, the darker ones, including dark Hindus, are usually barred.

Boston Chronicle 5-19-34

England, as I have pointed out before, is the only country in Europe, where this exists. On the Continent the darkest man, if he has the money, may walk boldly into even the most luxurious palace of Cytherea, and be accepted. I have yet to see or to hear of a single instance where a Negro was barred in Europe, except to please white Americans.

Boston

Color prejudice, to the best of my knowledge, originated among English speaking peoples, and has almost been their monopoly. In South American countries, and in certain French and Portuguese colonies in Africa, there is a mild form of it, but it exists with virulence only in English speaking lands as the United States and South Africa.

How explain this? Negro slavery began in England and Portugal about the same time, 1440. Emancipation took place the same year—1773. But what a difference. In Portugal the Negro rapidly became a power, and their offspring, very dark in color, even mounted the throne. On the other hand as late as 1731, one finds a jim-crow law in London barring the blacks from becoming apprentices of trades.

Shakespeare lived when there was Negro slavery in England. In depicting color prejudice in Othello, he was really using an English background. It is doubtful whether there would have been any objection to Othello's union with Desdemona on the ground of color on the European continent. There are many historical instances to the contrary. Charles V., one of the most powerful rulers of all European rulers, married his only daughter to a mulatto, himself, head of the most illustrious royal family of Europe at that time.

The color problem, which is becoming world-wide, really began in Virginia in 1619 with the introduction of Negro slavery. In the West Indies and South America a hard and fast color line was impossible. An exception was nearly always made in the case of the mulatto offspring, as the whites being few in number, needed these to bolster up their system of exploitation. But in the United States, the whites existed in such numbers that they did not need the mulatto, and thus arose the Anglo-Saxon dictum that one "drop" of African strain made one a Negro. But after the abolition of slavery it became legal in Virginia for octoroons to marry white, and those with less than an eighth of Negro strain to marry whites, as in South Carolina and certain other states now. In no other land, however, did the color bar become so rigid as in the United States, not even in Cape Colony. The South African Year Book shows, as far as I can remember, more than a thousand legal mixed marriages in South Africa in the last few years. One of these was the marriage of an English nobleman, Lord Grey, to an ordinary Hottentot woman. In America that would have been unthinkable. The Dutch influence is strong in South Africa, and this may account for it.

In my historical researches I have found that color prejudice in England is centuries old. The opposite has been true of France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Russia, etc. Nevertheless this English color line was never strong, though it is a British rule to treat natives inferior to subjects of the Mother Country, and such whites as Canadians, etc. The English people, however, are polite—the politest, I know. Hence I am inclined to think that a certain type of Negroes who went to the British Isles had much to do with the growth of color prejudice there. During the reigns of Victoria and Edward VII, there was practically none. During the war, however, Negroes were taken in large numbers to work in the factories, and later in the struggle for jobs, race riots broke out in England precisely as in the United States. Because of the difficulty in making a living in England, also, many Negroes are forced to do objectionable things. These and others of the tough element make it bad for the blacks, the majority of whom are self-respecting.

The tour of the "Blackbirds" in England also stirred much race prejudice. They left behind an alleged reputation for disreputable conduct, which has made it hard for Aframerican performers since. The American tourist, however, is the one really responsible for the barring of respectable Negroes in England.

The Negro

Manchester Guardian Weekly

The League of Coloured Peoples is arranging for a large conference to be held at Friends' House in the middle of July to consider the negro in the present world order.' No doubt the subject might occupy the conference for a month; actually three days will be given to it. This conference, the first of its type, will represent English organisations working on behalf of the negro as well as all negro associations in London and other British towns. The league is the largest organisation of coloured people in this country, but it has a wider range than the negro associations that exist chiefly in the seaports, and it is considerably younger than some of them.

The League of Coloured Peoples has been invited to hold its annual service at the Camberwell Green Congregational Church on Sunday evening, and probably sixty or seventy members of the league will be present as on other occasions. Some of them will take a share in the service.

A MONUMENT TO A NEGRO

Defender 6-16-34

MOST POPULAR MONUMENT IN MOSCOW—The statue, erected during the czarist regime, in honor of Alexander Pushkin, noted black poet of Russia, ranks with the Lenin monument as one of the most popular memorials in the Soviet city. People come from every section of the city to Pushkin square to stand at the foot of the monument representing this curly headed poet and pay highest tribute to him. Only in four countries of the world can be found official monuments honoring black citizens, and Russia is one of these. The other countries are Cuba, France and Argentina.

"Tall Curly-Headed Negro"

ALEXANDER PUSHKIN

Following the Revolution in 1917, many statues of the nobility and the ruling class were pulled down by the toiling masses of Russia. Although Pushkin was born into a noble Moscow family, his statue still remains on the square which bears his name in the heart of the city. From this photo the reader will see that, as the poet, Langston Hughes, says in International Literature, "a tall curly-headed Negro stands looking down on the moving life of Russia's greatest city."

Diagne, Ex-French Cabinet Minister, Buried June 5

Black War Hero, upon Whom France Heaped Honors, Interned on Native Soil. Thousands of Warriors Answered His Call to Save France During German Invasion. France Failed to Keep Promises After War.

PARIS — The death of Blaise Diagne, the Senegal Deputy and former minister of the colonies, at a sanatorium in the South of France, removes one of the most outstanding men of the French Republic. Mr. Diagne was sick for several months and had to return to Africa for rest, where the hot climate was more suitable.

For some time he showed signs of improving, but recently he suffered a relapse, and his physician ordered him to return to Europe for special treatment. Despite all efforts of French specialists, Mr. Diagne continued to weaken and finally succumbed to his pulmonary disease, a few days ago. His body was taken to Dakar, for interment in his family tomb on June 5.

Had Little Education

The political career of Mr. Diagne was phenomenal. A man with very little formal education when compared with his black West Indian contemporaries, — Mr. Delmont, Deputy for Martinique, who is a lawyer, and Mr. Condace, Deputy from Guadeloupe, who is a professor; Mr. Diagne, nevertheless, outshone them. He was endowed with a remarkable amount of natural abilities which he turned to full advantage in life.

After leaving a missionary school in Senegal, Mr. Diagne joined the government service as a clerk in the Customs Department. Later on he was transferred to Madagascar and the French West Indies. On his retirement from the civil service, Mr. Diagne returned to Senegal and entered politics.

The blacks nominated and elected him their deputy in the Chamber in order to free themselves from the domination of white Frenchment, who until then were the representatives of the colored people in the French Parliament.

Turning Point Comes

Mr. Diagne's victory marked a turning point in Senegal politics. His political campaign against his white opponents was one of the bitterest in French colonial politics. The racial conflict between Africans and Europeans in West Africa reached a crisis. Although Mr. Diagne made many bitter enemies for himself, as a result of supporting the French imperialists during the war, the Africans nevertheless, preferred him to a white deputy.

BLAISE DIAGNE
Chevalier of the French Legion of Honor

Poincare Appealed to Him

During the most difficult hour of France, when the German army was within striking reach of Paris, Poincare appealed to Diagne for aid. The French General Staff recommended that the black deputy be sent to Africa to appeal to the chiefs to come to the rescue of the Republic. Diagne was dispatched to Dakar on board a French man-of-war, as the special representative of the President of France to take whatever steps be deemed necessary to advance the military aims of the nation.

Thousands Rallied

Mr. Diagne was given a great reception on his arrival in Africa. He toured the country appealing to the blacks to support the "fatherland." Hundreds of thousands rallied to the Tricolor under the belief that after victory they too, would be rewarded with land, freedom from taxation and self-determination,—only to be disappointed like American, West Indian, and blacks of other countries.

Thanks to the black troops, France was able to strengthen her defences and drive the Germans across the Marne, carrying victory into the enemy's camp. What happened after the war is well known to every intelligent African. Since then the Africans have been very bitter. They have neither forgiven Diagne nor the French politicians. It is doubtful whether they will ever voluntarily give their services again to France in a national danger.

Diagne Rewarded

Mr. Diagne was well rewarded for his services. He became a national idol of the Republic. The President conferred the highest honors of the State upon him. He was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, and appointed Deputy-Minister for the Colonies during the Premiership of Pierre Laval in 1931 and again in 1932.

Mr. Diagne was not a rich man, as many people at one time believed. The French, notwithstanding the Stavitsky scandal, are not so fond of parting with money. They, like most white people, are very practical; they keep the gold for themselves and give the blacks, whom they want to flatter, titles and high offices, with little pay. Mr. Diagne was no exception.

Mr. Diagne is gone. But he will long be remembered not only by Marcus Garvey, whom he once publicly snubbed, but by Senegalese and Parisians alike.

Race Problem - 1934

Europe.

Says Report Of Nazi Cruelty Is Propaganda "Sponsored By America

Gary American

9-21-34

Dr. Chas. E. Hawkins, pastor of First Baptist Church, who has just returned from Berlin Germany, where he attended the World Baptist Alliance, tells an interesting story of his observations while there. Quoting Dr. Hawkins, who says: "I have been asked frequently as to how we were received and what was the general attitude of the German people toward our meeting there. In a word I can truthfully say no people were ever more loyally received or hospitably entrtained. During our session, the Mayor himself gave words of welcome and on two occasions to my knowledge the City of Berlin sent large motor coaches to convey the American delegation through the city and furnish guides to show and explain the interesting things. This was all at their expense. This was done on the face of the fact that the Alliance had previously unanimously voted to adopt resolutions which deplored their treatment of the Jews. The alliance est itself squarely and unmistakably before the German people and the world as a meeting opposed to their conduct in this affair. The Alliance as you understand meets every five years. In their last session held in Canada five commissions were sent out to investigate and study world conditions, socially, industrially, economically, etc., and to bring in recommendations as to our approach as to the solution of the problem. The Alliance was attended by delegations from 34 different nationalities with perhaps a 1,000 delegation from America."

Continuing, Dr. Hawkins said: "The public seems to be anxious to know about the treatment of Negroes and Jews by the Germans. This Negro affair is just American propaganda and should be divorced from the whole thing for there has not been insofar as I was able to discover any expressions of bitterness of feeling or animosity with reference to many, the Negro. The facts seem to be to the contrary. As the Negro was almost an idol to them. For example: I arrived in Berlin on August 5th and left Saturday morning August 11, during this period of 5 days I autographed more than 2,000 diaries and was requested to pose for more than 250 pictures for the German people, who seem to be more than anxious to fellowship with us and have received communications since my return from several persons expressing their intention to visit me as they will come to this country to visit the next session of the Alliance which will be held in Atlanta, Ga.,."

Concerning the Jewish German question, Dr. Hawkins observed that: "It seems that this trouble all started in Munich, a city not far from Berlin, where the Jew seems to have held the major public offices and also controlled in a large way the professions such as doctors, lawyers, teachers and according to a Mr. Schraff who was a lieutenant during the World War in the German army, and had charge of what is called the Storm Troops, whenever a vacancy occurred in any office or there was preference to be shown in any profession or a scholarship to be given in any school, the Jews who, according to Mr. Scarff quoting his own words, "The Jews are a very clannish people" got it. Mr. Hitler took the advantage of the situation. I mean by this, as you know, there is a world depression, and there were many people out of work in Germany and Mr. Hitler concluded, it appears that to get rid of the Jews would mean to give the Germans work. This idea passed to the common people and spread like wild fire. Hence the edict The Jews leave Germany. This applied however only to the Jews who had come in after the war. It is said the Jews came in Germany after the war and made hay while the sun was shining, according to the old addage. I understand that Mr. Hitler was visited by several committees, Mr. Scharff himself heading one, and was asked not to be so drastic in his measures. He seems only to have softened a little when the Mayor of Munich prevailed with him. The Mayor and Mr. Hitler were cell-mates during their imprisonment during the time of the war, and incidentally may I say, that the Mayor of Munich was the son of a Baptist preacher, and perhaps got his spirit from his father.

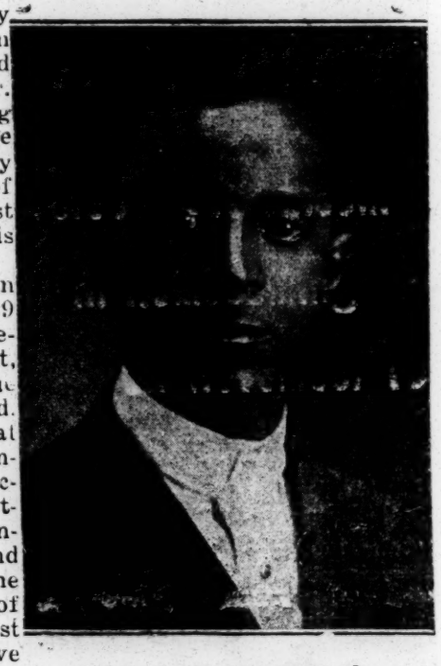
During the recent election in Germany, Mr. Hitler polled 89 per cent of the people. Previously he had polled 97 per cent, I believe. These facts of the case are grossly misunderstood. There seems to be a feeling that Mr. Hitler's popularity is waning. The election does not necessarily say so. The people voted their disapproval of combining the two offices, President and Chancellor, and in spite of the fact that the combination of these offices gives Hitler almost absolute power as stated above 89 per cent of the people voted for him.

While I and the rest of the world do deplore the treatment of the Jews by the Germans, let it be definitely understood that throughout all Europe it is very clearly stated that the English for the English, the Italian for the Italians, the French for the French, etc., and no place except Russia probably, can one secure employment except that they are a native."

Commenting on the beauty of Germany and the the humanitarian work of the nation, Dr. Hawkins says:

"Germany is a very beautiful place and has many interesting things and is doing a very fine type of work in general for humanity. If you think of Germany only as it has to do with the Jew question, your view will be unbalanced. I trust that in the near future, I can find the time and you can give the space for me to give the other side of the German life for they are in the front line in a lot of ways especially in providing for the welfare and development of their children and the caring for their less fortunate people. For instance, the government retention station at 21st Washington Street only approaches the one I visited in Berlin."

Returns From Abroad



REV. C. E. HAWKINS

Another blow is aimed at white supremacy. Negro children in Africa and Asia, who formerly played with white, blonde dolls, manufactured in Germany, are now playing with yellow dolls manufactured by the industrious Japanese. Nordic doll manufacturers cannot compete with the Japanese and so are losing the markets.

Consider the psychological effect of taking black children off a diet of white dolls and placing them on a diet of yellow ones. Some day, perhaps a century hence, African manufacturers underselling the Japanese, will flood the world with brown dolls. What will that do to white supremacy? And to yellow supremacy?

RACE DISCRIMINATION IN ENGLAND IS ISSUE IN LONDON PRESS

Crusader News Agency

LONDON, England. - (CNA - By Mail) - Race discrimination in England is the subject of a recent controversy in the London press. The controversy was prompted by a letter appearing in the London Daily Mirror, signed Valaida, and stating that there is no color bar in this country.

11-17-34

2162 Seventh Ave, New York

Answering this contention, A. Ward, Secretary of the Negro Welfare Association, whichhas its headquarters in this city, wrote to the Mirror that anyone who had lived in England for any length of time and encountered no discrimination was "very lucky."

Much Discrimination

"The Negro Welfare Association," the letter says inpart, "has for the last twenty years been fighting the color bar in this country, in restaurants, hotels, dance halls and saloons. Men of color such as the millionaire Abbott of Chicago, business men from the British colonies, students and outstanding Indian politicians have been barred in this country from entering hotels.

"A recent outstanding case is that of Mr. M. A. Dookie, the West Indian long-distance runner, who was invited here to take part in the Empire Games, and on the day of his arrival was welcomed by the King officially, and in his remarks the King said that the nation would give the athlete the best of hospitality.

"On that very same night, seventy hotels in London refused this man accomodation.

"You should consult some colored person who was born and has lived here. You will find a large number of these colored people standing about in the neighborhood of Charing Cross Road daily, seeking work to earn a shilling or two to keep body and mind together." ###

Race Problem - 1934

Europe

ENGLAND AND FRANCE BOTH SELF-RIGHTEOUS ABOUT RACE PREJUDICE

Oklahoma City, Okla.

Criticise The United States, But Make Their Own Color Distinctions

By THYRA J. EDWARDS

LONDON, England, Apr. 19.—(ANP)—It was past 11 p. m. when I finally arrived and climbed the 3 flights of stairs to the Jones apartment. Mr. Jones had written that I might come this evening and finish the story of Clemence Cadali, African, who startled the British government when he organized 100,000 African native workers in a trade union. White trade unions in Africa excluded native workers from their organization. Later Cadali came to London and it was Jones who arranged contacts for him with socialists, liberals, Labor party members and Trade Unionists. Further, he interested the English Trade Unions to the end that they continued sound financial backing for a number of years and sent one of their own men, an experienced organizer, to assist Cadali in tactics and theory, and in directing his program toward the ultimate union of black and white workers. More than any man in England, I had been told, Creech Jones has concerned himself with organizing African Labor. He is neither a missionary nor a communist, but an ardent trade unionist.

At present he is director of the Workers' Travel Association, a travel bureau that organizes tours, acts as ticket agent, travel adviser and all much as the American Express and the Cooks Tours do save that that the W. T. A. caters to workers and travelers of lower incomes. Many tours of workers, workers' organizations and contact those with whom they have common interest. The W. T. A. has quite a plant, Trade Union controlled, down on Smith Square in Westminster near the Thames Embankment.

He is not tall. Honest, earnest, sincere. One dark wavy lock continually falls across his eyes and annoys him in conversation. Solid, with a rare forthrightness. And Mrs. Jones has much of the same straightforward genuineness.

I was tired. Such a long strenuous day. I had lunched in Soho with friends, shopped about for a rather unsatisfactory etching of Peter Pan for Ann Cooke, visited the Harold Brownings, dined with John Payne, had high tea with Mrs. Maynard—the length and breadth of London since noon.

And Mr. Jones was just finishing a committee meeting. He looked as worn as I felt. I took a deep chair by the grate and he begged for time off for a "bit of supper." This Mrs. Jones spread attractively on the living room table. I balanced a cup of tea on the chair arm and stretched my toes to the fire. I was searching chill.

"By now what is your reaction to English people?' 'he asked between bites of cheese. He had been one of the first men I met in London and I had covered much ground meanwhile.

"They are most amazingly hospitable," I said, quite sincerely. "Most amazingly so. We boast of hospitality, but the English extend a quite, unostentatious open door." They both looked disappointed. Almost offended. "But we English are not hospitable—not in the way you Americans are. I've heard English men who've been in America on business say how American men drop all their work to entertain them. Dinners, night clubs, dances, everything. We don't think of interrupting our daily program to entertain visitors."

"But isn't that the truest kind of hospitality," I said, "accepting a visitor into the intimate circle and action of your normal daily life? It is intimately gracous and personal. One comes into your homes informally and is comfortable with you. You are not demonstrative for formal."

"And haven't you missed the race prejudice you find in America. That must be a relief."

"I'm afraid I haven't," I said. "O, I've had no unpleasant personal experience. Just as I can travel around in certain liberal circles in America and have no overt annoyance. But that very freedom from any personal rub has given me the chance to talk abjectively with people and to examine their sayings and their thoughts. That is, as objectively as one can on a matter in which one's life is inescapably tied up. I find the dark subjects of England in absolutely no better position than the American Negro. Their treatment and conditions vary from one section to another just as ours do from one state to another. The natives of Nigeria have greater opportunities and freedom than the natives of Bechuanaland and of Kenya. The Negroes of New York and Chicago enjoy fuller development and rights of citizenship than the Negroes of Mississippi and Alabama."

"Understand," I said, "I've no brief for the American attitude. America happens to be the stage on which I was born and on which I shall have to play out my little act. And thus I am interested in studying the conditions of minorities. That is, more and more we realize that black emancipation is not to be hoped for from America—but neither is it to be expected from England or France. And when we are finally convinced that the blacks of France and of England are just as oppressed as the blacks of the United States then will we examine more closely and scientifically the source of our situation. We'll look beyond pigmentation and attack the job at its core."

"But how can you conclude that England is prejudiced?" To which Mrs. Jones added, "Any English person I know would be ashamed to be as prejudiced as Americans are."

"Well," I said, "in the Tshekedi case the British press headlined the 'Inviolability of white supremacy' as blatantly as the American press yelps about 'white womanhood!' Though I've always felt American white men pay their women a very doubtful compliment when they concede that they 'rape' so easily and frequently.

"Then your African and Indian students live in pretty much segregated districts and are absolutely refused service in many public places.

"Further, they may come to England to study but they must return home to work, whether they choose or not. That's pretty vital. They absorb Western culture and must, willy nilly, return to the East."

"But," he apologized, "we have 2,000 Indian students in England almost continuously. Without restrictions think how they would undermine British standards of living and of conduct."

"Do Englishmen in India and Africa preserve the standards they find?"

"No. of course not."

AFRICANS AND INDIANS ARE JIM-CROWED

Thyra Edwards Finds Great Britain No Less Prejudiced Than U. S.

By Thyra Edwards

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4-20-34

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A Forthright Man

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Englishmen Hospitable

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"But isn't that the truest kind of hospitality," I said, "accepting a visitor into the intimate circle and action of your normal daily life? It is intimately gracious and personal. One comes into your homes informally and is comfortable with you. You are not demonstrative or formal."

"And haven't you missed the race prejudice you find in America. That must be a relief."

"I'm afraid I haven't," I said. "O, I've had no unpleasant personal experience. Just as I can travel around in certain liberal circles in America and have no overt annoyance. But that very freedom from any personal rub has given me the chance to talk objectively with people and to examine their sayings and their thoughts. That is, as objectively as one can on a matter in which one's life is inescapably tied up. I find the dark subjects of England in absolutely no better position than the American Negro. Their treatment and conditions vary from one section to another just as our tinually falls across his eyes and do from one state to another. The natives of Nigeria have greater opportunities and freedom than the natives of Bechuanaland and Kenya. The Negroes of New York and

Chicago enjoy fuller development and rights of citizenship than the Negroes of Mississippi and Alabama."

Finds English Prejudiced

"Understand," I said, "I've no brief for the American attitude. America happens to be the stage on which I was born and on which I shall have to play out my little act. And thus I am interested in studying the conditions of minorities under other governments. By elimination we widen our horizons. That is, more and more we realize that black emancipation is not to be hoped for from America—but neither is it to be expected from England or France. And when we are finally convinced that the blacks of France and of England are just as oppressed as the blacks of the United States then will we examine more closely and scientifically the source of our situation. We'll look beyond pigmentation and attack the job at its core."

"But how can you conclude that England is prejudiced?" To which Mrs. Jones added, "Any English person I know would be ashamed to be prejudiced as Americans are."

"Well," I said, "in the Tshekedi case the British press headlined the 'Inviolability of white supremacy' as blatantly as the American press yelps about 'white womanhood'. Though I've always felt American white men pay their women a very doubtful compliment when they concede that they 'rape' so easily and frequently.

"Then your African and Indian students live in pretty much segregated districts and are absolutely refused service in many public places.

"Further, they may come to England to study but they must return home to work, whether they choose or not. That's pretty vital. They absorb Western culture and must, willy nilly, return to the East.".

"But," he apologized, "we have 2,000 Indian students in England almost continuously. Without restrictions think how they would undermine British standards of living and of conduct."

"Do Englishmen in India and Africa preserve the standards they find?"

"No, of course not."

"I can't quite grasp the ethical difference," I said.

"But you will find in the British Parliamentary documents many pronouncements for the protection of the natives in their own land."

"You will find such pronouncements in behalf of the American Negro in the Constitution of the United States, yet more than half of the Negroes are disfranchised. Writing of protective documents is ineffective without some instrument of enforcement."

Mr. Jones saw me home through Russell Square, a garden, wind blown just now, separating my street from his. The way was through the quaint old streets that Charles Dickens knew.

As we said "goodnight" at my door I added, "I'm sorry, but I shall have to insist that the English are hospitable."

And, incidentally, the Cadali story still hangs fire.

THE CHARGES OF 'RITUAL MURDER'

Contents of Nazi Anti-Jewish Journal Summarised

We have obtained a copy of the special "Ritual Murder" number of the "Stürmer" (Julius Streicher's "German weekly for the battle for the truth"), whose publication on May 1 in Nuremberg was reported in Wednesday's "Manchester Guardian."

It is on sale at 30 pfennigs (about 5½d. at present rates), and consists of thirteen pages of reading matter and illustrations and seven of advertisements. One hundred and thirty thousand copies have been printed, whereas an ordinary weekly issue is of 47,000, generally consists of eight pages in all, and sells for 20 pfennigs.

In leaflets which announced the publication of this special number great prominence was given to the alleged "Jewish plan to murder Adolf Hitler." This is, however, relegated to page 13 of the number, the first twelve pages of which are wholly taken up with the "discovery of the Jewish murder plan against non-Jewish humanity."

These words, printed in red letters about an inch high, are carried right across the top of the outside page, most of the rest of which is taken up with a large picture of two scowling Jews holding, the one a blood-stained sacrificial knife, the other a large plate into which blood is pouring from the throats of eight pallid, and presumably Aryan, women and children who hang head downwards in the sky; the three crosses of Golgotha are visible on the horizon. There is besides a short article entitled "The Murder People," and the words "The Jews are our misfortune" are printed in large letters right across the foot of the page.

An article on page two announces that the "'Stürmer' is the only paper in Germany, yes, in the whole world, which openly and frankly shouts the charge of ritual murder in the faces of the Jews." Follow alleged selected extracts from the Talmud; eleven numbered incidents from the "Bloody history of Judah," mostly taken from the Old Testament; the so-called "law of human slaughter" (Menschenschachtgestetz), which a certain Dr. Erich Bischoff claims to have discovered in the book of Sohar (an appendix to the Talmud), and a list of Jewish "confessions."

Finally on page four begins the list of alleged ritual murders, which continues till page twelve. A certain number of them are described in detail, and there are ten revolting illustrations of the subject, reproduced from mediæval wood-cuts and from other sources. There is besides the photograph of a small boy, Karl Kessler, "slaughtered on March 17, 1929, near Manau, shortly before the Jewish Passover."

A summary of 131 "recorded ritual murders," starting in 169 B.C. under Antiochus Epiphanes in Syria and ending with the murder of a woman near Paderborn on March 18, 1932, takes up the greater part of pages nine to twelve.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST JEWS IN POLAND

Activity of Nazi Imitators

(From our Warsaw Correspondent.)

The activity of the National Radicals, the new anti-Semitic party in Poland, is developing rapidly and is beginning to menace the security of the Jews in the country. Poland has been celebrating its national holiday of the Third of May, commemorating the passage of the first Polish democratic constitution in 1792; the National Radicals made it the occasion for anti-Jewish demonstrations in almost all the larger centres as well as in a number of the smaller towns, and many Jews were beaten.

The day's activities began with a scandalous scene in the Cathedral at Lodz, during a service that was being conducted by a famous Polish bishop. The National Radicals appeared for the first time in their new uniform of light grey with small swords attached to their sleeves. Their entry in uniform into the Cathedral produced an uproar. Neither the place nor the presence of the highest Church dignitaries and the Voyevod, or Governor of Lodz deterred them. The Bishop appealed to them to leave the church; they refused until compelled by the arrival of police. A number of them were arrested. Others marched in a mass through the streets of Lodz, attacking Jews, sometimes pursuing their victims into houses and maltreating them there. Many Jewish homes had their windows smashed and much damage done.

The news of the events in Lodz immediately reached Warsaw and other parts of the country, where similar anti-Jewish demonstrations took place. In Warsaw members of the new party also appeared for the first time in the new uniforms. Marching along the streets, they shouted "Down with the Jews!" In Vilna, where Jews had been attacked on May 1, the attacks were renewed with more energy. Students of the University of Vilna took part; the Dean has decided to investigate the matter and punish the culprits. The police have made a number of arrests.

A number of Jews were injured during serious attacks made by members of the new organisation at Lasko, near Lodz, and disquieting reports have come from other localities. Jewish representatives in the Sejm are to intervene at the Ministry of Home Affairs about these outrages.

Most disquieting are the reports from Poznan, where the new party is growing enormously. The demonstration in that town was one of the largest, drawing a big crowd. The National Radicals have been joined there by a Polish anti-Semitic youth organisation numbering several thousand members.

As I have previously explained, the National Radical party has a programme similar to that of the National Socialist party in Germany, but it urges a revision of territories in favour of Poland, demanding, for instance, that German Upper Silesia shall be given to Poland.

The National Radical party is mainly a split by younger men from the National Democratic party, the chief opposition party in the Polish Parliament and the second largest party in Poland.

JUSTICE POST IN FRANCE TO WEST INDIAN

Senator Henri Lemery Is Seventh Colored Man in French Cabinet

PARIS, France.—For the seventh time France has a colored man in her cabinet. The latest appointee is Senator Henri Lemery, a French West Indian, who has been given the very ticklish post of Minister of Justice.

It was corruption in the Department of Justice that caused the Stavisky scandal out of which grew the recent rioting in France. On the heels of that came the assassination of King Alexander of Jugo Slavia with its charge of negligence against the French police and the resignation of M. Sarrout, the Minister of Justice. Honesty and competence seem to be very much needed now; therefore M. Lemery's appointment is a tribute to his long and distinguished career.

Was in Clemenceau Cabinet

During the war he served in the Clemenceau cabinet, being second in command of transportation, a post of the highest responsibility. M. Lemery is light-colored, but at that he is several shades darker than Congressman DePriest.

It might be well to recall, too, that the city of Paris entrusted her safety from air attacks during the three years of the great war to a full-blooded West Indian Negro which task he performed so ably that he received the highest commendation of the government.

France, like the other great capitalist governments, is not perfect, but in her treatment of the Negro she is by far the best. May she never be wanting for black men to defend her.

Race Problem – 1934
Europe.

THE EMANCIPATION CENTENARY

By Lady Simon, D.B.E.

One hundred years ago slavery in British territories was drawing to a close. The Parliament at Westminster had voted twenty millions sterling to compensate the owners. In every colonial territory under King William IV. the atmosphere was tense, because 700,000 slaves knew that at midnight on Thursday, July 31, 1834, as the clock struck twelve, every man, woman, and child would cease to be a mere "property." The proclamation ran:

Be it enacted that all and every the persons who on the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, shall be holden in slavery within any such British Colony as aforesaid shall upon and from and after the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, become and be to all intents and purposes free and discharged of and from all manner of slavery, and shall be absolutely and for ever manumitted.

A year before 50,000 Jamaica negroes, convinced that the King had decreed their freedom but that the planters had suppressed the "freedom letters," had broken into rebellion and killed three or four white men. At once blood began to flow; the floggings were of the most terrible kind ever inflicted. Over four hundred slaves were shot down and another hundred executed. The missionaries were charged, quite falsely, with "incitement." Several were expelled from the colony and fourteen of their chapels were destroyed.

Slavery had been, indeed, for over two hundred and fifty years one long history of degradation, outrage, horror, and injustice. At last the day of emancipation was at hand, and as it drew nearer the slaves marked off each day of that fateful month of July, 1834, but there was no rioting, no drunkenness, no violence.

On the Thursday night every road and street into the towns and villages was crowded with negroes moving forward to the one centre of interest—their little church or chapel, there to give thanks to Almighty God for their coming delivery from bondage. The following scene amongst the Baptists of Jamaica was typical. First the child slaves gathered in the part of the chapel reserved for them, then the adult slaves crowded in. They occupied "seats, aisles, windows, porticos, galleries, and stairs" until the slaves were "one solid mass of heads," not only inside but outside, a vast concourse awaiting the striking of the clock. Then—

Scarce had the clock sounded twelve when lightning flashed and a loud peal of thunder followed. A moment of profoundest silence passed and then came the burst. They broke forth in prayer; they shouted; they sang "Glory Alleluia"; they clapped their hands, leapt up, clasped each other, cried, laughed, and went to and fro tossing upwards their unfettered arms. But, high above the whole, there was a mighty sound, which ever and anon swelled—it was the utterings in broken negro dialect of gratitude to God.

In every island the hymn so long practised in anticipation of the glad day was wafted on the breeze of the silent tropical night:

Blow, ye trumpets, blow!
The gladly solemn sound.
Let all the nations know
To earth's remotest bound;
The year of Jubilee is come;
Return, ye ransomed sinners, home.

In Antigua, where the slaves numbered 30,000, the Wesleyans held a remarkable "Watch Night" celebration:

Friday, the Day of Jubilee, presented such a scene as was never before witnessed in Antigua. From an early hour in the morning multitudes were seen moving from all quarters to the House of God; and at the hours of prayer every church and chapel, perhaps without exception, overflowed. In St. John's and Parham particularly they were literally crammed, the doors and windows crowded, and hundreds after all were obliged to remain outside.

In some parts of the islands the negroes, it is said, held a funeral service after their song of praise. A grave was dug close to the plantation, and there they solemnly buried a set of neck and leg chains, a yoke, and a whip. The Methodists of Jamaica went on a little pilgrimage to the oldest leader of the Wesleyan body, named Hawes, who was the first negro Methodist of Jamaica and was ninety-two years of age at the emancipation. He responded with "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace."

But, alas! how quickly everyone was disillusioned. The slaves found that in the apprenticeship system, which had been decreed for seven years' duration, many of their sufferings were reimposed; indeed, the best that can be said is that the apprenticeship system was no worse than slavery. It was in vain that the Colonial Office in London secured a limitation of hours of labour, restrictions regarding flogging, and so forth. Every device was adopted to evade humane regulations. Sir Lionel Smith protested on behalf of the Colonial Office against the severity of the corporal punishment. Mr. Lytton Bulwer, speaking in the House of Commons in support of a bill for immediate abolition of apprenticeship, referred to "the coroner's jury, who in the celebrated instance of the woman tortured to death at the treadmill returned a verdict of 'Death at the visitation of God'" and to constables generally selected for their qualifications as slave-drivers. Joseph Sturge, who studied the working of the system on the spot, said that the "houses of correction" were "dens of pollution, outrage, and cruelty." Fowell Buxton soon became convinced of the evils of apprenticeship, and secured the appointment of a Select Committee, whose report led to the abolition of apprenticeship on August 1, 1838—four years after Emancipation Day.

Another illusion quickly shattered was the belief that all nations would promptly follow the British lead. The setting free of more than 3,000,000 slaves held by the other white races proved to be a colossal task. The maintenance of slave-owning in turn led to the continuance of slave-trading in Africa and on the high seas. The British Foreign Office, loyal to Parliamentary decisions, pursued without cessation the work of negotiating treaties with other nations for the suppression of this trade. This activity by the Foreign Office imposed a heavy burden upon the Admiralty, whose duty it became to police the seas. At one time the Admiralty was employing thirty ships in the task of capturing slave ships and setting free the slaves, whilst even twenty-five years after the British Parliamentary decision on the abolition of the slave trade one-sixth of the navy was employed in this humane work, at a cost to the British taxpayer of about three-quarters of a million sterling each year.

How far from complete is the work of emancipation is demonstrated by the fact that to-day there are probably more than five million persons over whom somebody holds a "property" right.

The motive of ownership is always and everywhere a sordid one. For millions of people to-day slavery means degradation and demoralisation, while for thousands it spells a life of barbarous cruelty.

The centenary of the British Emancipation Day comes as another challenge to civilisation to pursue with constancy and vigour the grave responsibility imposed upon all the nations by the recent Anti-Slavery Convention of the League of Nations—"the suppression of slavery in all its forms" throughout the world.

HALDANE DERIDES NAZI RACIAL TENET

New York Times

British Geneticist Asserts a Person's Ancestry Cannot Reveal His Abilities.

McDOUGALL UNWAN ATTACK

New York N.Y.

Psychologist in London Assails 'Chaos' and Bickering Among the Workers in His Field.

By FERDINAND KUHN Jr.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Aug. 3.—For the second time in three days the Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences heard tonight an assault on racial theories such as those held by Nazi Germany. Tonight's speaker was J. B. S. Haldane, Professor of Genetics in the University of London, and his attack supplemented that made on Tuesday by Sir Grafton Elliot Smith, noted British anthropologist.

Declaring that knowledge of a man's ancestry throws little light on his capabilities, Professor Haldane said:

"Whatever innate differences in ability may exist between races they are clearly of an overlapping type. If South African Negroes are ever afforded equal cultural opportunities with whites it may be found that a smaller proportion of them can reach a given standard. But it is already certain that some Negroes can reach higher cultural levels than most of the whites.

"The doctrine of the equality of man, although clearly untrue as generally stated, has this much truth—that on a knowledge of their ancestry we cannot yet say one man will and another will not be capable of reaching a given cultural standard."

Cites European Overlapping.

"The so-called races within Europe have a much more dubious status. In respect of physical characters they overlap to a considerable extent. Any population may be 'racially homogeneous' in the sense that its genes have been thoroughly mixed by random mating, but there is no reason to believe such populations differ in any but a statistical sense—the same genes being found throughout, though in different proportions.

"Within such a population a man of a given type—for example, a 'Nordic' with a long head of hair and blue eyes is no more likely to have a high proportion of Scandinavian ancestry than a relative not possessing those characters. Nor is it possible in the present state of our knowledge to determine the proportions of ancestry in a given population which belonged to various hypothetical races in the past."

McDougall Assails Psychologists.

Professor William McDougall of Duke University, one of the foremost American psychologists, startled the psychology section of the congress today with a bitter attack on the "narrow thinking" of most workers and teachers in his field. The dissension is so bitter and bewildering, he declared, that some supreme body—perhaps a group of outstanding psychologists—is needed to end the warfare among conflicting schools of thought.

"All sciences in the beginning become conscious of their need for psychology and even clamor for a psychology adequate to their needs," Professor McDougall said. "The world needs an authoritative approved psychology which all other sciences may invoke and apply to their special problems. And we have no such body of constant teaching to give them."

Points to "Hostile Sects."

"We continue to be divided into hostile sects—Freudians, Behaviorists, Gestalists, and what not—or we pursue various highly specialized lines of research to the exclusion of all else.

"We are told that the number of men capable of forming an inde-

pendent judgment on the relatively theory in physics is only seven. Perhaps more than seven are qualified to play a similar rôle in psychology. Whaever their number, it does seem much to be desired that they shall somehow get together and see if they cannot producec some generally acceptable order and system out of the present chaos."

ROTHSCHILDS STILL SNUBBED IN LONDON THEY ONCE SAVED

Nashville Globe

Descendent of Noted Jewish Banker Denied Meal At Roadhouse

Independent

New York, Aug., (ANP)—Although slightly more than a century ago, Nathan Rothschild, head of the great banking family, risked the family fortune to help rid Europe of Napoleon and to effect an agreement whereby Jews might "trade with dignity, live with dignity and walk the world with dignity," his direct descendants are not yet beyond a snub n the English Capital.

Universal Service Thursday carried a report from the London News Chronical to the effect that Victor Rothschild 24 year old heir to the Rothschild barony, was refused a meal in a fashionable London roadhouse because he is a Jew.

In the story of "The House of Rothschild" it is shown how, after Napoleon was first sent to Elba, the Duke of Wellington was honored for the achievement. Rothschild was not invited to the banquet because he was a Jew, but Wellington sought him out in his home to express his appreciation of the help the great Jewish banker had rendered.

Later, Napoleon escaped again, and it was Nathan Rothschild working with his brother, who denied Napoleon money and supplied the allies until Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo.

For his service to England and the allied cause, he was made a baron.

But today, the descendants of the Englishman Rothschild saved, refuse to give a meal to the descendant of their saviour.

SLAVE FREEDOM CENTENARY

A Remarkable Service

(From our London Staff.)

Manchester Guardian Weekly

The Rev. Hudson Shaw, rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, London, who had determined that the church in England should hold a midnight thanksgiving service to celebrate the centenary—to the very moment—at which every slave in the British Dominions became free, had his reward in a most moving service on Wednesday. 8-3-34

In the congregation there were coloured people, descendants of the emancipated slaves, Sir Thomas Buxton, descendant of the man who had shortened his own life by his efforts to secure their freedom, Miss Octavia Wilberforce, great-granddaughter of the emancipator, Lady Simon, who has made it her task to lead the campaign for the five million slaves still held in bondage, and such friends of liberty as Hanna Nicolson. Late-comers were glad to find standing room beneath the galleries.

In front of the chancel steps stood a large proclamation which the Rector explained was issued by the Governor of Antigua in the beginning of July, 1884, informing the slaves in chilly official language of how they must behave when they became free.

Sir John Simon read the lesson, the passage from Isaiah beginning "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me. He has sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." He read it exquisitely, with a warmth and colour in his beautiful voice.

Mr. John Payne, standing in front of the chancel steps, sang negro spirituals, the songs that comforted the slaves on the plantations—"Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel, then why not every man?" and "Ride up in de chariot"

It was drawing near to midnight when Dr. Harold Moody, president of the League of Coloured People, who had been sitting in a carved chair below the pulpit, rose to speak. He said:

"Although the material shackles have gone, a mental slavery still exists which subjects my people to terrible disabilities here and in other lands. The Premier of Southern Rhodesia said quite recently that there can be no equality between black and white. Let it be clearly understood on this centenary day that we here stand for the full emancipation of our race in the British Empire and throughout the world.

"Let the white man who persists in living in the atmosphere of fear understand that history gives him no grounds for such fear as far as my race is concerned."

When he finished a choir of coloured men in the gallery sang a negro spiritual in hushed voices. At a signal they stopped. Nearly all the lights were turned out, but the central light shone on two figures in the chancel, the verger and a surpliced man, Mr. W. Box, who held in his hand the watch which his grandfather in the West Indies 100 years ago this night had held in his hand waiting till the minute-hand touched midnight. All eyes were fixed on Mr. Box, who stood with one arm raised; the clock struck twelve. He waited for one second, then moved his arms, and the bells in the tower rang out over the quiet city streets.

London Still Snubs Rothschilds

NEW YORK (ANP)—Although slightly more than a century ago, Nathan Rothschild, head of the great banking family, risked the family fortune to help rid Europe of Napoleon and to effect an agreement whereby Jews might "trade with dignity, live with dignity and walk the world with dignity," his direct descendents are not yet beyond a snub in the English capital.

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French Parliament Now Has Fifth Black Member

Lemery, Deputy, Was Als a Member of the Frenc Cabinet.

Afro-American

M. DIOUF SUCCEEDS LATE BLAISE DIAGN

12-22-34

Banquet to Him Occasio for Celebration.

Baltimore Afro

(Special to the AFRO)

PARIS. — Galandou Diouf, th full-blooded African who wa elected in September to represer the Africans of Senegal in th French Chamber of Deputies, mak ing the fifth black member, was th guest of honor at a banquet here recently, at the Restaurant Com modore. The main dining saloo was specially decorated for the oc casion.

Apart from honoring Mr. Diou the banquet was made the occasic of a grand reunion of colonia from Madagascar, Reunion, We Africa, Martinique, Guadeloup Cameroons, Togoland and othc countries.

The affair was presided over b Miss Paulette Nardal, the most out standing colored woman writer i France, who was assisted by Emil Fauro, an African engineer fron Dahomey, and the president of th League for the Defense of the Ne gro Race.

United Defense Urged

Speeches were delivered by number of distinguished guests, in cluding Professor Senac Thabi, a colored man from the West Indie teaching in the University of Paris Dr. Leo Sajous, a Hatian physicia and Liberian Consul-General i Poland; Former Governor Desmet another colored West Indian fron Martinique, who occupied the position of Governor in French West Africa; and Abdou Koite, laureat of the College of Notaries.

The keynote of the speeches was an appeal for the colored race to close ranks and to develop a better spirit of international solidarity between the colored people of Africa America, the Antilles, and other countries, and for all to stand ready to defend the national independence of Liberia, Haiti and Ethiopia, the last remaining black sovereign state in the world.

Deputy Takes Seat

Mr. Diouf, who succeeds Blaise Diagne, was introduced to the Chamber of Deputies and took the oath of office when parliament reopened a few days ago. Apart from Mr. Diouf, there are four other colored men in the present French parliament.

They are Gratien Candance, senior deputy from Guadeloupe and former under-secretary of state for colonies; Aloide Delmont, deputy from Martinique; A. Benard, deputy from Reunion; and Henry Lemery, senator from Martinique.

Mr. Lemery was minister of justice of the republic in the cabinet of Mr. Domeurgue, the recently retired Prime Minister of France.

ANTI-SEMITIC DRIVE FEARED IN AUSTRIA

No Promotions for Jewish Doctors in Vienna

Vienna—Fear is growing that a campaign against the Jews is about to be launched in Austria. Observers report a growing anti-Semitic tendency in many parts of the country.

In Vienna not a single Jewish doctor has been either accepted for or promoted in the government hospitals or in the municipal welfare services since February.

Applicants for posts have had to bring their parents' baptism certificates. The new mayor said: "Only children of good Christian parents" would be accepted for the posts.

Officials explain that they are waiting for the ratio of Jewish doctors to non-Jewish to fall to 1 to 4. This ratio has been reached in many places for some time past, but there is still no hope of promotion for the Jews. Since February, 45 doctors have been dismissed from municipal service. Half of them were women and all but two were of Jewish birth. Their places have been filled by non-Jewish doctors, some of them Nazis.

This obvious campaign against the Jews, coupled with the government plan to segregate Catholic and non-Catholic children, is giving rise to the fear of an anti-Semitic campaign.

The plan to segregate school children would place Protestant children with the Jews.

Dr. Schuschnig's newspaper has recently given indication of the new anti-Semitic wave, but has been careful to make it clear that should such measures be taken they would "stop short of the brutal excesses of the German Nazis."

Race Problem – 1934

Europe

Black American Singer Star of Russian Stage for 20 Years

Church Funerals Rare in Russia Now. Most Bodies Are Cremated. Soviets Regard U.S. Women as Unshapely. Japan Not Regarded as Friend of Colored People.

By CHATWOOD HALL

MOSCOW.—A tall, dark-brown woman gracefully walked onto the stage of the Radio Theatre on the evening of March 29. The applause was deafening. Most of the audience already knew her as their own, so long has she lived in Moscow and Russia and delighted them with her rich, melodious voice.

Afro-American

Singing in French, Russian, Spanish, and English, Coretti Arle-Titz held the audience enraptured for many numbers. The encores were thunderous.

4-28-34 Baltimore, Md.

Finally, she and her Russian husband accompanist made their escape as the announcer spoke the following number on a program which, in addition to Comrade Arle-Titz and her husband, included Honored Artists of the Republic—the highest title bestowed upon theatrical artists—Popova, Malchonova, and Prudkin.

In a forthcoming special feature article the correspondent will tell readers of this column more about this talented and highly-respected colored American artist who has captivated Russian audiences for more than twenty years.

Church Funeral Rare in Russia

If one dies in the Soviet Union, one may be buried in two ways—a church funeral or a Socialist funeral. The former kind one seldom sees; the latter is the mode. However, a church funeral came through the street in which the correspondent lives a few days ago. It was a rare spectacle to the present generation.

The corpse was borne aloft by four men good and true, being transferred each few minutes to four other men. Ahead of the body paced the priest and two assistants swinging smoking incense lamps as the priest mumbled mushy jargon. Ahead of these gentlemen of the cloth marched costumed boys bearing aloft gilded icons.

Finally, along came a wagon and horse—public property—the driver of which seeing that the "going" was difficult, stopped his wagon, had the corpse placed thereon and proceeded to the cemetery, compelling the priests and the mourners to put tempo into their chants and steps.

A Socialist funeral is something different still. Instead of heading for the cemetery, the funeral proceeds to the crematory, a much more modern and sanitary method of disposing of the dead. The coffin and the horses—if a truck is not used—are draped in red. A brass band of many pieces follows the corpse, and usually behind the band comes long strings of proletarian friends of the deceased going to see that "from dust thou art to dust returneth."

American Women Unshapely to Russians

The buxom physique of Russion women presents quite a noticeable contrast to the unshapely form of women from Western countries such as America and England who visit the Soviet Union during the tourist season.

As most of the tourists who can afford to come this far afield are persons of some income or means and long accustomed to an inactive and more or less pampered life, the Russians—themselves used to a strenuous, athletic, and outdoor life—readily understand the uncomeliness, unshapliness of these darlings of Capitalism.

Japan Not Our Friend

Colored Americans should be keenly interested in the critical relations existing between the Land of Socialism and Japan. They seem to have the foolish idea that because Japan is a colored nation it is the friend of all other colored races. Japan is an imperialistic nation, and no imperialistic nation is a friend of the Negro.

The ears of colored Americans should be up and alert, for the most powerful of colored nations, Japan, will commit suicide, will be shattered into dust from within and from without if she is so foolhardy as to attack the Workers' Republic, the best friend not only of the colored American, but of the working classes of all races.

It is high time that colored Americans, like the toiling masses of other lands, quit seeing life in terms of color but in terms of class, that is, the working class. The future belongs to, will be determined not by race but class.

Blaise Diagne, First Negro To Serve In French Cabinet, Dead

5-19-34 New York

PARIS, France — Deputy Blaise Diagne, Negro member of the French Parliament from Senegal, and former Cabinet member, died Friday, May 11.

In January, 1931, Premier Laval named M. Diagne, Under-Secretary for the Colonies at the beginning of his Ministry, the first time in French history that a Negro was named a member of the Cabinet.

During the World War he was High Commissioner for the French Government and directed the raising of troops in his country to fight on the French battlefronts. He was highly commended for his work in this connection as he helped enlist troops at a critical moment.

In November, 1924, M. Diagne won an interesting libel suit against a newspaper which charged that, he while High Commissioner, had received a specified sum for each soldier enlisted. Among those who testified in behalf of M. Diagne were Georges Clemenceau and former War Minister Maginot.

A FAMOUS FRENCHMAN DIES.

In the death of Blaise Diagne, member of the French Parliament from Senegal, West Africa, the Negro race loses an outsatnding representative and one who enjoyed an international reputation as a public official of ability and courage. He reached the peak of his career when he was in the Cabinet and served as Under-Secretary for the Colonies in the Laval Ministry. When named Under-Secretary at the time Premier Laval took office in 1931, the appointment occasioned world-wide comment, for it was the first time in French history that a Negro was honored to a position in the Cabinet.

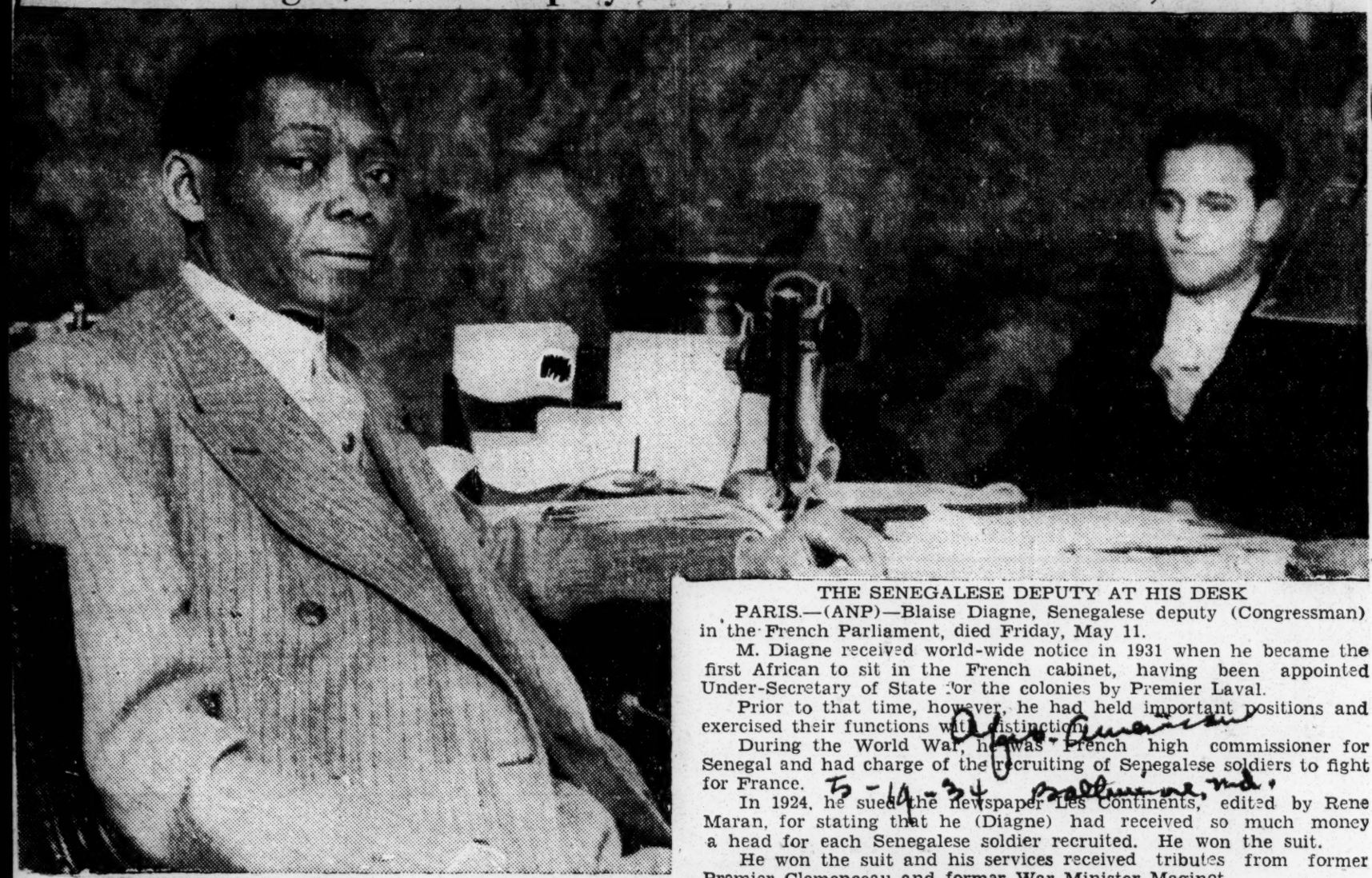
Blaise Diagne was not merely interested in the problems of black people as they directly affected the native African under French rule. He was blessed with an international perspective on matters racial, having joined with Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in holding the Pan-African Congress in Paris some years ago.

It has been the subject of comment that many educated, cultured African natives who live in French colonies evince little or no interest in the Negro problem from an international viewpoint. So thoroughly has the French Government taught the native that he is above all else a Frenchman, the question of race is minor to that of nationality. No other white nation has endeavored so earnestly and consistently to create the mental attitude. The presence of Negroes in the French Parliament and the appointment of a black man as a Cabinet member are in line with this liberal policy.

France's attitude toward its Negro nationals is in striking contrast to that displayed by the United States where laws are passed to prevent colored Americans from enjoying the right of franchise or from holding office in some sections of the country. Today the race has but one representative in Congress, when if justice were accorded the 12,000,000 citizens, at least a dozen would sit in the Lower House. France teaches the African native in Senegal that he is a Frenchman first, last and all the time and is entitled to every consideration the law provides for Frenchmen regardless of color or geography. In the United States the Negro is constantly reminded that he is different because of his color, and while taxed the same as other citizens is unjustly subjected to an abridgment of economic, social and political opportunities to which he is entitled under the Constitution.

Diagne reached great heights as a public official because the French Government so willed it. When will the American Government take so broad and progressive a stand with respect to the colored American?

Blaise Diagne, French Deputy and Former Cabinet Member, Dies



THE SENEGALESE DEPUTY AT HIS DESK

PARIS.—(ANP)—Blaise Diagne, Senegalese deputy (Congressman) in the French Parliament, died Friday, May 11.

M. Diagne received world-wide notice in 1931 when he became the first African to sit in the French cabinet, having been appointed Under-Secretary of State for the colonies by Premier Laval.

Prior to that time, however, he had held important positions and exercised their functions with distinction.

During the World War, he was French high commissioner for Senegal and had charge of the recruiting of Senegalese soldiers to fight for France.

In 1924, he sued the newspaper Les Continents, edited by Rene Maran, for stating that he (Diagne) had received so much money a head for each Senegalese soldier recruited. He won the suit.

He won the suit and his services received tributes from former Premier Clemenceau and former War Minister Maginot.

Passing for White

Adolf Hitler, German dictator, has driven many a Jew to peroxide and other face bleaches.

Only white Gentiles in Germany may be citizens, so that recently Jews have blossomed out into platinum and henna-haired blondes with a peroxide complexion.

Last week Nazi officials, unable to tell Jew from Gentile in such make-ups, condemned "this craze for blondes which has wasted rivers of peroxide" and "gone too far."

"Racial worth is not a question of outer looks, but of inner feeling," said Ministerial Councillor Staehle, addressing a teachers' association.

Teachers smiled as Herr Staehle spoke, but it is a safe bet that the peroxide business will go on as usual among Jews, who have two methods of breaking down the color bar which Herr Hitler has erected against them.

One is for the many mixed-blooded Jews to pass as Germans and combat the Nazi movement from the inside.

The other method is for Jews all over the world to continue their economic stranglehold on the German throat.

Of the two, the first is the easier, and nothing makes the Nazi movement seem sillier than the Nazis' inability in thousands of cases to determine who is Jew and who isn't.

Whose Ox Is Gored?

The Rev. J. M. Henderson, Atlanta (Ga.) pastor, just back from the World Baptist Conference in Berlin, told New Yorkers last week that he found tolerance in Germany and if there was any race feeling against colored people, he did not find it.

In other words, the Rev. Mr. Henderson advises us that the Germans opened to him and his friends their homes, their theatres, hotels and other public places without any color line.

And so the Atlanta pastor, treated in so gracious a manner by the Nazis, better than the Jews treat him at home, wonders that the Germans should persecute the Jews.

Americans hate colored people, Germans hate Jews.

Jews in America have no conception of the violence of anti-colored feeling.

Colored people in Germany can't conceive that the nice Nazis should mistreat Jews.

MUSSOLINI FEARS GROWTH OF DARK YELLOW RACES

Il Duce Warns France to Halt Her Falling Birth Rate

PARIS.—Mussolini fears the rising tide of color. In a recent article he wondered "if the white man's civilization" would not disappear in the face of the "continual numerical growth and uninterrupted territorical expansion of the yellow and black races."

The article warned France to halt her falling birth rate.

Unless French marriages and babies multiply in the near future, Mussolini warned there will be only half as many Frenchmen within a scant 60 years, or 20,000,000 as compared to the present 40,000,000.

"There is not an hour to lose in seeking remedies," he told France.

That neighborly warning from a foreign chief of state has served to focus France's attention on an "appeal to the nation" issued by 20 prominent French leaders a few months back, but generally ignored.

"Rapid depopulation," said the appeal, "threatens commerce and industry with failure for want of consumers, the state with bankruptcy for want of taxpayers and the country with inability to protect its frontiers for want of defenders."

Race Problem – 1934

Europe

FRANCE'S FUTURE IS MENACED

Courier 3-10-34

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Hitler Publication Says Negroes Walk In Paris Like Conquerors, While French Girls Watch With Longing Eyes.

By J. A. ROGERS
(Noted Author and Columnist)

NEW YORK, Feb. 8—Herr Hitler's mouthpiece, Illustrierte Beobachter (Illustrated Observer) continues its ranting against Negroes. Its latest broadcast declares that it is not German guns, airplanes and poison gas that is France's danger, but the Negro.

The article is copiously filled with "horror" pictures, showing how the French whites of both sexes associate on intimate terms with the Negro. Some of the typical subtitles are: "An everyday picture in Paris—nigger dancers with white women. French newspapers filled with lying atrocity stories about Germany would do well to worry about atrocity-ridden France." A dance hall billboard showing a Negro dancing with a white woman is entitled: "The betrayal of the white race." A picture of white and colored students of the Sorbonne together is headed: "France sacrifices the future mothers of its children to racial death." A Jewish-looking man is shown cheek to cheek with a black woman with: "The Jew as usual prepares the way for decay." Hitler is indignant that a Negro woman should be called a "Frenchwoman." He declares that France would do well to learn from the United States where the Negroes are kept "in their place" and are lynched when they try to get out of it.

Race Preservation

He continues: "A certain French tabloid paper lately started a crusade against Germany and her inner political relations based upon clumsily forged material. The aim was to stimulate hatred and the war spirit against Germany. But our today's pictures taken in Paris show that France is endangered from quite a different side. The French press, in its own interests, would do better to study German methods for race-preservation and profit by it.

"The French army chief, Gen. Weygand, wanted to import 5,000 Negroes from Africa to France, hoping thereby to stem further decrease of the French birth rate, which makes it difficult for France to get enough recruits for her army. But Marshal Lyautey, governor-general of Morocco, opposed this project, declaring that the Negroes would give in to alcohol communism, and that France should bring the Negroes only when needed, as in the last war. Lyautey—the lone voice in the desert—is no doubt well acquainted with the manners and character of the 'niggers.' In the summer of 1916 black heads suddenly rose before us from the trenches and we had to stand for it in 1921 when France sent colored troops into the Rhineland and the Ruhr—black foremen for white people. Whoever looks about France now is grieved to see how all the blood barriers between white and black are falling.

Negro Cabinet Minister

"France is the first civilized country to have a Negro cabinet minister. Negro lawyers, who are French citizens, defend white people in the courts. The famous Sorbonne has a Negro professor. Colored students, who are trying to get some knowledge in their black 'nigger' heads, abound in the Latin Quarter. Along the Boulevard St. Michel may be seen these black students looking as if they had stepped out of a London tailor's.

"—— With Longing Eyes"

"They go about in expensive limousines. A few days ago they may have been in loin-cloths in their native land. Now they are strutting like the conquerors of Paris—and I hesitate to say it—white women and girls are turning around to look at them with longing eyes.

"The danger is much greater than is imagined. But France does not want to see it. She does not want to see these bastards in the streets of Paris, the Rue Pigalle, Rue Fontaine, and the quarters of the Arabs and Kabyles around the Place d'Italie. You never know who are the fathers of these bastards, a Frenchman, a Negro, or an Arab. In Montmartre you find a number of Negro dance halls—each of which wants to be as Negro-like as possible—and carrying the tax stamp of the City of Paris. Negroes looking like gorillas are dancing with white women who are clinging lovingly to them. Thus what is the worst crime against race is made into a business.

Use U. S. As Comparison

"In America a distinct line is drawn between white and black. America would gladly send all her Negroes back to Africa. She attempted that with Liberia. Is this race question no problem for France? Or has France already solved it in the most dangerous, most shameful way? This should wake up the white race here and elsewhere to the consequences. It is Germany's sacred duty to deal with the race question in its own country. This race question is more important than that of national differences. It is the sacred right of Germany to deal with the race question in its own country. We have not only France, with its 40,000,000 people, facing us, but a powerful country from the Mediterranean to the Congo inhabited by 100,000,000 French people of the white and the black race."

When Hitler speaks of dealing with the race question in his own country, he is mixing anti-Semitism and anti-French propaganda. There are less than 2,000 blacks and mulattoes in his 65,000,000 population.

WOOLWORTH'S BANS ALL GERMAN GOODS

Times 3-21-34

Imports for 1,941 Stores in Chain Discontinued 'Because of Sales Resistance.'

POLICY IS TO BUY HERE

New York City

Other Foreign Countries Will Not Benefit, Officials Say—Cheap Novelties Affected.

Because of "extreme sales resistance," importation of German goods has been discontinued by the F. W. Woolworth Company, it was said here yesterday by Byron D. Miller, president of the company.

The modification of policy affects merchandise purchases for the 1,941 five and ten cent stores of the company, which reported sales for last year of more than $250,000,000. American goods, rather than orders to other European countries, will replace the German imports, company officials declared.

The decision of the Woolworth company was made public in a telegram to Ezekiel Rabinowitz, executive secretary of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights. The league had invited the variety chain system to state its policy "in the matter of importing goods from Nazi Germany."

Telegram States Policy.

Mr. Miller's telegram follows:

"Replying to your wire of today and query as to the policy of this company regarding the importation of goods from Germany, I beg to advise that we have discontinued importation owing to extreme sales resistance."

At the Woolworth offices yesterday, company officials said the new policy on German imports was effective at once and that there was "but a small amount of German merchandise remaining in our stores, on purchases made several months ago, which is being liquidated." The elimination of purchases from Germany, they added, would not result in more orders being placed in other European countries, as the depreciation of the dollar in foreign exchange "makes necessary the placement of such orders in the United States."

The decision to abandon German imports, executives of the company explained, followed a steady curtailment of such purchases during the last two years, accompanied by increasing consumer resistance, particularly in the East. They asserted that imports by the company from Germany in 1933 constituted only 1.25 per cent of total merchandise purchases. In 1932 German imports accounted for 1.70 per cent of total purchases, they said.

Affects Easter Novelties.

The elimination of these imports, they declared, would affect chiefly Christmas-tree ornaments and Easter novelty merchandise. The Christmas ornaments were said to constitute the bulk of German imports by the company last year.

In stressing the domestic character of the company's purchases the officials said it was the "policy to buy outside the United States only such merchandise as could not be produced here and sold to advantage within our fixed limited selling prices." The average of foreign purchases by the chain was put at about 3 per cent of total orders for goods for the last few years, and "even in the best of years never exceeded 5 per cent." In 1333, it was added, the percentage of total foreign imports dropped to 2½ per cent, "because of the combination of the depreciated dollar, the high tariff and our limited selling price."

Mr. Rabinowitz, in commenting on the Woolworth decision, said "its value to the German boycott movement is not to be underestimated."

"It is a very definite inroad into one of Germany's strongest manufacturing fields, that of cheap novelties," he declared. "Heretofore attention has been centred on the more expensive items handled by our large department stores. It is now shown that the entire field of German imports has been affected."

NEW DRIVE AIMED AT JEWS IN REICH

Nazis Exert Moral and Physical Pressure to Make People Buy in 'German' Shops.

PRESS SPURS CAMPAIGN

Jewish Stores Are Forced to Remove Easter Displays—Schmitt Fights Movement.

3-21-34

OTTO D. TOLISCHUS.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BERLIN, March 20.—Everywhere throughout Germany, but especially in the southwest, a new anti-Jewish drive is getting under way as April 1, the anniversary of last year's boycott, approaches.

In most cases this time it is taking the form not of a direct boycott but of a negative boycott, in that people are being put under moral and sometimes physical pressure to buy in "German" shops and avoid Jewish establishments.

Simultaneously a new campaign of denunciation against the Jews has been unloosed in the press, through banners strung across streets or flaunted by auto trucks, and by posters.

In some cases, however, the Nazis have adopted stronger measures. Thus in Wiesbaden last week large crowds collected before Jewish merchandising establishments in order, as the Nazi press put it, "to protest against Jewish efforts to exploit for their business interests the Christian Easter week."

Forced to Remove Easter Eggs.

Three Jewish business houses and a one-price store, of the kind whose destruction is decreed in the Nazi platform, were forced to remove from their windows all Easter decorations, such as rabbits and eggs. One shop was forced to remove all suits and dresses for boys and girls about to be confirmed. The same crowd protested at the enlargement of the retail food department in a department store.

In Hagen, Westphalia, a Nazi crowd assembled before the office of the Hagener Zeitung Saturday shouting "Down with the Jew newspaper!" and its Nazi competitor inveighed violently against "Jewish brazenness" because in a report on the Jewish community in Hagen the newspaper dared to express the wish for mutual respect between Jewish and Christian families.

In Gunzenhausen, Bavaria, windows of Jewish-owned shops have been smashed and Nazis are stationed before Jewish shops to scare off customers. In Berlin a meeting of a Jewish youth organization was broken up by Nazi special guards and the police.

The new anti-Jewish drive seems to have got under way soon after Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda, issued a decree against the return of Jewish artists to the German stage. The centre of the campaign, however, is Nuremberg, where Julius Streicher, a close friend of Chancellor Hitler and the organizer of the anti-Jewish boycott a year ago, is the local Nazi chief.

Cooler Heads Oppose Drive.

The havoc that such anti-Semitic outbursts produce both at home and abroad is no secret to cooler heads among the Nazis. Many are ashamed of them and many openly oppose them. The opposition within the party is led by Dr. Kurt Schmitt, the Minister of Economics, who realizes the economic handicap they impose on Germany and is doing his best to stop them.

Thus when the Nazi shop-cell organization in Nuremberg decreed on its own authority in violation of the national labor code that Jews could not be "leaders," that is, managers of their own businesses, the Economics Ministry stepped in and through the labor trustee of Bavaria canceled this decree.

Similarly, acting in conformity with the Economics Ministry, the directors of the National Socialist Retailers' and Handicraft Organization have forbidden that anti-Jewish campaigns be started in connection with the nation-wide trade promotion drive beginning March 23.

Many of the local branches of the organization had taken advantage of this drive to send out questionnaires to German housewives asking them why they still patronized Jewish shops and department stores, and threatening them with dire consequences if they continued to do so.

Nevertheless, the local Nazi chiefs are little kings in their own domains despite the loudly proclaimed principle of central leadership. Often they receive encouragement from the acts and words of their superiors. Heinrich Himmler, commander of the special guards, regretted in a speech in Munich that the Nazi revolution had been profaned, but promised that it would "break loose" again when leaders gave the word.

Other Recent Developments.

The following summary of recent additional developments shows the sweep of the new anti-Semitic campaign:

Nuremberg—Evening schools have been established for housewives to "enlighten" them as to where to buy and why not to buy from Jews. Banners are strung across streets and posters are pasted on walls to warn against buying in Jewish shops. The press supports the campaign. There is even a threat of pillories for purchasers in Jewish shops.

Holzminden—The local branch of the National Socialist Retailers and Handicraft Organization has proclaimed the slogan, "Whoever buys from Jews is a traitor."

Hanover—Show windows and pavements in front of Jewish shops are smeared with warnings against buying from Jews.

Hildesheim—Trucks fly banners calling attention to the anti-Jewish pronouncements of the Nazi platform. Placards are issued to "German" shops.

Plauen—Jews have been excluded from the municipal bathing establishment, with the approval of the Saxon Ministry.

Mainz—A bridal couple, of whom the bridgegroom was a "non-Aryan" was taken into "protective custody" because a Nazi crowd demonstrated against the marriage.

Westerland—The Village Council of this seaside resort has passed a resolution declaring Jews are not wanted as guests.

This morning your correspondent saw a Jewish schoolboy about 8 years old being beaten in the street by his "German" comrades. "He is a Jew!" they shouted. A crowd gathered but did not interfere.

A SUCCESSFUL BOYCOTT

R. H. Macy & Co. of New York, the largest department store in the country, has closed its Berlin office. The store's orders from Germany had declined 98 per cent in the past six months, from $127,000 to $2,800. The store explains: "Consumer resistance to goods of German origin is responsible for the closing . . . The successful search for merchandise which would not meet with consumer resistance has made it possible to replace German products in almost every instance. A score of other New York department stores have reduced their purchases in Germany to a trifle.

3-24-34

This boycott, engineered by Jews in America, has seriously injured German trade. There is no nerve more sensitive than that of the pocket. The Jews, who possess considerable organized economic power, know how to apply pressure when they are hurt. In Germany they are helpless, but outside Germany they are powerful.

Negroes have also used the boycott successfully on several occasions. It is certainly an effective and prompt means of bringing pressure to bear to reward friends and punish enemies. Unfortunately, it is too often a double-edged sword. Like a defective rifle, it often does as much harm to the person behind it as to the one in front. That's what we must look out for. We must make sure that in boycotting some white employer in the Black Belt, we do not lose several Negroes' jobs in the white belt. The Jews have great organized economic power with which to defend themselves from counter-attack; unfortunately we have not.

And yet there is much we can do. We can refrain from buying the goods of those firms discriminating against Negro labor and buy from those who do not. We can patronize those firms that think enough of colored patronage to advertise in Negro newspapers. We can purchase the goods of those firms who do not insult us over the air and in display advertising. Such effective boycotting, minus the ballyhoo usually accompanying efforts of this kind, will prove most helpful to the group.

Semitism Worries Austrian Leaders As Constitution Nears Completion

VIENNA, March 22.—(AP)—The Jewish question came sharply to the fore today as the new Austrian Constitution neared completion.

The Welt Blatt, organ of the Government Christian Society party, gave prominence to articles on the problem and emphasized particularly the "predominance of Jews" in the learned professions.

It reported "with satisfaction" that the process of weeding out Jewish surgeons from the Vienna hospital already had started.

The official Government gazette, meanwhile, said the cabinet, which is still considering details of the Constitution, had decided that the word "republic" will not appear in it and that Austria henceforth will be referred to as "the federal state of Austria" or "Austria."

This was the first definite admission that the Austrian republic is dead.

The Welt Blatt pointed out that physicians and surgeons employed in the City of Vienna—"the capital of the new Christian Austria"—are only one-fifth Catholic.

Four-fifths, it added, "are either Jews or freethinkers" and "more than half of these did not become Austrian citizens until after the socialist revolution in 1918.

This afternoon the "Christian German Medical Association" was founded with the announced purpose of representing the professions in the new state.

Speakers at a meeting of the new organization said Christian German physicians "will not tolerate the domination of alien doctors in the Austrian profession."

Also in preparation for the new state, the Government began taking a census regarding, particularly, military service of Austrians, whether in the old imperial army forces or the militia and home guard groups.

Male citizens between 14 and 50 are asked by census takers regarding sports training and physical handicaps.

Race Problem — 1934
Lynching
(10-2-36)

Soviet.

~~Labor 1934~~

~~Unions, Strikes, etc~~

Negro Shock-Brigader Inducted as Deputy In Moscow Soviet

(Special to the Daily Worker)

MOSCOW, Dec. 26.—Robert Robinson, American Negro worker elected by thousands of fellow-workers to serve as a deputy on the Moscow Soviet, is being inducted into his high office.

In the immense hall of the district Soviet. Robinson, a specialist working in the Gauge Grinding Section of the Tool Shop in the giant First State Ball-Bearing Plant in Moscow, steps on to the platform and faces the numerous voters who have gathered to send their best shock brigader to the Soviet.

Daily Worker

He is nervous, this slim, bespectacled young specialist. Modest and retiring by nature, it is something of an ordeal for him to be the center of attraction of so great a crowd. But the attention of the workers and the tremendous feeling of respect they have for him as a sincere and conscientious worker rapidly disperses his first feelings of nervousness.

Not a sound is heard as his biography is read. The life of a Negro born of poor parents strikes Soviet workers very deeply, and everybody present listens intently to every word of this story of struggle of a Negro worker who has had to face exploitation and humiliation as a result of race prejudice.

A Story of Struggle

Robert Robinson was born in Jamaica, West Indies. His father was a plantation worker and his mother a laundress for a family which owned a big industrial concern.

Robinson was allowed to enter this factory as a great concession and at the end of six years became a qualified tool-maker. He yearned to study and become an engineer in the United States and finally managed to get to where he erroneously expected to find conditions easier.

Though a qualified tool-maker, the only work he could get was in the Ford plant in Detroit as a laborer. He persevered, studied and improved his technique by studying privately, in spite of all difficulties.

Such was his life until a Soviet automobile delegation came to the Ford plant, and invited him to work in the Stalingrad Tractor plant. He accepted the invitation and came to the Soviet Union, working for some time at the Stalingrad Plant, then he went to the Ball-Bearing Plant, where he has worked since 1932.

Robinson's Achievements

His skill and conscientious attitude to his work soon attracted the attention of the best cadres of shock workers in the plant.

Saving of thousands of rubles have been effected by the plant as a result of the many rationalization proposals that the Negro specialist has introduced, and a fine group of young Soviet workers who are now highly skilled gauge grinders have been trained by him.

The spirit of conscienciousness displayed in his work also prevails in his social duties, and the desire to understand the Soviet system of economy is finding expression in the political studies that occupy him in an evening school.

Election meetings are concluding with unweakened activity. The average attendance of the electors in Moscow is 96.2 per cent. According to figures of Dec. 23, 1,879 deputies have been elected the Moscow Soviet, including 1,252 workers, 271 engineers, scientists, artists, doctors, 53 students, 99 housewives 19 handicraft men, etc. 1,252 are members of the Moscow Soviet for the first time.

New York Herald-Tribune

DEC 12 1934

U. S. Negro Elected With Stalin To the City Council of Moscow

Jamaican, Once a Detroit Worker, Says He's No Red, but Gets Unanimous Vote of 'Comrades'; Lenin, Dead 10 Years, Also Chosen

By Ralph W. Barnes

From the Herald Tribune Bureau

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MOSCOW, Dec. 11.—Amid stormy applause, the 17,000 voting workers of a local ball-bearing plant last night elected Robert Robinson, Jamaican-American Negro machine tool worker, in company with Josef V. Stalin, and J. M. Kaganovitch, Stalin's chief aid, as delegate to the Moscow city soviet (council). Fifteen delegates were elected.

Although born in Jamaica, Robinson lived in the United States for six years, working in the Ford plant in Detroit for two and a half years. He carries an American passport which he values so highly that he returned to New York a year ago to have it renewed.

With his election, Robinson, who is thirty years old, becomes for four years a full-fledged voting member of this city's governing body, corresponding to the city council in most American cities. Questioned today, he said he came to the U. S. S. R. partly because he wanted to see more of the world. He said he was not a member of the Communist party, was not interested in politics, and, in fact, did not have the least idea what his new duties in the soviet would be.

Under certain conditions, the election laws of the Soviet Union give to foreign workers and specialists the right to hold office in the soviets, and even permit the election, in exceptional cases, of deceased persons and those confined in foreign prisons. Thus, one factory yesterday elected Lenin, who died in 1924, as a delegate, and another chose Ernst Thaelmann, head of the Communist party in Germany, who still is languishing in a German prison.

Shortly after he arrived in this country in 1930 and began work in the Stalingrad tractor plant, Robinson made the front page of every Moscow paper. A number of American workers at the Stalingrad plant objected to associating with a Negro in the foreign workers' restaurant, and one night two of them assaulted Robinson. There was a great outcry in the press on the ground of race prejudice, and after a "social trial" the assailants were given seventy-two hours to leave the country.

Robinson said today that he had been well treated here by the Russians and had received 1,300 rubles ($1,127) in premiums for technical proposals which had been adopted at the ball-bearing plant.

Robinson went to the United States from Jamaica, he indicated, because he thought the educational advantages would be greater there. After completing a four-year night course in the Northern High School, Detroit, he attended night courses at Detroit City College for a year.

The ticket prepared at the plant by a select group of Communist party members, trade union members and "active workers," was elected unanimously by a show of hands last night. The 17,000 workers are entitled to fifteen delegates to the Moscow soviet—twelve of their own workers and three others—and to thirty-one delegates to the soviet of the district in which the plant is situated. Soviet elections are new being held throughout the U. S. S. R.

RUSSIA

Black Blank

Times New York City

Negroes, so every Soviet child is taught are the Black Hopes of Communism in the U. S. Sooner or later, if properly primed by Moscow, they will "arise and slash [their] thraldom's chains" as the Soviet anthem puts it. Nowhere else in the world is a Negro so pampered as in Russia. Last week that coal-black protégé of Joseph Stalin, Robert Robinson, was elected, somewhat to his surprise, to the Moscow Soviet.

12/24/34

Says 60-year-old Mother Robinson: 'My boy doesn't smoke, drink or gamble. He is a perfect gentleman and everybody who knows him loves him. He finds it hard to send me anything to live on here in New York because of the Russian laws that stop money from being sent out of the country. I manage, by the help of the Lord, to live after a fashion, but New York is a hard city to live in. Last year my boy visited me, so he could renew his American passport."

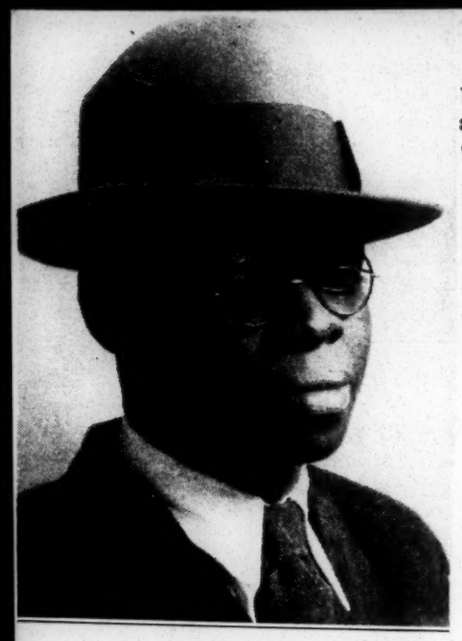
Possession of a U. S. passport is the *sine qua non* for Negroes whom the Soviet Government is training as Communist dynamite. Reason: they must be able to get home as bona fide U. S. citizens to do any good when the hoped-for explosion of U. S. Revolution comes.

In Russia Perfect Gentleman Robert Robinson is famed because of the Communist propaganda trial put on in his honor in 1930 at Stalingrad where he was working as a machinist. Two white U. S. machinists objected violently to being lumped with a "nigger" at meals. They were solemnly tried, convicted of "race prejudice," and one was banished from the Soviet Union.

Said Negro Robinson in Moscow last week: "I am not a member of the Communist Party. I am not interested in politics. In fact I have no idea what my duties will be as a Delegate in the Moscow Soviet."

Delegate Robinson need not have worried. The ostensibly legislative chamber of the Moscow Soviet clearly reveals itself to any practiced architect for what it is. Unlike the U. S. Congress or the French Chamber of Deputies, the room is not constructed with aisles so arranged that any member may leave his seat, ascend the tribune and manifest himself. Instead, Moscow Soviet Delegates sit in pews. Their pew seats have arms which fold up to admit them, then snap down into place. They are not locked in, but might as well be. For an individual Delegate like Perfect Gentleman Robert Robinson to manifest himself in opposition is all but impossible. In practice the Moscow Soviet always votes unanimously as No. 1 Delegate Joseph Stalin indicates.

Elected as Delegates last week were several dead Soviet heroes, notably Nikolai Lenin. Also elected a Delegate was Comrade Ernst Thälmann, onetime Communist candidate for President of the German Republic, who now sits in a Nazi jail. Black Delegate Robinson will have about as much to do with shaping the policy of the Moscow Soviet as jailed Delegate Thälmann, but his election last week was elegant propaganda among U. S. Negroes.



DELEGATE ROBERT ROBINSON

He will sit with a dead man and a jailbird

Negro Rises to Power In His Native Russia

Wins Place on Central Executive Committee in Transcaucasia, Soviet Republic

MOSCOW, U. S. S. R. (CNA—By Mail).—The story of the rise of a native Russian Negro, Shaban Abash, to a powerful position in the Government, is told in the November 29 issue of the Moscow Daily News.

Abash is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Transcaucasian Federation, one of the seven constituent republics of the Soviet Union. He is a native of one of the republics which make up this federation—Abkhasia, properly known as the "Riviera of the Black Sea."

Before 1861, Negroes were purchased like cattle in the slave markets of Turkey, by Abkhasian feudal lords trying to emulate the grandeur of the Sultan. These were the ancestors of the many Negro families now scattered over Abkhasia, who were "liberated" in 1861. They were given just enough land so that they did not starve to death—when the crops were good. Abash was born heir to an "estate" of about two acres and a hut.

Joined Red Army.

For three years Abash's old shotgun did good service in the fight for socialism. Then he returned to his native village and for several years tilled his patch of land.

Meanwhile, the great plan of industrialization reached even the backwoods of Abkhasia, and in 1924 a large sawmill began operations there. He learned to read and write. He began to study conditions in the factory, and soon discovered that all leading positions were occupied by the director's friends and relatives, and it was for this reason that the factory was working badly. Abash wrote about this to the press and soon the director was removed from office and indicted

After this, the factory began to work better. However, it continued to lag behind its quota and Abash again studied the situation. He proved that the trust failed to supply the sawmill with lumber. An investigation followed which revealed that the leadership of the trust had embezzled the sums assigned for the purchase of lumber.

Elected to Office.

In 1931, Abash was elected a member of the village Soviet (council), and later to the Central Executive Commitee of Transcaucasia.

Since then he has brought to trial two chairmen of collective farms located in his district, one of whom was a counter-revolutionist and the other a thief.

In his native republic, Abash enjoys tremendous personal popularity.

Race Problem 1934 Soviet.
Carnegie
10-2-36

Labor - 1934
Unions, Strikes, etc.

HERE'S HOW ONE RACE TECHNICIAN FARES IN SOVIET CITY

By CHATWOOD HALL

MOSCOW, Russia.—Thirteen hundred roubles, a free pass with all incidental expenses fully paid, and 30 days to linger at his own free will at a splendid resort on the Black Sea coast, former revelling ground of czars, nobles, aristocrats and other bourgeois barnacles, is the reward given to Robert Robinson formerly a worker in Ford's Detroit plant, for his outstanding rationalization work by the great Moscow Ball Bearing plant.

This black Ndarnik (shock brigade worker) came to work in Russia in 1930, upon invitation of the Soviet government, as the only Negro in a group of skilled American workers. His first two years he spent in the giant Stalingrad Tractor plant, and, like many of the other specialists employed there from many lands, he devoted all of his skill and knowledge toward putting that new Socialist industrial giant into operation and production. Upon completion of the huge ball bearing plant in 1932, he came here to work.

"Bob" Robinson, West Indies born, is coffee-coloured, tall, and "straight as an arrow." Hs is of the "introvert" type, his taciturnity being quite noticeable. He is unmarried, speaks Russian with considerable facility, and is an habitue of the theatres of Moscow, where Jim Crow is unknown.

INSTRUCTS YOUTH OF RUSSIA

For the past year, Comrade Robinson has been assigned as an instructor of a group of young Russian girl and boy apprentices in the difficult technique of gauge grinding. Mastery of this process requires full knowledge of algebra, geometry and trigonometry. Having passed his knowledge and experience to this group of young worker-owners, he has been promoted to the much broader field of consultant on the proposals of workers for improving the efficiency and productivity of the entire plant.

That he is well-fitted for his new duties, which he assumed upon his return from the Russian Riviera, may be seen from the fact that in 1933 he made 21 proposals for rationalizing the productive processes in his plant. Fourteen of his plans have already been put into effect resulting in a production economy of 15,000 roubles, which reverts back to the people as a whole and not, as under Capitalism, to the profit side of some private owner.

PERFECTS MEASURING INSTRUMENT

Comrade Robinson's most recent achievement, which has been much discussed, is the complete construction of an extremely sensitive indicator to be used for measuring with the greatest accuracy the dimensions of precision tools. He constructed the indicator with material gathered at random about his plant. Formerly such instruments were imported from America at a cost of $25 each; but exercising his ingenuity, unhampered by the race prejudice which he left behind him in America, this black worker has shown his fellow Russian workers how further importation can be stopped.

"Under Socialism in the Soviet Union," said Comrade Robinson, "there is opportunity for expansion and growth equally for everybody, whereas in America under Capitalism no room for expansion for black workers exists."

In the special apartment house attached to his plant, he occupies a comfortable apartment on complete equality with the other occupants, most of whom are foreign and Russian engineers and specialists. And when the great holiday celebrations come in November in commemoration of the Revolution of 1917, "Bob" Robinson's picture will be seen in show windows on the principal streets along with pictures of Russian workers, who see in Socialism the only hope of liberation for the toiling black and white masses.

Russian Negro Is Member Of Soviet Governing Body

Call 8-17-34 Kansas City, Mo.

MR. AND MRS. ABASH ABASHIDA AND FAMILY

Russian Negro descendants of a group of African Negroes who were taken to the territory which is now the Russian Soviet Union by Turkish landlords almost 300 years ago. There are now in Russia about 400 Russian Negroes. Old timers? Their ancestors were brought to this part of the world as slaves almost 300 years ago at a time when the district in which they now live was the personal property of Turkish landlords. Later the territory was wrested from the Turks with the word by Russian landowners. recognizable descendants of this original group. Mr. Abashida is in the woodworking industry.

Under the Czars, they, like the other racial minority inhabitants of the neighboring districts, were cruelly oppressed and exploited, not, to be sure, because they were of Negro blood, but because they were members of a national minority group. They were deprived of all economic, political, social and

By Homer Smith

MOSCOW. — Ubiquitous is the Negro!

Meet Citizen Abash Abashida, with his wife and the young Citizens Abashida,

educational opportunities.

During the revolution of 1917, when the region was subjected to heavy gunfire both from the sea and from inland, they, along with most of the other minority groups, followed the leadership of the Russian Communist party, with the result that today they and their dusky fellow neighbors—the Uzbeks, Armenians, Georgians, Turkomen, etc.—live in complete equality with other citizens of the Soviet Union.

Member of Governing Body

Citizen Abashida is a member not only of the Central executive committee (the highest governing body) of the Republic of Abhazia, but also sits on the Central executive committee of the vast Soviet territory known as Trans-Caucasia. He is an Udarnik (shock worker) in the woodworking industry.

Other recognizable descendants of the original group, which numbered several hundreds, work in all branches of industry and agriculture. James Crow is to them unknown, as Socialism will not tolerate in the least such damfoolishness. Their blood, like that of the American Negro, is not pure, they having amalgamated freely with the other inhabitants of the Caucasus. They range in color from black to white, with curly and straight black hair and often brown, gray and blue eyes. They speak the Russian and the Abhazian languages.

Close To Black Sea

The territory in which they live is one of the most picturesque in Russia, with the eternal snows atop the Caucasian mountains perpetually in evidence. As a summer resort it is the most popular in the Soviet Union. Close to the Black sea coast the climate is comparable to that of the Southern American states. Under the old regime, it was a favorite revelling place for the Bourgeoisie now the Abashidas and other workers enjoy the salubrious climate while spending their vacations in the former palaces and villas that dot the region.

Miletian Greeks first founded the region in the twelfth century. Later it was ruled by Romans, Turks, and Russian Czars. A great wall, said to have been built by the Greeks, runs through the territory and disappears in the mountains. The region abounds in maize, anthracite coal deposits, manganese, iron, silver and copper. Vast stretches of rich timber abound and the finest tobacco in Russia is grown here. All of these rich natural resources are, under Socialism, exploited for the benefit of the Abashidas and other Russian citizens.

Negro Is Elected to High Post in Soviet Trade Union Council

Daily Worker

MOSCOW, Oct. 26.—Among the Negroes who hold important posts in the various Soviet Republics is an African Negro who has been elected to the All-Soviet Central Council of Trade Unions. Formerly a teacher in South Africa, this scholar is master of seven African dialects, speaks excellent English and enjoys a splendid command of Russian. He gives private instruction in English to a group of professors of the Red Institute.

U. S. NEGRO IS ELECTED IN MOSCOW

Daily Worker

Robert Robinson Named by Fellow Workers to City Soviet

12-13-34

By Vern Smith

(Special to the Daily Worker)

MOSCOW, Dec. 12 (By Radio).—Amid tremendous enthusiasm, workers in Moscow enterprises who cast their votes during the first day of the elections to the Moscow City and District Soviets, elected Robert Robinson, Negro tool maker and Soviet shock brigader, in company with Joseph Stalin. Mikhail Kalinin and other Soviet leaders and shock brigaders to the Moscow City Soviet.

Heinz Rosher, leader of the Floridsdorf Shutzbund of Vienna in the anti-fascist fighting last February, and later received asylum in the Soviet Union, was elected a deputy of the Moscow Soviet by his fellow workers of the Stalin automobile plant.

Robinson, who worked for six years in a Detroit motor factory without receiving recognition of his abilities or promotion, has been promoted several times since he came to the Soviet Union in 1930 and, in addition, has received several substantial money awards for a number of important inventions and technical proposals.

While working at the Stalingrad tractor plant, he was assaulted by two white American engineers who objected to his eating in the same restaurant with them. This chauvinist act provoked a storm of indignation from the Soviet workers, who declared their relentless opposition to any attempt to introduce capitalist race hatred and chauvinism into the workers' fatherland. After a mass trial, in which tens of thousands of workers participated Robinson's assailants were expelled from the country.

Every Worker Votes

More than thirty of the largest enterprises in Moscow, including the Stalin automobile plant, Kaganovitch Ballbearing plant, the Dynamo plant of the electric combine, carried through their elections on Monday, with every single worker attending the election meetings. The electors discussed the work of the Moscow city and district Soviets in an exceptionally businesslike manner, while the mandates which they gave the new membership of the Soviets expressed the firm will of the proletarians to push the struggle against the remnants of capitalism with greater energy and self-denial for the construction of the classless society, for the transformation of the U.S.S.R. into the richest country of the world, and Red Moscow into the model Socialist capital.

Viacheslav Molotov, J. M. Kaganovitch, Jdanov, chairman of the Moscow Soviet, and Bulganin, addressed the election meetings at the various plants and were often interrupted by stormy applause. The elections were all marked with exceptional organization, mass initiative and enthusiasm.

This activity, enthusiasm and initiative of the masses of millions of workers and toilers is inspired and organized by the great Leninist Party, led by the beloved leader of the world proletariat, Joseph Stalin. It is not in vain that the workers in Moscow enterprises elected Comrade Stalin, the best shock worker of the U.S.S.R., as first deputy to the Moscow Soviet.

The first deputy elected by workers of the Machine tool building plant, Krasnyi Proletaryi is Molotov. The workers of the Sickle and Hammer plant elected Kaganovitch, Kalinin and Maxim Gorki. The Military Aviation Academy elected Klementi Voroshilov, Ordjonikidze, Hossior, Andreev, also the U.S.S.R. air hero, Kamanin, who participated in the rescue of the members of the Cheliuskin expedition.

Those elected at the Stalin automobile plant include Heinz Roscher, former leader of the Florisdorf Schutzbund, Austrian Socialist guards who participated in the heroic armed actions of the Austrian workers, over the heads of the leaders of the Austrian Social Democracy.

The workers in many plants elected Georgi Dimitroff, hero of the Reichstag trial, and Ernst Thaelmann, imprisoned German Communist leader, as honorary deputies to the Moscow Soviet.

Fellow Workers Elect Robinson

The Negro shock worker, Robinson, was elected by the workers of the Ballbearing Plant, where workers of 37 nationalities are engaged in the mighty work of Socialist construction.

Dealing with the results of the first day of the elections, Pravda, organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in an editorial entitled, "Demonstration of Tremendous Victories," declares that "Already the first day of the elections was a tremendous demonstration of the unification, devotion and love of all toilers to the Communist Party and Stalin, expressing the boundless confidence of all toilers in the enterprises in the Soviet Power.

"The speeches of thousands of electors, the demonstrations of scores of thousands of toilers before the Moscow Soviet reflect the tremendous growth of the political consciousness of the working class and all toilers of the U. S. S. R.," Pravda continued. "The firm confidence in the final victory of Socialism and in the correct line of the Communist Party, the pride in the tremendous achievements of Socialist construction resound in these speeches and mandates."

Summarizing the results of four years of stubborn struggles in the work of the Moscow Soviet, the victories achieved under the leadership of the Moscow Party committee and Kaganovitch, Pravda adds:

"How different is the proletarian capital from the large capitalist cities and bourgeois capitals of the entire world! Unemployment, miserable hovels, dirty, neglected outskirts, physical degeneration and decay—that is what capitalist towns give to the millions of toilers. Home building on an exceptionally large scale, growth of cultural institutions, steady rise in the material and cultural standards of millions of toilers, increase in births, sharp drop in mortality—such are the facts which the proletarian capital presents with due pride at this election to the Soviets.

Invincible Power

"Listening to the speeches of thousands of Moscow electors, one realizes how invincible is the power of the U. S. S. R., and what gigantic reserves of revolutionary energy and initiative exist in the masses of toilers.

"The Communist Party led, and is leading, the toilers along the great road of struggle and victories. In stubborn class struggle, the masses of millions of toilers have developed immeasurably. How pitiful seem now the attempts of the class enemies to disrupt the gigantic Socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. by means of sabotage and wrecking in the face of the tremendous development of Socialist economy, in the face of the invincible unification of all toilers around the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

"Merciless vengeance toward class enemies, enemies of the people, who have made cowardly attempts upon the lives of the best members of the working class and upon Socialist construction, boundless hatred and contempt toward those remnants not yet finally defeated, all this resounds in the speeches and mandates of the millions of electors.

"To consolidate the power of the U. S. S. R.—vigilance; vigilance; once more vigilance, this is what the proletarians of the Red capital are unabatingly repeating in their mandates to their deputies."

NEGRO ELECTED TO GOVERNING BODY IN MOSCOW

Daily Worker

MOSCOW, U. S. R.—Robert Robinson, 30, Jamaican-American machine tool worker, was unanimously elected to the Moscow Soviet (city council) by the 15,000 voting workers of the local ball-bearing plant in the elections here last Tuesday evening.

Robinson, a former worker in the Detroit Ford plant, came to the Soviet Union in 1930. He was immediately employed by the Stalingrad tractor plant. His work there and in Moscow, in making inventions and planning time-saving devices and methods, has been of such excellence that he received a bonus of $1,127, a government medal, and many other honors. His picture was hung in the Hall of Columns in the headquarters of the Russian trade unions in Moscow as a "hero of labor."

Robinson became a storm-center in Stalingrad in 1930, when a group of white American engineers resented his presence in the foreign workers' restaurant. Two of them, Lewis and Brown, assaulted Robinson. At the public trial of the assailants, the Russian workers declared that race prejudice would not be tolerated in the Soviet Union. Lewis and Brown were expelled from the country within 72 hours.

The Soviets, the governing bodies of the country, are made up of delegates from the factories and farms. The Moscow ball-bearing plant when elected Robinson, is entitled to 15 delegates.

Labor - 1934

Unions, Strikes, etc.

Race Problem - 1934
Europe
(10-2-36)

Soviet

PITTSBURGH, PA
PRESS

FEB 14 1934

A Former Pittsburgher Writes Us From Moscow

Editor, The Pittsburgh Press:

HAVING been a constant reader of The Press while I lived in Pittsburgh and remembering the manner in which your paper supported me as one of the participants in the University of Pittsburgh-MacArthur case last June, I thought I would use this letter as a means of telling Press readers about my impressions of "Soviet Russia."

I found the Russians hospitable to foreigners in a manner that far outpasses the famed hospitality of the East. In the crowded trams, in the long waiting lines, I found Russians ready to make room and even inconvenience themselves for the "foreigner."

But this special courtesy to foreigners is surpassed in their conduct to Americans. When a Russian learns that you are a foreigner his face lights up, but when you tell him you are an American, he is immediately at attention and bombards you with countless questions—"Are there really five million unemployed in America?" (The average Russian does not believe the Russian papers' statement that America has 15 million unemployed). "Why do the Americans not like the Negroes?" (The Russians are very fond of Negroes and the American falls into second place in popularity when the Negro enters the scene although most of the Negroes in Moscow are American).

I have been working for the past three months in one of the new mechanized bread factories in Moscow. I find the workers unusually happy, completely free of worry about old age, unemployment or sickness since these pitfalls are covered by social insurance.

My brigade (as groups of workers are called) greatly respec American industrial technique which is the basis for their fondness for Americans.

LEONARD GRUMET,
Bread Factory No. 5,
Moscow, U. S. S. R.

THYRA EDWARDS MAKES "INSPECTION" TOUR OF SOVIET RUSSIA

Noted Labor Student Seeks First-Hand Information on New Order

By CHATWOOD HALL

MOSCOW.—For the purpose of studying at first hand social and economic life under Socialism, Thyra Edwards, Chicago social worker, is spending several weeks in the Soviet Union. Comrade Edwards was formerly director of the Lake County Children's Home in Gary, Ind.

Since leaving America nine months ago, Comrade Edwards has done independent research work in London relative to labor problems in India and Africa.

Defender

In addition, she had a scholarship to the International People's college in Elsingor, Norway. Upon leaving Norway, she spent approximately five weeks in Sweden studying at the Social institute and lecturing. From Sweden, Comrade Edwards sailed for Finland, where she delivered a series of lectures in Helsingfors. Leaving Finland for the Soviet Union, she arrived in time for the May day demonstrations (international labor day).

Besides her practical social work, Comrade Edwards has contributed articles to the magazine Opportunity, to the Associated Negro Press, to The Chicago Defender, to the Progressive Miner in Illinois and to other publications.

6-16-34

Asked by the correspondent what impressions she had formed of the land of Socialism after several weeks sojourn and study, she replied:

"Since as many peoples of the world are concerned the Soviet system offers the only solution for their problems. In America, for instance, 'niggers' are simply clever animals. In England they are just as contemptuously hated and oppressed.

"Continental Europe accepts the Negro as a clown and buffoon, and this is no doubt due to his status as an entertainer for the decadent bourgeoisie.

"It is only in the Soviet Union that the Negro is recognized as a man. Here he experiences equality of opportunity and of social life."

HOW SOVIETS SOLVED PROBLEM

Questioned as to the particular interest of the Soviet Union for the American Negro, she said:

"It is necessary that Negroes in America give more attention to the Soviet solution of the race problem. One thing is certain: that only in a Socialist society can the darker peoples of the world hope for salvation and equality."

Coming to the question of social life, sex equality and morals in the land of Socialism, she added:

"Many fabricated stories have been told of the destruction of the family, but my observations prove the contrary. The Soviet has made women free economically by giving them access to all types of employment. It has extended that freedom by freeing them from bearing children against their wishes. This clears up two very clear points of tension in the old type of family life: there is no longer the economic strain and women are not tied to unwanted children. The result is that children are born into families free from the old nagging and quarreling into homes where exists opportunity, equality, mutual respect and co-operation.

"While Soviet women have children only when they wish, one finds a surprising number of children on all sides."

Comrade Edwards expects to leave Moscow within a few days for a tour of Kiev and Kharkov, centers of Jewish racial oppression and pogroms before the Soviet government completely wiped out such barbarous atrocities.

MOSCOW.—Mrs. Margaret Glascoe of Westfield, N. J., reached the Red capital recently for an indefinite stay with her son, Lloyd Patterson, and her daughter-in-law, an artist of the Meschrabpom Film company.

Comrade Glascoe left New York on the Majestic May 4 for Southampton, England, from which place she went to London. In London she boarded a Soviet ship sailing for Leningrad.

Questioned as to her reactions in being in a land where Jim Crow and race prejudice are unknown, Comrade Glascoe replied: "I feel more at home; people meet me on such a different scale. I felt the change as soon as I stepped onto the Soviet ship in London. The atmosphere is entirely different."

Comrade Glascoe was junior organizer for the N. A. A. C. P. in Westfield and was active in St. Thomas Episcopal church.

BACK IN U.S.

WAYLAND RUDD

Who has returned to the United States from Russia for a few weeks' visit with friends and relatives in Washington. Mr. Rudd went to Russia with a group of American actors in 1932 and has since become one of the brightest lights of the Moscow stage. He plans to sail again for the Soviet States sometime in August.

Opportunity for All, Writes Negro Worker from USSR

Negro Farm Worker From Chicago Delegate Named By Workers For Trip to U.S.S.R.

By a Soviet Worker Correspondent

U. S. S. R., Krasnodar Gorod.—This is my third year in Russia, I came over with the "O. T. Golden group" of agricultural specialists October, 1931, and I am so well satisfied with the Soviet Union, working conditions that I plan to remain permanently. I do not regret that I came to Russia and the program of the Communist Party in America, since I have seen what it means to the oppressed minority groups and for the laboring class as a whole here in Russia. It is simply unbelievable to me, an American Negro, that I could be given such opportunities to make good as I am receiving here.

I have lately joined the group of Party sympathizers here, which, as you know, is the first stage toward entering the Party. I should be glad to be useful in some way to the Communist Party of America.

I really would like to tell my Negro brothers that there is one place in the world where a black face isn't a disgrace and an economic handicap. I worked two years in Central Asia, and while there I gave several interviews to newspapers, telling of the oppressed conditions of Negro workers in the United States.

Communism, or rather the policy of the Communist Party, has done a wonderful lot for me, and if it is possible, I should like to do a bit for the Party.

JOHN SITTON.

NEW YORK.—Chicago stockyard workers elected John Paris, Negro stockyard worker, to represent them in the Friends of the Soviet Union of the F. S. U.

Nov. 7 Workers' Delegation to the Soviet Union, it was announced today by Herbert Goldfrank, National Secretary of the F. S. U.

Other worker delegates have already been elected by Pittsburgh steel workers and coal miners, South Dakota farmers, and Pennsylvania textile workers, and the organization also reports that its semi-annual campaign to secure delegates from other basic industries throughout the United States is meeting with success on all fronts.

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Other worker delegates have already been elected by Pittsburgh steel workers and coal miners, South Dakota farmers, and Pennsylvania textile workers, and the organization also reports that its semi-annual campaign to secure delegates from other basic industries throughout the United States is meeting with success on all fronts.

By a Soviet Worker Correspondent

U. S. S. R., Krasnodar Gorod.—This is my third year in Russia, and I came over with the "O. T. Golder group" of agricultural specialists in October, 1931, and I am so well satisfied with the Soviet regime and working conditions that I plan to remain permanently. I am very glad that I have seen so much of the Soviet Union and particularly the Communist Party in America, since I have seen what it means to the oppressed minority groups and for the laboring class as a whole here in Russia. It is simply unbelievable to me, an American Negro, that I could be given such opportunities to make good as I am receiving here.

I have lately joined the group of Party sympathizers here, which as you know, is the first stage toward entering the Party. I should be glad to be useful in some way to the Communist Party of America.

JOHN SUTTON.

Lenin's Widow Writes To Negro Woman in N.Y.

Daily Worker 9-5-34

NEW YORK.—A letter from Krupskaya, widow of Lenin, leader of the Russian revolution, has been received here by a Negro woman, Miss Grace Lamb. The letter was sent in answer to one Miss Lamb had written, inquiring about her brother-in-law, Richard Williams, who had been in the Soviet Union for some years.

The letter follows:

9-5-34 New York

Dear Comrade:

This is in reply to your letter about your brother-in-law, Richard Williams. In December, 1933, he came from Magnitogorsk to Moscow. Being sick, he was placed in one of the best hospitals of the city. For seven weeks he had excellent treatment.

After his recovery, he stayed a few weeks more in Moscow, and all his expenses, such as hospital, hotel and railway tickets, were paid by the Commissariat of Heavy Industry. During his stay in Moscow, he asked for work in a warm climate.

At the present time, Comrade Williams is in Tashkent (Middle Asia), where there is no winter at all and the climate corresponds to the climate of California. Comrade Williams is working as an engineer. A special interpreter has been sent with him from Moscow.

According to a letter received recently by a friend of Comrade Williams in Moscow, Williams enjoys his work very much. The climate suits him perfectly. He gets 1,000 roubles a month, and has an automobile at his disposal. He has 45 days leave each year, and for this time receives full wages.

With best wishes,

ULIANOVA (KRUPSKAYA).

U. S. Students Observe Social Life in Moscow

By HOMER SMITH

MOSCOW.—Dr. Winfred B. Nathan, acting chairman of the Department of Education in Atlanta university, has arrived in Moscow with a group of more than 200 American educators and students to attend the summer school especially organized for English-speaking students at the University of Moscow. Dr. Nathan sailed from America on the Isle de France on July 5, arriving in the Red Capital on July 20.

From 1925 to 1928 Dr. Nathan was head of the department of social sciences at Texas college, Tyler, Texas. He has been a research fellow for the National Tuberculosis association. His undergraduate work was done in New York City college, after which he attended the University of Chicago, Columbia University, and Cambridge university, England. He received his master's and his doctor's degrees from New York university.

HAS PERMITS TO ALL LECTURES

A blanket registration permits Dr. Nathan to attend all courses and lectures at the summer school, although his special interests are: educational experimentation in the Soviet Union; psychology, philosophy, education and the theory and practice of polytechnization. He spends much of his time visiting the medical clinics.

More than any other European people with w hom he has come in contact, the Russian people are exceedingly kind and courteous, said Dr. Nathan. But some of their methods of commerce and the conduct of some branches of their light industry economy could be improved.

"As far as I can see," he said, "Socialism seems to have brought the Russian people the form of government that they had hoped for.

"I am not quite sure what would be the political and social consequences of Socialism in the United States. There are complications in American life. It is difficult to say just what adjustments are necessary."

SEES BENEFITS FROM SOCIALISM

According to Dr. Nathan, Socialism has done a great amount of good for the toiling masses. Especially striking are the efforts of the Soviet regime to protect women and children through clinical research and special institutions for their care and protection. He especially recommended the fact that he has seen no unemployment or suffering. Recreational facilities are the best that he has seen anywhere and the educational ventures and experiments are excellent.

Continuous research in the fields of psychology and pedagogics is leading to a rapid improvement in education through the method of tying up the life of the schools with the life of the community by means of polytechnization.

Withing a few days, Dr. Nathan expects to leave Moscow with the group for a tour of the Crimea and other points in South Russia, following which he will return to the United States.

SOVIETS ELECT NEGRO

Former Detroit Auto Worker Is Unanimously Selected

MOSCOW, Dec. 11.—(AP)—Robert Robinson, a Jamaican negro, was elected unanimously today by his fellow workers in the Moscow ball-bearing plant as a deputy to the Moscow Soviet.

After working in a Detroit motor factory, Robinson came to Soviet Russia where his rationalization proposal resulted in economics which won favor among his associates.

CRUSADER NEWS AGENCY -5- Sept. 15, 1934

FOUR NEGROES IN WORKERS' DELEGATION TO SOVIET UNION

Crusader News Agency

NEW YORK. - (CNA) At least four of the 16 workers who will go to the Soviet Union in October as an American workers' delegation, will be Negroes, according to an announcement made here this week by the national headquarters of the Friends of the Soviet Union, at 80 East 11th street.

9-15-34 New York

All delegates are being elected directly by the workers, chiefly through local trade unions. The Friends of the Soviet Union, which is arranging the trip, has asked for a negro steel worker from Buffalo; a Negro woman packing-house worker from Chicago; a Negro agricultural worker from Southern New Jersey; and a Negro worker from New York City who will go as official representative of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

The group, which leaves New York the middle of October, will arrive in Moscow in time for the celebration on November 7 of the seventeenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. They will then tour the Soviet Union for at least a month. Throughout their stay they will be the guests of the Russian trade unions.

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Race Problem- 1934
Literary Exploitation of the Negro

BOSTON, MASS.
HERALD

56

APR 18 1934

Understands Negro, Writes Plays About Him, but Says He Is Curse

Paul Green, Playwright And Poet, Cites Degradation of Whites in South

TELLS ANECDOTE OF COUSIN AS EXAMPLE

By ELIZABETH BORTON

"The curse of the South is the Negro," said Paul Green, who writes so tenderly and understandingly about Negroes that many persons who just notice names on programs think he is one himself.

He is not. He is a Southerner, a former professor of philosophy, a poet, a playwright and a winner of the Pulitzer prize. He is stocky and blond, with a face that contradicts itself. In profile he is a thin-nosed, aquiline cavalier of the old South, with a delicate, slightly arrogant, decidedly aristocratic sort of good looks.

Full-face, you see that his eyes are too narrow, and cloudy with thoughts he thinks but will not express unless the time is ripe for them; his lips are too full, and there is in his face a sort of gentle, earthly sensuality.

GIVES ILLUSTRATION

"The decay of the South is due to the Negro," he said, "for a very simple reason that I can illustrate for you. No matter how useless, lazy, or degraded they may be, the white men of the South can always maintain pride and a feeling of superiority by telling themselves that, after all, they can still 'boss niggers.' They are still the race in power.

"My wife and I decided to build a home in the South, or rebuild one, of the type that we would want to live in all our lives. We were driving through eastern North Carolina one day, and we came to the old ante-bellum home owned by a distant cousin of mine. The house was rotting into decay. Unable to afford its upkeep, my cousin had moved out of it. Negro families lived there in the decaying place. Upstairs in the library the letters and books were ankle deep.

"I went over to see my cousin and found him living in a plain, mediocre frame bungalow. His teeth had rotted away to the stumps; he was idle. There was no ambition in him, no grace of living, no beauty or dignity. But his pride was something you cannot even visualize. He was still a king—a white man among Negroes."

Green tells this simple anecdote with the voice of a poet-actor, so that no whit of the pathos and degradation of it is lost.

SEES OTHER DECAY

Don't think that he finds the only decay, the only stronghold of corrosion and silly pride, in the South. He has seen the factory towns of the North, too. He has seen the blinding new pride of the West and the complacent mediocrity of the bungalow civilization of the middle West.

He will not talk about himself. His background he tells grudgingly, with little savor, except in so much as it reveals the panorama of a civilization that is changing, dying. His childhood on a great plantation that had been parcelled and parcelled up among the sons of the family, was lived in the atmosphere of the jungley South, among Negroes, among white men who lived much in a past that was nobler than themselves.

"We must reorganize our lives on new bases," he said. "I believe that the brotherhood of man in labor is coming, and very soon. (He says this as a poet, not in the manner of any haranguer of crowds.)

"How curious it is that the machine—this thing we devised as a means of entrenching ourselves in greater wealth and as the basis of our preservation of wealth and of vested rights—has defeated us at every turn. I believe that in the end the machine will force mankind, willy-nilly, and no matter how desperately they try to check-mate it and retard it, into brotherhood, consideration for each other, and more graceful living."

FEEL HIS EMOTIONS

You cannot talk to Green for very long without feeling that even as you hold his courteous attention for a while, even as you listen to the slow-blurred words of his Southern speech, he is feeling the stress of emotions that spring from sensitivity to more things than most of us ever learn to feel, seeing visions that he will shortly write.

And yet there is not the slightest atom of pretention or foolishness in him. He is probably capable of violence and coarseness, as are most men of unmistakable masculinity, but there is in him the indefinable quality of greatness. Like other Southerners, brought up in a life wherein is mixed much of decay and much of beauty, his outlook is gently fatalistic, but hopeful of ultimate change that he may not live to see.

He himself is typical of something that is happening in American letters—a separation into regional writers who are alive to the traditions and problems of their special home places. Phil Stong has come out of the middle West, William Faulkner from the deep South, and Paul Green as the voice of the Negroes, seen through a poet's—not a humorist's or a sentimental novelist's—eyes.

(Photo by Wide World)
PAUL GREEN

Race Problem-1934
South America

American Race Prejudice Seen Gaining in Brazil

U. S. Influence Stirs Hatreds Between Racial Groups

Defender 2-24-34 Chicago, Ill.

RIO DE JANEIRO, Brazil, Feb. 23.—Race prejudice, which has been growing by leaps and bounds since white Americans began making their investments and their homes here, reached a new height recently. The affair, reported by A Noite, most influential daily newspaper in Brazil, tells how a business man was nearly mobbed simply because he exhibited a picture of three little Race urchins as a "souvenir of Brazil," and offered it for sale.

The story, translated from A Noite issue of Jan. 25, and headed, "A Scandal on the Avenue," follows:

The wild demonstration which today broke out on Rio Branco was occasioned by a picture exhibited by the firm of Zitrin & Irmaos with offices on Rio Branco Ave. as well as Buenos Aires St., No. 110.

During the afternoon many young people noticed the announcements on the avenue. Their curiosity was soon aroused to a point of protest when they understood that a picture entitled "Souvenir of Brazil," showing three Negro boys as native Brazilians who once enjoyed the same social, military, political and legal rights as do the whites of today. The tremendous enthusiasm of the colonists during the early stages of Brazilian history caused various Negro battalions to be raised and it was noted by travelers that the black faces of the Negro officers were wont to mingle with those of the courtiers at royal functions. The preview of this picture along with its historical background in vast contrast with the present-day Brazil aroused the resentment of the people almost to a point of riot. Many groups were organized for the purpose of attacking the members of the firm and their business places.

Mr. Wolf, the manager was summoned to police headquarters and was warned by the chief of police, Alfredo de Oloveira of the Third district. This warning was more or less of an injunction restraining the firm temporarily from showing the picture, but the manager insisted that there was nothing irregular and objectionable in the picture

Wolf Zitrin was, however, arrested and his case will be called before the justice of the Second district. He is being supported by many who feel the injustice of such a gesture on the part of local authorities.

Mr. Zitrin was born in Egypt where he knew nothing of prejudice. Many political organizations are giving their moral support to the case.

SENOR WOLFE

Although prejudice has grown here due to American influence, there are still the majority of Brazilians who are opposed to racial prejudice in any of its forms, and who are fighting to stamp it out. "We do not intend to make Brazil like the United States in that respect," several of the leading citizens have declared. In carrying out that declaration, mass meetings and programs are being held throughout this country to call to the attention of Brazilians the fact that American prejudice is getting a foothold here. The plan is to stamp it out wherever it appears, the leaders declare.

CAUSE OF TROUBLE

SUN
SPRINGFIELD, O.

FEB 21 1934

IMMIGRATION IN BRAZIL

An interesting item of news comes from Brazil concerning immigration into that country. The Brazilian government has made arrangements with the League of Nations for the migration of 10,000 or more Syrian families. Opposition to this plan has developed, and a Brazilian group is advocating a constitutional amendment which would prohibit the immigration of Asiatics and Negroes. Apparently Caucasian as well as Mongolian Asiatics would be barred, as the Syrians belong to the white race.

Brazil is a very large country. It has vast, undeveloped resources. It has a population of Indian, Negro and Portuguese blood, largely intermixed as well as separate, and within recent decades it has received many European and Asiatic immigrants. There are many German and Italian settlers in Brazil and recently the Japanese immigration has been large, although it has been restricted to Japanese farmers with means to buy land.

To the observer from the outside, at least, most of this immigration has seemed highly desirable, not only because the large areas of unoccupied land and the large volume of undeveloped resources in the country call for more people, but because, from an industrial standpoint, the immigrants rate higher than the native Brazilians. The German, Italian and Japanese immigrants are hard-working, thrifty people, more inclined to build up national industry and commerce than the Portuguese-Indian-Negro mixed bloods

r than any of these three races of unmixed ancestry

And, so far, Brazil has been very hospitable to all comers. Whether the Syrians in question would be a desirable addition to the population is not so plain. Apparently there is beginning to be developed a feeling that even the vast areas of Brazil will in time be fully occupied, in accordance with their resources, and that the more accessible and desirable areas are already pretty well filled, so that it is no longer desirable to accept anybody and everybody willing to come but to pick and choose, instead.

It is not so long since the United States welcomed gladly practically everybody who chose to come to our shores, and there are many who think today that it would have been wiser to have begun a selective system in receiving immigrants a number of decades earlier than such restrictions were thought of. Perhaps Brazil is wise in taking the matter in hand betimes. But if Brazil and other South American countries begin to restrict immigration drastically, where will excess population from the over-crowded lands of Asia and Europe go?

BOSTON, MASS.
Christian Science Monitor

SEP 25 1934

The Wide Horizon

Brazil Closes the Doors

By **Sheridan H. Garth**

BY SIMPLY turning off the faucet, Brazil has now arrested the last remaining stream of immigration in the world. After many decades of unprecedented human migration from one continent to another and of the mixture of all races in one crucible, the old situation has again been brought about of the stabilization of peoples within their own frontiers.

The flow of colonists bears an exact analogy to the natural flow of water through pipes. As the influx of varicolored liquids slowly but surely tinges the purity of a large pool, so the steady stream of alien peoples alters the consistency of a nation's population.

Underpopulation of New World nations in the past has drawn countless numbers of settlers. But difficulties existed at the outset when it became evident that the immigrants were attracted only to particular areas instead of dispersing uniformly. That is why five nations—Canada, the United States, Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina—because of their temperate climate and seacoast, became congested with unwieldy numbers of hopeful new citizens, while less fortunate tropical and remote countries were ignored and thus had a slower growth.

As soon as the vast stretches of open land were comparatively filled up, and the continuing hordes of newcomers tended to congregate in unassimilable city groups, the five popular countries began to stem the strong current. Canada and Uruguay, fearing for the survival of their small populations, applied drastic restrictions, while Argentina, realizing that her very language was becoming adulterated with foreign idioms and pronunciation, soon followed suit. When the United States adopted an exclusion act, in 1924, only Brazil was left as an open haven for the hopeful.

* * *

Why did not Brazil immediately join her sister nations? There are many reasons contributing to this, but they are all bound up in the mentality of the Brazilians. Extremely tolerant, unworried by any inclement climate, living in a limitless empire with an endless seacoast, possessing territory whose riches are incalculable, and willing to have the hard work done by energetic foreigners, they hesitated to apply the turn to the faucet handle. As a result water tinged by many colors poured freely into Brazil's large and not too clear pool.

Now Brazil is a country established by Portuguese settlers who imported thousands of Negroes into the tropical northern sections, and mingled with the Indians in the south. Before the war between the states of North America, whole colonies of Germans had settled on the cool plateaus of southern Brazil, which they speedily converted into a miniature Germany. Swarming around the sleepy little town of Porto Alegre (Happy Harbor), they made it a metropolis and all but supplanted the native Portuguese dialect with Plattdeutsch.

In their wake followed shiploads of Italians, Spaniards, and more Germans, all of them making for the cool southern regions around Porto Alegre and the great coffee center of São Paulo. After the turn of the century, a slight Japanese strain became visible, and with the close of the World War, this swelled into the predominating color as the European stream slackened. For ten years now Japanese laborers have been settling in compact numbers in the sovereign state of São Paulo, planting rice and wheat amid the coffee fields, while others were quietly hewing out homesteads in the uninhabited Amazon jungle.

Brazil's fabulous natural wealth and unmitigated hospitality drew to her own soil as well the settlers who formerly had sought asylum in the four other homelands, until voices rose in protest against the swamping of the native Portuguese element that had raised Brazil to glory. Only the industriousness of the Italians in the coffee fields, and the contribution of the Japanese settlers to diversifying the agricultural output prevented the country from hearkening all at once to the feeble protests.

* * *

But everything changes. Japan's occupation of Manchuria, the support given by new immigrants to São Paulo's stubborn uprising in 1932, and the project of the League of Nations to move a whole Assyrian population of 20,000 families from Mesopotamia to the shores of the Paraná River, crystallized sentiment almost overnight. The Provisional Government proposed immigration restriction.

This agitation has finally closed Brazil's doors. The new constitution, promulgated last spring, contained a section prohibiting free entrance to settlers, and adopting the North American system of admitting nationals of other countries only in a certain proportion to their influx of thirty years ago. Thus the Japanese are almost completely excluded, and the Brazilians are satisfied that their nation will never become another Manchuria.

Immigration more than any other factor has enabled the five temperate nations in the New World to grow into important powers. The swelling of their populations and the introduction of new elements and new industries brought with them stability and progress. But by a turn of the faucet handle, the ethnical pool of Brazil, like that of her sister nations, remains mixed and thoroughly stirred, instead of showing forth only one color. Recalling what happened to the proud Boers of the Transvaal in 1902, the Brazilians think they have acted in time.

WASHINGTON, D. C
POST

OCT 2 1934

Race or Culture?

To the Editor of The Post—Sir: On September 3 Dr. Lothrop Stoddard had an article in The Post under the caption "Liberal Trend Seen in New Brazil Laws." The article was splendidly written, but Mr. Stoddard tried to show that Brazil because of its large Negro or mixed Negro population, was somewhat backward.

It has been my privilege to live all over South America, and there is not a single place in South America that doesn't have some of the same ills that Brazil has. This is true of Latin America generally. All of the South and Central American countries have very small percentages of their populations highly educated. Consequently, those who are educated get into politics and they, like politicians everywhere, live on the backs of the uneducated.

Most of the people in South America have what is known as a plantation culture, which is almost exactly like the plantation culture in Southern United States. Everyone knows that the people in Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas and Mississippi, and more especially Louisiana, have a different culture from the people in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maine, Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Mr. Stoddard should know that every election in any one of the Southern States carries with it bloodshed. That is to say, white people are killed by white people. Very few Negroes can vote in the South.

One wonders if Mr. Stoddard knows this, and if he does, will he say that Brazil, with its so-called Negro population, is ignorant, any more than Georgia and the other Southern States, especially Louisiana, where Huey P. Long and Mayor Walmsley of New Orleans are at daggers' points. Both of these gentlemen belong to the Anglo-Saxon race. One wonders how Mr. Stoddard will explain their activities.

It is singular that white people can not write coolly, calmly and dispassionately about reconstruction days, when, as a matter of fact, Negroes who were in the lawmaking body during that period were as intelligent as the whites.

The lawmakers in the National Government and in the States are not any too intelligent now, and they certainly do not make the best laws. It is not due to the fact that colored people are hampering them. One wonders why these superior lawmakers, as Mr. Stoddard would have us believe, make such blunders.

L. F. COLES.

New York, Sept. 10.

Race Problem – 1934

United States.

RABBIS URGE FIGHT ON RACE PREJUDICE

Times

J. B. Wise, in Rosh ha-Shanah Sermon, Gives Thanks That It Cannot Gain in America.

REMOLDED SOCIETY ASKED

9-11-34

Dr. de Sola Pool Sees Chance to Change World—Dr. S. H. Goldenson Stresses Faith.

Herald Tribune

The failure of our materialistic ideals, the fight against racial prejudice, the real purpose of religion and the opportunities for service to mankind served as texts for many rabbis yesterday at the Rosh ha-Shanah services in temples and synagogues throughout the city. The services were in observance of the year 5695 of the Hebrew calendar.

Services in the orthodox and conservative Jewish places of worship will be held also today, the New Year's observance coming to a close at sundown. Reform Judaism observed the Jewish New Year with services Sunday evening and yesterday morning.

Rabbi Jonah B. Wise in his sermon at the Central Synagogue, Lexington Avenue and Fifty-fifth Street, declared that all should join in a prayer of thanks that prejudice had not and could not gain more than a casual place in American life.

"Looking backward over the last year, we find that we have been much concerned with prejudice and poverty.

Prejudice Laid to Defenders.

"We are aware that a larger part of anti-Jewish prejudice is caused by our friends and defenders from within our own ranks. We solemnly pray God that our champions may be guided by greater wisdom, greater modesty and reserve.

"Poverty has found a challenge in a new interpretation of our rights and duties as citizens. At the present time every man may make a sacrifice compatible with his strength in order through his government to help the victims of economic change and disaster.

"We can in the prayer of this day ask God to keep far from our country sickness, war and famine; to keep far from Israel through a greater spiritual power the sordid fear of prejudice and of poverty."

The Rev. Dr. D. de Sola Pool, speaking at the services at the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Central Park West and Seventieth Street, declared it was within the power of all to a large extent to remake human society "closer to our heart's desire."

"Our world of the future does not have to repeat the failures of the past," he said. "Not that we look forward to any sudden coming of the messianic era, or a revolutionary change in our forms and expression of living, or to any sudden change in human nature. But we do not accept the present sorry state of things as something fatalistically predestined and unchangeable. In a few years the character of the Russian people has been changed completely. In a few months the character of the people of Germany has been altogether corrupted. In a few days a whole people can be utterly changed by the hysteria of propaganda of war, while within a brief hour a community can be changed into a lynching mob howling for blood, or through some disaster it can become a band of glorious, mutual, helpfulness, knit together by deeds of self-sacrifice and heroism.

May Remake Our World.

"So we may remake our world for better or for worse in the coming year according to whether we flaunt or live up to the teachings of religion. It is of no avail to complain of life as if it were something external to us. The future is given into our hands. It is for us to give to ourselves and to our children a better and a happier world than we have known in the past."

In accordance with the custom of the last twenty-five years, the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue opened its large auditorium for services to accommodate those who could not be seated in the main synagogue. At these services the sermon was delivered by the Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes, rabbi emeritus of the congregation.

Dr. Samuel H. Goldenson, rabbi of Temple Emanu-El, Fifth Avenue at Sixty-fifth Street, said that only "through faith in an overruling Providence, a life dedicated to a great cause and the cultivation of contentment may one find real and lasting happiness."

He declared that while there was constant talk of happiness and its desirability, "rarely does one do something about it." He said that one was so bound up with his fellow man that the individual could not be happy, usually without sharing his happiness with others. He said that one of the reasons real happiness was so seldom achieved in life was because "like very great value it is subject to substitution, and happiness is quite different to different individuals."

Many think that happiness is a matter of luck, he added, and the reason for that thought is because "we live in a world where much is uncertain."

"Cultivate contentment if you would achieve happiness," said Rabbi Goldenson. "Appreciation and ability to value rightly what we have, the ability to give ourselves to a cause that is greater than we, the pursuit of ideals for a righteous purpose and a feeling of adequacy in the performance of life's duties will bring happiness."

Urges Unity in Fight.

Rabbi William F. Rosenblum of Temple Israel, West Ninety-first Street, urged solidarity in the fight against racial prejudice in general and anti-Semitism in particular. In this connection he said:

"The main symbol of the Rosh-ha-Shanah or New Year is the shofar, the ram's horn, which is sounded during the morning service. The shofar is blown in three different calls—one a sharp note that breaks upon the quiet of the sanctuary, the other a staccato call to attention, the third an exultant note of rejoicing. This year the call is one of challenge, a sharp summons to faith and to action. The Jew is hemmed in by anti-Semitism like Leonidas at Thermopylae and his slogan must be like that of the ancient Greek warrior. To the tyrants and the bigots who are advancing upon him from every side he must cry: 'They shall not pass.'

"There is no room in the modern world for crazy race notions, for insane national fanaticism, for the doctrine of one superpeople above all. And the Jew, because of his heritage in the cause of right, because of his courage to endure, because he has learned how to stand up and die in order that Israel might live, because he has always wanted to lead the world to the kingdom of brotherhood on earth as the replica of the kingdom of fatherhood in heaven, the Jew is destined to stand in the narrow pass that lies between the hordes of barbarians who wish to destroy our civilization and the apparent minority who are willing to fight for our hard-won freedoms and opportunities as human beings.

"This year the shofar call rings out of the synagogue walls into the hearts of men everywhere to whom life is precious, but to whom freedom is more precious. Let us take our stand against every ism which strikes at freedom, at Nazism, at communism, at fascism, for the hope of the world lies not in any of them. They are Godless and the hope of humanity lies in a world that is theocentric, not the egocentricism of little men with raucous propaganda on their lips and small thoughts in their mind. Let the Jew lead. He has learned how to stand with his back against the wall and fight his way through to the sun. He will do it again if men of good-will will follow. The world must not be given over to those who would put every soul in a uniform, every mind in a mold and every heart in a cast of stone. It may cost life, but in the end it will give the world new life."

Sees Jew as Apostle of Peace.

At the Free Synagogue service in Carnegie Hall the text of the sermon of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise was "The Mountains Shall Depart." He declared the Jew was "an apostle of peace to mankind."

"Nations, races, faiths, warred upon the Jew everlastingly, but the Jew warred not," he said. "He stood and stands as a very apostle of peace to mankind. A new distinction and a new responsibility have come to Israel in this hour, and to them Israel must be equal. We stand out in the sight of the world as the force demanded most dangerous to the causes of darkness, slavement, barbarism.

"Barbarism—is that not too strong term? Rather, it is too mild. For even barbarians are loyal to their own, and these neo-barbarians are not. Witness the slaughter of their own comrades and leaders, an orgy of assassination in which each of the chief miscarions was free to slaughter those he deemed dangerous to himself.

"Thus we are assailed as the children of light. We may not be children of light today and children of darkness tomorrow. Children of light, because we are dedicated to the most precious ideals and causes of life, human freedom, human justice, human equality. Whether it be to serve or to save ourselves, we dare not for any reason whatever become children of darkness, indifferent to freedom, scornful of justice, tolerant of unrighteousness. Our priority as Hitler victims is a new commitment and a new dedication."

Rabbi Milton Steinberg of the Park Avenue Synagogue, East Eighty-seventh Street, spoke on "The Mystic Voice of the Shofar." He said:

"If religion has any purpose at all, it is the function of arousing its communicants to remake the social order into a Kingdom of God, and the whole House of Israel on this day, as it listens to the ancient melodies of the Ram's horn, is bidden to enlist in that vast army which since the dawn of history has struggled toward the building of a society in which there shall be no more need and no more unnecessary suffering."

Spiritual Results of Depression.

Rabbi Louis I. Newman, at the Congregation Rodeph Sholom, 7 West Eighty-third Street, declared the outstanding spiritual consequence of the depression was that it cultivated among men the belief that they are unwanted in the social system. "The settled despair which our age has inflicted upon the masses must give way to a sense of the hegemony of man's mind and spirit. Man should not be his own worst enemy but his greatest friend. The farsighted and envisioned leaders among us should help give counsel to the confused and bewildered masses of laborers and white-collar workers.

"America has no welcome for dictatorial methods, either by the moneyed or the laboring class; we resent and repudiate the philosophy of a class struggle, and any one who raises the cry that a single class is being dispossessed must expect a rebound in terms of a determined effort to enthrone another class."

He said that the Jewish community had no single viewpoint on economic or political matters. "Each person is free to voice his own attitude and to act accordingly," he declared. "But within the Jewish fellowship there is a high resolution under the aegis of prophetic preaching, to make certain the reign of social and economic justice. The Jew who does not lift up his hand to aid his stricken fellowman is no true Jew.

"The Jewish employer who encourages the spread of fascism in this country is sowing a wind that will reap a whirlwind, and the Jewish business man who does not welcome wise and statesmanlike mediation in industrial disputes is helping unsettle the foundations of social order."

He said that the new leisure which the curtailed day makes possible "must not lull us into believing that the hard worker with fine gifts of mind and character will lack for opportunity to display his unique qualities."

Rabbi Joseph Zeitlin in the sermon at Temple Ansche Chesed, West End Avenue at 100th Street, said:

"How beautiful it would be if all men would take to heart the message of the Jewish New Year which emphasizes the vital thought that we are all God's children and ought to strive to be worthy of his love."

Finds Bigotry the Exception Here.

Rabbi Israel Goldstein of the Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, Eighty-eighth Street, west of Broadway, spoke on racial prejudice.

'Thank God these United States can still be counted among the enlightened peoples," he declared. "The cacophony of bigotry which is

occasionally being heard even here the rule.

"It is a sad commentary on the general situation that only a few countries in this large aggregate of nations can be singled out as the exceptional lands where the Jew can dwell with comparative safety and assurance, and that even in most of those exceptional countries the future for the Jew is not without its uncertainties. When the time will come that it will be possible for the Jew to dwell at ease in any part of the world, it will be the time when the world will be cured of its deep-seated ills. Anti-Semitism is a symptom of a sick humanity.

"Will this sick world of ours recover? Rosh ha-Shanah bids us take a hopeful view of the future. The Jew has the right to say to the world 'Fear not,' because he is the living symbol of how a people can regenerate itself from its own sins and shortcomings and become purged in the cruicible of affliction and because he is a living symbol also of how the visitations of misfortune and catastrophe can be surmounted.

"This ancient people which has seen forty centuries of the human drama, both as a participant and observer, has seen the conflict between the powers of darkness and the powers of light fought out time and again, with the victory in the end always going to the forces of righteousness; this people has seen Adam through the ages fall only to rise again, has a message of hope for the world on this Rosh ha-Shanah day which in our tradition is the birthday of Adam.

"Have faith in new ideas and new institutions that seek to bring nearer a better adjustment of our social economic problems and happier dispensation for the majority of the people. Be not afraid of names or labels. The rebels and radicals of one century are the revered saints of the next century. History has demonstrated that truth a thousand times, from Moses to Thomas Jefferson, from Buddha to Martin Luther.

"Have faith in mankind. Men will perish, but mankind will go on. Dynasties will fall from the sheer weight of their accumulated injustices, but on the ruins better governments will arise."

Asks Prayer for Roosevelt.

Rabbi Joseph Hager of the Wall Street Synagogue, 35 Maiden Lane, appealed to American Jewry to aid their German brethren. Rabbi Hager also asked that all Jews in their New Year services pray for the guidance, health "and continued success of President Roosevelt in his endeavor for a new social and economic plan."

He said: "We must unite in generous giving for the United Palestine Committee so that those who can may escape from that iron furnace in which they are imprisoned and be kept alive despite the conspiracy to slay them by depriving them of all means of livelihood. Today, in this blessed land of liberty and freedom, let us make the most of the glorious opportunity is fortuntely the exception and not which is ours."

Rabbi Philip R. Alstat of the Temple Bnai Israel and Sheerith Judah said:

"A survey of the general scene reveals the world to be in a state of ferment. There is a clash of political philosophies and economic systems not only in the lands of Europe, but also in democratic America. Here, too, the experiment of the NRA has disclosed sharp divergence of social outlook and Weltanschauung. These differences are more than academic, but, like the cosmic rays, are the death-rattle of the old order dying or the birth-cry of a new order born.

"Sooner or later there will be a final struggle for supremacy between the forces of property rights and those of human rights, between the champions of the vested interests and those of social vision, between the defenders of the status quo and the builders of Utopia. In this decisive battle, world Jewry, the spiritual heir to the teachings of the prophets, will throw the weight of its moral influence to the side of those who will hasten the realization of the Rosh ha-Shanah prayer, that 'iniquity shall close her mouth, that all wickedness shall be wholly consumed like smoke and that the dominion of arrogance shall pass away from the earth.'"

Speaking before the Congregation Kehilath Jeshurun, Eighty-fifth Street between Park and Lexington Avenues, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, Professor of Homiletics at Yeshiva College said:

"The new social outlook on life is the most precious contribution of the years of adversity through which the world is passing and constitutes the most challenging fact that men will have to face in the future.

Touching on Jewish experiences during the year Rabbi Lookstein said:

"We cannot any more be deluded by the false and historically repudiated doctrines of assimilation. Nor on the other hand can we accept the current philosophies of Judaism which propose to adjust the Jew to his environment by making him less Jewish. More Judaism and not less was the cause for Jewish survival in the past, and is our securest safeguard for the future."

Rosh ha-Shanah will be celebrated by adherents of many faiths at the Grace Episcopal Church, Broadway and Tenth Street at 8:15 this evening. The observance is under the auspices of the World Fellowship of Faiths. Speakers include the Rev. Charles S. MacFarland, Swami Bodhananda, Mrs. J. Sergeant Cram, Kedarnath Das Gupta, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, General Tsai Ting Kai, the Rev. Theodore Parker Ferris and Rabbi Israel Goldstein.

Tobias Calls for Support of the Reds

Afro-American 8-18-33

Senior Y.W.C.A. Secretary Says Scottsboro Defense Merits United Help.

Baltimore, Md.

MAKE NUISANCE OF YOURSELF, SAYS WHITE

NAACP Says Bombard F. D. with Complaints.

(By AFRO Correspondent)

NEW YORK. — Dr. Channing H. Tobias, senior secretary, colored men's department, YMCA, and often mentioned as the next president of Tuskegee Institute, won new friends and showed how much he has grown in the past ten or fifteen years, by the talk he gave Saturday night at the closing session of the 14th annual educational conference at the West 135th Street Y.M.C.A.

He spoke on "What Should be the Colored Man's Program for Effective Social Control?" but allowed himself to touch on a number of things.

On the program with him was Walter White, secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., who discoursed on "What Should be the Colored Man's Political Policy?"

After calling upon colored people to support present institutions like the church, which may be used to help in bringing about the new social order, Dr. Tobias declared that the most important challenge to the members of the race is their ability to bury minor disagreements in order to get behind any organization or leader engaged in waging some fight for the benefit of the group.

Bury Minor Differences

"Regardless of whether we feel that the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill sponsored by the N.A.A.C.P. is not 100 per cent perfect or that it is not constitutional," he said, "the principles which it seeks to uphold and the ills it hopes to remedy are so fundamentally important in the life of the colored man that all colored people should rally to its support.

"In the same way," he continued, "when Congressman Oscar DePriest was waging the fight against racial discrimination in House of Representatives restaurant, there was no time then for colored people to be quibbling whether every move made was correct; the struggle to put an end to jim-crow under the roof of a Federal building in the nation's capital, was too important in its implications for difference; we should have all been behind Mr. DePriest."

But Dr. Tobias won the greatest applause when he came out unreservedly for complete support of the International Labor Defense in its fight to save the Scottsboro boys and other victims of southern justice like Angelo Herndon.

Should Support I.L.D.

"Every colored person loyal to the best interests of those boys, and who is conscious of all the issues involved in their incarceration, should give hearty support to the I.L.D.," he urged.

"They (the I.L.D.) have not only caused the civilized world to focus attention on the conditions under which the boys have been sentenced to die, but any organization which can take the star witness of the prosecution and not only make her a rebuttal witness, but make her a convert for social change and justice, is an institution worth supporting and saving."

"The Sottsboro Case," continued the veteran Y leader, "challenges us to unity. There comes a time when an interest is so general that we should expect every organization to function as one for the common good."

Fight for What You Want

Mr. White in discussing a political policy for the colored man, declared:

"Colored people must fight for what they want from Washington and the political parties. They must keep up a continual din, they must make, what one high government official calls, 'a nuisance of themselves.'

"They must plan their struggle and arm themselves with incontrovertible facts, as they did in the Judge Parker fight, but unlike the Judge Parker victory, they must follow up each point won with a still greater fight against oppression and in the interest of all oppressed groups."

Mr. White deplored the lack of knowledge on the part of both whites and colored people on the use of the ballot, on citizenship rights and responsibilities, and he pointed out that here is one field where the already established institutions like the church and the adult education movement may be used in a non-partisan program of political education.

Press Support Urged

The speaker called for a greater support of the colored press by colored people, and then declared the need of "a more unselfish, a more honest, a more intelligent colored press, of higher integrity."

He discouraged any idea of a colored political party as being "unfeasible and unwise," and said that the colored man must continue to work for complete integration into American life.

Mr. White also recommended the bringing into being of a non-partisan, donor-supported organization to collect data on the record of candidates for office and on proposed legislation, and to make these available to both the leaders and the masses.

United States

Negroes Much In Sympathy With Samuel Insull

East Tennessee News

CHICAGO — Colored people in Chicago who follow the accounts of the spectacular efforts of Samuel Insull, former multimillionaire utilities magnate to escape arrest and the equally spectacular attempts of the United States to take him into custody often have a smirk on their faces. Sometimes they quietly laugh at Uncle Sam. 4-5-34

They are somewhat like colored people all over the United States who, remembering Uncle Sam's gingerly consideration of them, their lives and property, fails somehow to warm up to their old Uncle's cause when he spends his money and sends his agents scampering over the world after a 75-year-old man, the balance of whose life, spent in jail, will not prove to many persons that he was a criminal nor make up the losses which thousands of others suffered after they had in an eager frenzy chased along with him along the paths of gold.

Chicago Negroes know Insull only as a benefactor, although many of them lost money in his enterprises.

Julius Rosenwald may have given more to the Negro than Insull. Secure in second place, as a Chicagoan, however, is Samuel Insull.

Yet, few Negroes knew Insull was their friend. He was just another rich, cold white man.

In 1930, the $3,000,000 drive for the Greater Provident hospital was launched at a huge banquet in the Palmer House hotel. The richest whites and the richest Negroes in the city were invited. Insull, at that time in the height of his powers, was responsible for many of the whites present. The guests were asked to make "money speeches" after the dinner.

"Fifty thousand dollars," said Insull to set a standard for his white friends.

"Five thousand dollars," said Jesse Binga, then a leading banker, to set the standard for Negroes.

Neither of these subscriptions has ever been paid.

A few months later, Binga's bank was closed. Insull was reported to have offered him $200,000 cash to reopen it. But the gods were against Binga.

Binga now puts up a desperate struggle to keep out of jail and Insull now flees on the high seas to escape Uncle Sam.

It was after Oscar DePriest had risen to political prominence fifteen years ago that Insull sought to build up his fences among Chicago Negroes whose vote was beginning to be valuable. Utilities magnates must be good politicans.

Through Daniel Schuyler, millionaire white lawyer who worked for Insull, Mr. DePriest was reached. His job was to sponsor political candidacies favorable to the Insull interests. Schuyler, representing Insull furnished the fund.

Schuyler lived in a huge mansion in the Negro district. When the neighborhood became overrun with black people later, Schuyler moved and wrecked the mansion, leaving its ruins as an eyesore on South Parkway, one of the city's most beautiful boulevards. Negroes said he did so because he did not want them to live init.

But before this time, Insull had purchased as a sort of political and social center a magnificent building in what was then the heart of the Negro district. Owners of record were Insull, Oscar DePriest and Daniel J. Schuyler each owning one-third. Mr. DePriest made it the headquarters for a Property Owners' Association and for seven or eight years it flourished as a political and welfare center, although the hand of Insull was never shown and Schuyler was only suspected to be in the background.

For one reason or another, Mr. DePriest was rarely able to deliver the political goods. He had gone into temporary political eclipse following his indictment for protecting vice and gambling, charges which he freed himself of, and the late Edward H. Wright forged to the front as a political boss. Persons close to Schuyler and Insull suspected that lack of success was due to Mr. DePriest's failure to spend the money given him properly.

Up until that time, DePriest had been purely a local politician. When he began to look beyond the city, to consider larger affairs, he invited Melvin J. Chisum who had done heavy work in public relations during the war, to come to the city to be his advisor. Mr. Chisum came and was installed in the palatial offices of Schuyler, in the Continental Illinois National bank, the largest in Chicago.

Chisum is reported to have taken his pencil and pad and to have shown Schuyler and Insull that there was a very close relation between some of the personal purchases Mr. DePriest had made and some of the sums of money they are reputed to have given him. Brought to town to help DePriest, Chisum became responsible for the break which resulted in the permanent estrangement of DePriest on one side and Schuyler and Insull on the other. Chisum and DePriest also became bitter personal and public enemies.

Thousands of dollars are reported to have been poured into the black belt by Insull before this break came.

Chisum then was retained by the Insull interests as a so-called efficiency engineer. He kept his offices with Schuyler, had a town and a country car, a country home in the exclusive suburb, Glencoe, and banked several thousand dollars a month.

In his role as efficiency engineer, Mr. Chisum engineered two notable affairs. One was an economic conference for Negroes in Washington. At that conference were leaders from all walks of life including: Bishop A. J. Carey, J. B. Young, editor; the Rev. Noah Williams, now a bishop; C. C. Spaulding, C. A. Franklin, editor; Atty. Charles Calloway, Joseph D. Bibb, Albon Holsey, Dr. Emmett J. Scott, Henry Allen Boyd, Col. West Hamilton, Perry W. Howard and sundry others.

Most notable among his undertakings under the Insull aegis, however, was perhaps the entertainment of members of the National Negro Press Association in Chicago. Delegates to the meeting were regaled in the most elaborate banquet ever given in the famous Appomattox club at Mr. Insull's expense, and it was arranged that they should later meet Mr. Insull at the Unity club.

The meeting was scheduled at 8 o'clock. Mr. Insull arrived promptly, but the brethren did not come. The multimillionaires colled his heels in an anteroom with Dr. Algernon Jackson, formerly of Howard University, to await the coming of the audience. Only a half dozen persons filled the large hall.

Mr. Schisum then showed how efficient he was. In a basement hall, a meeting of members of the Moorish Science cult was holding a meeting. Mr. Schisum approached the chief bey and informed him that he had a big man upstairs for a meeting and he needed an audience.

"Bring your crowd up!" he commanded the Bey.

The Moorish leader balked.

"How much will you charge to bring your members upstairs?" Chisum asked.

"Fifty cents a man," replied the Moor, now interested.

Chisum counted, dug into his pocket, and produced the money.

At nine o'clock, Mr. Insull and Dr. Jackson, both resplendent in tuxedoes, strode down the aisle between the crowd of uniformed and turbaned Moors.

The meeting was a success, but Insull seized the opportunity to scold the "editors" for their tardiness. After describing how he arose at 6 a. m. every day and made punctuality a creed, Mr. Insull said. "If colored people are as late getting to Heaven making C. P. T. time as they frequently do elsewhere, the white people will all be inside and St. Peter will have closed the gate ere they arrive.

At about the same time, Mr. Insull established a Boys' club for colored boys. One of the finest swimming pools in the city was placed in it. He selected a white and colored board of directors, but insisted on giving all the money himself. Some of those on the board were Schuyler, Britton I. Budd, traction magnate, and Charles Myers, former president of the board of education.

At about the same time, Insull gave Mrs. Roberta Dodd Crawford, now the wife of Prince Kojo of Paris, soprano, funds with which to go to France for study. In as much as he was then the angel of the Chicago Civic Opera company, it was believed at the time, through Insull, Mrs. Crawford would win the privilege some day of appearing in a big way with the company. For a number of years there had been two talented colored singers in the chorus.

Insull's influence is also credited with being responsible for the advancement of one colored man a consulting engineer, employed by one of his companies, to one of its highest positions. This man was Bert Jamison, who was reported to have received a salary of $25,000 a year. Since the fall of Insull, he is reported to have gone to Tokio where he is now employed.

Few of the people to whom Insull gave money to generously ever talked, so it is probable the whole story will never be told. Of course, the politicians would not talk. But thousands and thousands, maybe millions of dollars, were expended in other ways, straight business propositions up-

on which Insull never sought to capitalize through publicity.

Time has revealed more of the story, so much the pictures of Insull's present plight and fight excites more sympathy among colored people here for him than admiration for Uncle Sam who neglects their woes to chase their old friend who has fallen upon hard days.

Two other grand gestures were made by the Millionaire Insull. He spent $6,000 to acquire the famous original Cyrus Baldridge African drawings and presented them to Fisk University two years ago.

Then he financed the recent extensive European study tour from which Mme. Lillian Evanti has just returned. Mr. Insull had not met Mme. Evanti prior to her European tour. Dr. R. R Moton who was interested in the furtherance of Mme. Evanti's career, persuaded the fiancier to advance the money necessary. Mr. Insull had expected to give her the check in New York before she sailed Kept in Chicago by business, Mrs Samuel Insull went to New York and made the presentation. Mrs Insull later expressed her appreciation of the charm and personality of the singer

Through My Spectacles

By VERE E. JOHNS

THAT THING CALLED SEGREGATION

To segregate or to be segregated or not to be, or what? The literary waters of the Negro press are being thrashed back and forth by angry winds and puffs coming from the throats of Dr. DuBois, George S. Schuyler and others. Some are trying to make black white, and others to turn white into black. I am not much concerned with the viewpoints of either Schuyler or DuBois, for the mental attitudes of both men disgust me. I do not honestly believe that they have the welfare of the Negro masses truly at heart, and I personally would not follow their leadership if they were headed straight for the Golden Gates of Paradise.

DuBois has climbed into a cloud of his own making that for the most part has blinded him to the plight and needs of his brethren, and as for Schuyler, well, anyone can gtt a few back copies of The Age and take a real look at that "chameleon," through my spectacles. The question before the house is segregation. Whether we, the Negroes or black people of America, should submit to being segregated or should continue to fight against what seems to be overwhelming odds.

NO INFRINGEMENT OF RIGHTS

To my mind the answer is simple, the black man must never relinquish one atom of his rights and privileges as a citizen and a man. No white man does. He must not accept any segregation either by government or private enterprise when that segregation is based purely on the color of his skin or the blood in his veins. The government can take a stretch of land and put up a set of dwellings and offer them to the Negro and we can accept them, but the moment that same government decrees that ONLY Negroes must live in these houses, then the whole scene is changed and the houses must be refused in order to preserve our rights. The Constitution of the United States does not contain a letter of color distinction or discrimination and any man or group of men who tries to infringe on the rights of the black man is wrong and must be made to know it. We have a right to demand equal participation in anything that is meant for the general public.

That is why people like the Daily News must be scored for segregating their Negro Golden Glovers in the matter of training quarters. That is only a first step from holding separate all-Negro Golden Gloves competitions with the inference of inferiority attached to it.

I know it is an almost hopeless struggle. No white man really loves a black man. He will trade with him to get his money, he will eat with him and pray with him and travel with him—but when it comes to sleeping with him and mixing his blood with him in a respectable manner, the answer is No! We have no need to concern ourselves with intimate social relations, that is a matter of personal choice. I cannot demand that a white man lodge me in his private dwelling, but once he opens it to the general public and takes in all and sundry for the price of a room or apartment, then he is not going to tell me that my money is right but my face is wrong. The same thing applies to places of business, churches, means of transportation, projects of work, theatres, public recreation grounds, etc. To accept any such discrimination without strong protest and legal battle is to invite extermination. The red man was forced to accept segregated reservations and there, herded together like cattle, they are gradually disappearing from these United States. The black man will be treated the same way if he follows the same course.

THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE

On the other hand, we, the Negro people, have a right to ordain our private lives as we think fit. We have no right to open a store or a hotel and then tell a white man that he cannot come in—not any more than the other group has. We have the right to live together if we care to but we cannot refuse the rights of any other man to live there if he wants to. The people of Larchmont didn't want Adelaide Hall and they were wrong; we should be just as wrong if we really owned Harlem and refused to let Lew Leslie buy a house and live on West 140th street.

The Jews have gathered themselves in The Bronx, but any Irishman can go there and live and any Jew can buy a house on Riverside Drive or Central Park West or ritzy Park avenue, and live there if he wants to. The Negro has grouped himself in Harlem and has a hell of a time trying to live anywhere else, so he is jammed in a corner where bloodsucking fiends in the shape of landlords stuff him into filthy dens and make him pay through his nose for being there. Why? He has no place else to go.

STICK TOGETHER

All that Negroes in this or any other country have to do is to stick by each other and gain economic and political strength until they can compel where they now humbly beg. Let the few "Black No-More" at heart go without a murmur--we are well rid of such vermin. Go far and wide, mix freely with white people, let them know that black stands for something that they can respect and envy. Let them know that you wouldn't change your skin for theirs and all the gold in Illyria.

"I am black and what of it? I am proud to be black and
I am going to be as free as the air, climb to the dizziest
heights and none shall stop me. The country and the world
is mine, 'tis yours, and it owes us both a living. Letetaoietaoin
and get it, each man to the fruits of his own attainments."
—Negro Youth.

Let us carry on the fight for freedom and justice not by talking but by action—cooperate, work, earn and save money—become builders, producers, manufacturers, buyers and sellers and owners of the land. Be the landlord, the grocer, and the butcher and the candlestick maker as well. And who knows, Mussolini's words may come true one day—a black Presidtnt.

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Race Problems - 1934

United States.

Race Prejudice Is Down Right Meanness Statesman Declares

1-19-34

It was another red-letter day for Colonel Roscoe Simmons on Monday night of this week when he appeared at the impressive Sholom Temple, 3840 Lake Shore Drive, on a program with such world famous men as Preston Bradley and Dr. A. L. Sachar in a symposium on "The Problem of the Races—the Solution," and again the Colonel proved himself equal to the occasion.

The program, one of a series of ten and sponsored by the Lake Shore Forum, for the purpose of opening a new vista of ideas by speakers eminently fitted for those interested in a greater progress.

Presenting the Jewish problem was the assignment of Dr. Sachar, a professor at the University of Illinois, director of the B'Nai B'rith Hilel foundation, who thrilled his hearers from the beginning to the end of his discussion by his philosophical presentation of the problems confronting the Jewish race and the retarded effect in the greater progress of the human race, caused by racial prejudices and discriminations.

"I am not concerned about certain hotels refusing accommodations, and it is perfectly natural that people gather around social groups where they are most congenial, but the greatest handicap of the human race is those racial prejudices which impel men to destroy life and property, or deny the minority groups equal economic opportunities.

Racial prejudices and racial discrimination happen to be the most convenient and most powerful weapon that powerful producers in control use, particularly in times of economic difficulties to divvert attention from their exploitation of the weaker mases."

In his characteristic eloquent manner, Col. Simmons held his audience at high tension while he portrayed the Negro in the progress and development of America, the contribution the Negro has made to American progress and development and the ingratitude of particularly American whites as exemplified toward the Negro in their inhuman prejudicial treatment of him. Folowing Dr. Sachar, Col. Simmons said: " After listening to Dr. Sachar, perhaps the Negro should be encouraged. Those nations or races who discriminate against and oppress the Jews, do so because of fear, but those nations or races who discriminate against and oppress the Negro do so because of downright meanness.

"They tell you that the Negro wants social equality—tommyrot! For the most part, the Negro wants to be let alone; he will work out his own soul's salvation if given an equal economic opportunity."

Dr. Bradley, whose views are respected from coast to coast and who has thrilled millions with his radio talks and sermons, said, among other things, that "If talk could solve these problems, oh, what a world this would be. Talk has come to the crossroads—action it must be.

Has humanity the courage to exert itself toward the solution? The problems must be solved, not by legislation, not by constitutional amendment, but in the heart. Why is it," continued Dr. Bradley, "that little children playing in all the childish innocence knows no race, knows no prejudice, knows no discrimination? Is it not until this pure innocent mind is polluted with the diabolical minds of the grown-ups."

Racial Attitudes Being Reconsidered In Alabama

The extent of racial prejudice as a factor of life in Alabama has dawned upon many thoughtful citizens of this state for the first time during the last two or three years. The ugly specter of racial fears has been stalking its path through almost every phase of our experience for several generations. In view of the strength of these deep, and frequently subconscious, motivations among our people, it is profoundly significant that certain reconsiderations of the whole racial problem have found their way into public discussion.

Not many of the aspects of life in Alabama are untouched by the influence of racial attitudes. The "Negro problem" has given a distinct coloration to our judicial procedures, to our social attitudes, to our educational points of view and even to our artistic and scientific endeavors. Religion itself has not been immune to the influence.

The racial problem has conspicuously influenced the definition of justice in many Southern courts. One hears from competent and respected members of the bar that there really should be two sets of laws in the South: one for the white people and another for the Negroes. Under the pressure of a strong public opinion in some parts of the South, the color of the defendant has a marked influence upon the administration of justice by the courts. The question to be answered here is whether "justice" is something which should be meted out to every citizen on an equal basis, or whether "justice" is to be considered merely as a means of expressing the untutored will of the political majority.

Just at this moment, there are clear instances of the peculiar influence of racial thought in our attitudes toward relief of the unemployed and the maintenance of the public schools. There are persons in Alabama who are so profoundly motivated by racial prejudices that they are perfectly willing to discredit certain of the relief agencies in this state for the sole reason that a trained Negro case worker was employed in a position of minor authority in one of the offices.

Not even the prompt rectification of this unintentional wounding of "Southern sensibilities" has been sufficient to convince some of our citizens that Harry Hopkins and his assistants are anything more than twentieth-century carpetbaggers.

In connection with the application of Alabama for school funds from the federal government, a rather striking exposure of racial prejudice has taken place. One hears from a number of sources the fear that, should Washington grant money for the continuation of schools in Alabama (which is most unlikely, incidentally), the white children might be forced to attend school with colored children (which would most certainly not be the case so long as our representatives and senators in Washington continue to know their constituents as well as they do at present).

The significant point, however, is that many of our good people would rather deprive their own children of educational advantages than to run an imagined risk of having them come into contact with colored boys and girls in the schools.

In short, it has been demonstrated that the smoldering racial prejudice in Alabama is capable of bursting into flames powerful enough to nullify the purposes of ideal justice, relief of the unemployed and public education. When an undercurrent in our life gains that much force, the time comes for reasonable human beings to begin doing something about it.

The bright side of the picture is that intelligent leaders in our state at last have given evidence of having come to that identical conclusion themselves. That they have done so is a real sign of progress in Alabama.

Birmingham, Ala., News
January 12, 1934

Racial Attitudes Being Reconsidered In Alabama

The extent of racial prejudice as a factor of life in Alabama has dawned upon many thoughtful citizens of this state for the first time during the last two or three years. The ugly specter of racial fears has been stalking its path through almost every phase of our experience for several generations. In view of the strength of these deep, and frequently subconscious, motivations among our people, it is profoundly significant that certain reconsiderations of the whole racial problem have found their way into public discussion.

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Nashville, Tenn. Tennessean
January 5, 1934

A Permanent New Deal.

President Roosevelt, his recovery program advanced to the point where the country can look ahead to the goals toward which we are headed, went personally before Congress Wednesday and pointed to the necessity of continuing the "restoration of our national well-being" and of building on the "ruins of the past a new structure designed better to meet the problems of modern civilization."

The new deal, thus, would be made permanent.

The President spoke to a sympathetic Congress for in both houses he has a substantial majority. The reception accorded him shows that he has lost nothing of the prestige which he enjoyed during the special session beginning last March.

The instantaneous applause which frequently interrupted the course of his talk gave proof that his words were carrying conviction to the members of Congress, and it must have been a conviction that bore much strength, for following adjournment and after the dynamic personality of the President had removed itself from the immediate and physical presence of Congress, expressions of enthusiastic approval from members were heard on every side except in the camp of the regular Republicans.

The reception given his speech promises a short and harmonious session, and ready enactment of the legislation President Roosevelt needs to carry forward his efforts toward speedy and permanent recovery.

What legislation will be asked of Congress, however, is yet largely a matter of speculation, for President Roosevelt in his inspiring message dealt largely in generalities. He asked for stringent measures for the prevention of crime—that crime in which the spirit of the law has been violated as well as that in which the letter of it has been broken. Tax evaders and crooked bank officials as well as bandits, lynchers and kidnapers would be the targets of this legislation. The President wants the emergency recovery legislation continued. He restated his purpose to establish "a medium of exchange which will have less variable purchasing power and debt paying power for our people." But specific provisions were not included in his suggestions to bring these ends.

He viewed the progress so far achieved toward recovery and looked to the future with optimism as regards domestic affairs. He announced that he has in mind recommendations with regard to tariffs, but declined to make known any details until a later day, when he will make a report to Congress on debts.

His message was received with enthusiasm, not only in Congress, where it was delivered, but throughout the country as well.

His message was marked by the simple and straightforward language and contained the element of sincerity and directness which have characterized his other public utterances. And it was of a nature to increase the nation's confidence in his leadership. With the people back home in the various states and congressional districts united behind him, Congress cannot or will not fail him

DAYTON, O.
NEWS

MAR 1 1934

Another South

The south of lynchings and Scottsboro has of late been much in the public eye. There is another south unaffected by racial prejudice of which we hear less. Fifty-eight years ago Green Coleman, Negro, lived in South Carolina. When in 1876 he found a ku-klux-klan note under his hotel door ordering him to get out, he went to North Carolina. He has been there ever since, lately an inmate of the Charlotte almshouse. Escorted by the mayor of Charlotte and a delegation of North Carolinians, he paid the other day his first visit to South Carolina since his exile. There was this time no hooded band to run him out. At Columbia, on the contrary, he was received by and addressed the state senate.

A Mississippi legislature once voted a sum of money to a Negro unjustly imprisoned. New Orleans some months ago staged a benefit concert to enable a promising young Negro singer to further his musical education. Greensboro recently paid civic tribute to its Negro citizen, Richard Harrison, who has portrayed the role of "De Lawd" in "The Green Pastures" throughout the country since the premiere of the play. Some of the most earnest movements against lynching have originated with organizations of the south. This, ultimately, is the south which must prevail.

Il Duce Predicts Negro President In United States

ROME, March 24.—(AP)—Premier Mussolini's newspaper today characterized as "alarming" the "diminution of births in the United States," and asked "are we to see within a century a negro in the White House?"

"The diminution of births in the United States is assuming alarming proportions," said Il Popolo, b'Italia editorially.

Advertiser

"If it continues at this rate the number of biers will surpass the number of cradles.

3-25-34

"Some might say it is the effect of the crisis. This observation mirrors one of the most eloquent aspects of that materialist slave of its own strength and position which, in a land of all comforts and mechanical marvels, willingly sacrifices its power of tomorrow to the comfortable life and illusory well-being of today.

Montgomery, Ala.

"Blind and foolish are these ignorant destroyers who believed they can efficaciously combat the depression by sterility.

"When we reflect there are in the United States 11,500,000 negroes, people of extraordinary fecundity, it is necessary to conclude with a real cry of alarm.

"The yellow peril is nothing.

"We will encounter an Africanized America in which the white race, by the inexorable law of numbers, will end by being suffocated by the fertile grandsons of Uncle Tom.

"Are we to see within a century a negro in the White House?"

WOULD SAVE WHITE SUPREMACY WITH BLACKSHIRTS.

Mussolini's paper in Italy is viewing America's falling white birth rate with alarm, prophesying direly a "black America" in coming centuries.

This paper goes on to say:

"We will encounter an Africanized America in which the white race, by the inexorable law of numbers, will end by being suffocated by the fertile grandsons of Uncle Tom.

"Are we to see within a century a negro in the White House?"

Fortunately for white supremacy Popolo D'Italia and the World 1934 Almanac disagree.

On figures from the Almanac we find in 1850 that 85 per cent of the population of the United States was white. We find in 1930 that 89 per cent was white.

Some temporary shift in the white birth rate may have led the Italians to sensationalize statistics which are the world's worst liars.

We suspect, however, that Il Duce would like to alarm the United States into allowing a larger number of Italians to migrate to the United States to save this Nation for white supremacy with blackshirts.

United States

HANDWRITING on the wall in the form of mural decorations continues to upset the more solid citizens of America. In Seattle, Washington, out where the handwriting's a little stronger than some church members like it, the Reverend Fred W. Shorter has been expelled from his fashionable pulpit for allowing a young artist, Ross Gill, to paint seven radical murals on the walls of the Pilgrim Congregational Church. The murals depict, among other things, a Southern lynching scene; a disarmament conference at which business men are rolling dice with munitions-makers whose heads are skulls; a starving family huddled beside a vast pile of armaments under a banner, "Protect Our Homes"; a tattered farmer plowing under his crops. The conservative members of the church, little to our surprise, maintained (1) that the pictures have no place in any church; (2) that they are propaganda; (3) that they are "particularly gross in a place where children congregate." Having put the responsibility upon the children, the conservatives won their case, according to Mr. Shorter, by "bringing all the old people—people who hadn't been to church for years" to the meeting that dismissed him by a vote of 171 to 121. The children, as usual, were not asked. Mr. Shorter intends to start a church of his own. "Art and religion," he says, "should both be revolutionary. . . . I shall continue to preach the brotherhood of man even though church revenues diminish." It is well that he recognizes his problem.

A PLEA FOR "MORE SOUTHERNISM"

One of the happiest phrases we have seen or heard in a long time was made by John Temple Graves, II, of The Birmingham Age-Herald in a discussion of Donald Davidson's recent article, "Dilemma of the Southern Liberals."

Mr. Graves pleads with Alabamians to "be more Southern." And Miss Gertrude Ruhnka, of Gadsden, asks, "What do you mean by 'becoming more Southern?'"

Replies Mr. Graves: "Mr. Davidson believes Southern liberals have gone in too much for mere imitation of what New York has been proven something less than the fountain source of all wisdom. He suggests that they 'may escape their dilemma by becoming more Southern.' Miss Ruhnka, who is 'a Northerner spending a year in the South,' is intrigued with the idea and asks how to 'become more Southern.' Dr. Davidson, we are sure, would tell her that the way to become more Southern is to become more individualistic and less collectivistic, more romantic and less sentimental, more understanding of the fact that the problems of the world require for their settlement today a heart, a blood count, a soul, an imagination as well as a mentality."

The South, we believe, is becoming more and more Southern in that it seems to realize that it is not so much culture, not so much liberalism, not so much anything—but whose culture and whose liberalism that should count.

We seem to be passing out of that stage when "New Yawk" was the password for everything new that invaded our cities and small towns.

Liberalism given birth in New York, in Paris, in—well, perhaps Chicago?—may be all very well for New Yorkers, Parisians and Chicagoans. But the South should be able to hold its own attitudes toward everything under the sun. And what more is liberalism than an attitude?

Charity, Senator, Begins At Home

UNITED STATES Senator MILLARD E. TYDINGS, Democrat, of Maryland, has learned that Jewish people in Germany are being mistreated by the Nazis. Being a justice-loving, democratic minded representative of the Maryland Free State, Senator TYDINGS is very much up in arms about the matter.

Similarly, the JOURNAL AND GUIDE is opposed to any form of oppresion of minority groups by majority groups, and concurs whole-heartedly in the resolution introduced last Wednesday in the Senate by the Senator. It reads as follows:

Whereas the present Government of the German Reich has deprived certain groups of its citizens of many of their civil and political rights and has imposed upon them restrictions, pains and penalties harsh and severe in nature; and

Whereas among the groups so discriminated against by said Government are approximately 600,000 Jewish citizens of the Reich and the great number of Christians of partly or wholly Jewish descent; and

Whereas it is manifest that as regards the Jewish citizens of the Reich and such Christians of Jewish descent, the actual causes for the discriminations against them are their religious beliefs or professions and their racial origin, neither of which is a ground reasonably affecting their rights and privileges as citizens of a modern State; and

Whereas on many historic occasions, * * * intercessions have been made by the United States on behalf of citizens of States other than the United States oppressed or persecuted by their own governments or peoples, * * * indicating that for nearly 100 years the traditional policy of the United States has been to take cognizance of such invasions of human rights;

* * * Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate of the United States express its profound feelings of surprise and pain, as representatives of the people of the United States, upon learning of the discriminations and oppresions imposed by the Reich upon its minority groups, including its Jewish citizens; and be it further

Resolved, That the Senate of the United States express its earnest hope that the German Reich will speedily alter its policy, restore to its minority groups the civil and political rights of which they have been recently deprived, and undo, so far as may be, the wrongs that have been done them.

Germany under Hitler never will be able to acquit itself in the eyes of humanity for its depraved treatment of the Jews. But what a complete answer to Senator TYDINGS' noble gesture it would be if the German Reich adopted the following resolution:

Whereas the present Governments of the United States have deprived certain groups of their citizens of many of their civil and political rights and have imposed upon them restrictions, pains and penalties harsh and severe in nature; and

Whereas among the groups so discriminated against by said Governments are approximately 12,000,000 Negro citizens of the United States; and

Whereas it is manifest that, as regards the Negro citizens of the United States, the actual causes of the discriminations against them are their racial origin and previous condition of servitude, neither of which is a ground reasonably affecting their rights and privileges as citizens of a modern State, and

Whereas on many historic occasions, intercessions have been made by Germany on behalf of citizens of States other than Germany oppressed or persecuted by their own governments or peoples, indicating that for nearly 100 years the traditional policy of Germany has been to take cognizance of such invasions of human rights; Now therefore, be it

Resolved, That the German Reich express its profound feelings of surprise and pain, as representatives of the people of Germany, upon learning of the discriminations and oppression imposed by the United States upon their minority groups, including their Negro citizens; and be it further

Resolved, That the German Reich express its earnest hope that the United States will speedily alter their policy, restore to their minority groups the civil and political rights of which they have been recently deprived, and undo, so far as may be, the wrongs that have been done them.

Of course, no such resolution will be introduced in or passed by the German Reich, because Germany has sense enough to avoid the ridiculously absurd position of complaining of other people's linen before it has done its own washing.

BEAUMONT, TEX.
ENTERPRISE

MAR 11 1934

A TYPICAL VIEW OF THE SOUTH

Sherwood Anderson contributes to the current issue of Raymond Moley's magazine, To-day, a breathless summary of economic conditions in the south. The adjective "breathless" is used in this connection because Mr. Anderson uses dots to join disconnected sentences Such writing creates an impression on the reader of great haste, if not incoherency. And this is precisely the impression made by Mr. Anderson's piece on people who can see more in the south than "poor white trash," negro croppers, decayed mansions of the antebellum period and a defunct aristocracy.

Mr. Anderson writes about the "Southland," as he calls it, just as hundreds of other northerners have been writing about it for generations. Mr. Anderson claims to be familiar with that part of the south fledgling poets and aspiring literati sometimes call the "Deep South," but all he can see is an impoverished land and an impoverished people. Of course he did not overlook the worst of the mill towns. There are dozens of model mill villages in the south, but visitors never see them. And of course the south's accursed aristocrats are to blame for its lack of progress, for the depletion of its rich soil.

Why is it that so few northerners can see anything in the south but tumbled-down cabins, poor farm tenants, white and black, factory mill workers and—always—the decayed aristocracy still living in its mildewed ancestral homes or occupying newer mansions, while the aforesaid homes are tenanted by landladies and their lodgers, including impecunious writers who share their rooms with cockroaches and let their receptive souls—the souls of the writers, not of the cockroaches—absorb the "true southern atmosphere"?

There is soil depletion in the south, to be sure. There is soil depletion in New England: abandoned farms, dilapidated farm houses, poverty-stricken tenants everywhere in the country. The southern aristocracy did not create conditions that caused farm revolts in the grain belt. With the agricultural industry of the whole country shot to pieces, why try to make a horrible example out of the south, whose soil, so long "abused" by the landed aristocracy, is still capable of producing more cotton and more of nearly everything else grown on farms than the south can sell or consume?

No one denies that the lot of the poor white farm hand and the negro farm hand in the south is bad. But so is the lot of millions of other persons who walk the streets of the large cities, and live miserably in the small towns and villages of America. The factory towns of the south, and the cotton mills, could be improved no doubt, but it was just yesterday that the blue eagle put the sweat shop out of business and struck a blow at the exploitation of children.

The truth is that no section of the country is free from economic mismanagement and economic abuses. But, instead of letting themselves become hypnotized by the "poor white trash" and the frayed aristocracy of the south, northern writers and commentators might at least impart some originality to their magazine articles and books, if they cared to do so, by trying to look at the south as a whole, and not devote exclusive attention to the cotton mill towns and the backward rural areas. Mr. Anderson was born in the north, Ohio, and has the northern point of view, although he now resides in Virginia.

There is plenty of southern civilization, culture of the better kind, progress and humanity but the visitors let their emotions spoil their judgment as well as their vision. They cannot see the south for the aristocrats and the poor whites, and seldom do any of the writers have so much as one constructive thought to offer. Mr. Anderson is no exception to the rule. He vaguely intimates—or lets some of the down-trodden southerners with whom he conversed intimate for him—that maybe the government can do something about it.

Maybe the government can do something, but when the 125,000,000 or more Americans who are now battling with adversity get a firm grip on prosperity again the south will probably be found marching along with the north, east and west, even if a few poor whites and negroes still prefer to sit in the sun and tell sympathetic northern visitors about their troubles, instead of going to work.

BOSTON, MASS.
POST

FEB 12 1934

COLORED RACE WANTS NO ASSIMILATION

The colored race does not want amalgamation or assimilation, William Pickens, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told an audience at the Old South Forum yesterday afternoon, speaking on the topic, "Can the Race Problem Be Solved?" The speaker stated that by giving the colored man political and economic equality, and fair treatment, there will never be any danger of assimilation with white people.

He said he believed that America was seeing the last of the lynching law.

SAVANNAH, GA.
NEWS
JUL 9 1934

THE SOUTH'S PREJUDICES

All may not completely agree with the viewpoint of Robert W. Winston, North Carolina jurist, barrister and biographer, but it is interesting to study his recent statements, some of which, at least, embody ideas which are worthy of consideration. He contends that the trouble with the South is not that the Confederacy died, but that it has been kept from a decent burial too long.

The author of biographies of Robert E. Lee, Andrew Johnson and Jefferson Davis, says North Carolina's boasted purity of Anglo-Saxon stock should be put on the list of the state's liabilities and that the South should encourage "wholesale immigration." He believes the negro should be encouraged to move elsewhere; that all patriotic societies dedicated to perpetuation of our war memories, North and South, should disband in order that the South be permitted to recover from what he terms the hostile mood which estranges and antagonizes the people of the North. Speaking of War Between the States history in text books, Judge Winston asks: "Is it conceivable that a reputable Northern family will choose a state whose children are taught that during the American conflict Union troops were vandals, burning houses and insulting women and children, whereas Southern soldiers were the opposite?" He says "It is no answer to retort that Northern school books are often as biased as Southern. Undoubtedly prejudices are universal." But, he declares, "Southern prejudices are harmful. They keep out immigration, retard progress and foster intolerance, whereas Northern prejudices do not retard material prosperity nor shut out immigration."

Judge Winston points out that the South is under-populated and the North is not. He adds that "The sunny South has advantages which the snow-bound North has not. Moreover, in the North war memories are little disturbing. But in the South war memories are vital, embalmed in our literature, often the topic of conversation, and largely dominating our political life."

The times are ripe for a Southern rejuvenescence, in the opinion of Judge Winston. He declares that "the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are on edge." He expresses the belief that "Before we can even be in a position to begin to think or to plan, we must first remove those prejudices which deter free thought, free speech and independent action."

Columbus, Ga. Ledger
July 20, 1934

Judge Winston's Reply

In the reply of Judge R. W. Winston of Chapel Hill, N. C., to our editorial criticism of his address before the North Carolina Bar Association, which reply was published on this page yesterday, he asks us a number of questions which suggest he knows little about the situation in Georgia and has no appreciable understanding of that in the South in general.

"Do you favor lynching?" asks Judge Winston. Our answer is: No, who does?

Q. Is it possible to stop lynching in Georgia so long as the vast Negro population predominates? Ans. Lynching in Georgia has been checked almost to the vanishing point. Judge Winston's idea of dispersing our Negro population to other sections is absurd to the degree of being foolish. The South is the best place for the Negro, and many of those who went to Northern cities returned because they were mistreated or misunderstood there.

Q. Do you favor the Negro voting and holding office in Columbus? If not, should we hold to the Negro and yet deprive him of those privileges? Ans. The Negro is among us in such large numbers that he could control every election held if the suffrage bars were thrown down, or rather he would be used by corrupt white men to control such. He would inescapably become the tool of corruption, as happened in Reconstruction days. We do set up good schools for him and turn them over to him. As to holding the Negro here, no such condition exists; those that prefer to go to Northern states where they can vote are quite free to do so.

Q. What solution of the Negro problem do you offer? None. The Negro is far better off in Georgia than in Africa, where he would have been, but the situation here is not such that he can be given complete and equal political franchise with the white man. It is much better for his own interests that he not be. Of course, as he develops as a race, larger privileges will come to him, when he is able to employ them intelligently and helpfully to all.

Q. Can a state controlled by one political party, absolutely, develop and prosper? Ans. Certainly. Georgia has done so. We have opposing political groups.

Q. How do you suggest that the stalemate in Georgia's politics be put an end to? Ans. What stalemate?

Q. In your criticism of my address, you ask what impression will it make in the North? Is that the criterion or should you have inquired what is the truth of the matter? Ans. We meant that your address would make an extremely false impression in the North and they would get their minds full of error in the regard.

Q. Do you think our school histories should suppress facts? Ans. No, if the Confederates burned Chambersburg, that should be included, just as all histories should tell the ugly facts about Sherman's march through Georgia, simply as historical information.

Race Problem - 1934

United States.

Charleston, S. C., News & Courier
January 21, 1934

Slanderous Propaganda

A few days ago Mr. Harry Hopkins, who is reported to be an excellent gentleman of broad human sympathies, referred to the governor of Georgia, Mr. Talmadge, as "that guy," accused him of "yapping" and spoke of the indisposition of persons to pay a decent wage. All this was excited because the governor had protested that high wages suddenly introduced in the South would disturb labor conditions on the farms and might make it impracticable sometimes and in some places to obtain labor.

Following this a Mr. Davis, another government official in high authority connected with the administration of "relief," delivered a speech in Philadelphia containing the preposterous assertion that $2.50 in Atlanta seemed to be the "top wage paid domestics."

The News and Courier has no doubt of the benevolent intentions of these gentlemen, they are educated and wise, they are students of social conditions—in the metropolitan and industrial centers of the North.

Whatever their intention, uplifting specialists, in this Democratic administration, are creating and spreading the notion that the conditions in the South, especially those of the negroes, are not only deplorable but dreadful, and include in this pious propaganda a slightly concealed charge that Southern white people, in particular the owners and operators of plantations, are oppressing the poor negroes.

Not a syllable is said about the deplorable conditions of the planters. It is not casually mentioned that nine in ten of them long before the financial crash of 1929, had lost their lands or fallen heavily into debt.

None of the uplifters recalls that the prices of cotton dropped in the autumn of 1920, that at no time thereafter have they been high, and that between two hundred and fifty and three hundred banks, most of them village institutions, in South Carolina, closed before 1929. That they overlook entirely.

The cause of those closings was, for the most part, the declension in price of commodities produced on Southern lands and of the lands themselves.

An article in a reputable magazine written by Northern investigators deliberately says, in purport, that white men are wealthy in the South by reason of exploitation of negro labor, that the wealthy "aristocrats" who have share-croppers have taken the place of the slave-owning planters. They speak of the negroes as "serfs."

The News and Courier asserts that similar notions are being disseminated in part by officials of the Democratic administration in Washington.

We Southerners know better. We know that the negroes are poor and that most of the white people are poor too. We are well aware that the standard of living is low on the farms and plantations, and also we know that, measured by Northern standards, wealthy people are not found in the rural South and they are as scarce as hen's teeth in Southern cities.

The vast majority of the white Southerners have had as much as they can do since 1875 to keep themselves and the negroes alive.

What is more to the point, probably half the negroes would not be alive if they had been in this period without the direction and assistance of the Southern white men. Their condition is at least fifty per cent better than it is in West Indian Islands where they are independent of white control, their mortality rates are lower and their health is far better than when they are left to themselves.

In a day of cheap transportation and universal movement of population nothing prevents the distribution of the Southern negroes throughout the United States except the iron industrial ostracism practiced against them outside of the Southern states—by the rural districts of the West and North without exception.

These Northern critics of the South, if they are not fools and ignoramuses, purposely forget that the profound poverty of the Southern negroes, as well as of the whites, is in large part explained by fiscal policies of legislation for which the North is answerable.

The eight million negroes in the South are a class peculiar as victims of protective tariffs. Virtually they produce nothing that receives the benefit of tariff protection. Nearly all that they buy is "protected." The workers on the sugar plantations, a negligible area, are the exceptions.

Probably no free negro has ever produced a hundred pounds of cotton without contributing half the value of it to the privileged classes of the North.

Some of the Southern whites are able to enter industries and to escape in part from the systematic robberies to which the South has been subjected the last century.

A wall has been erected by government around the borders of the Southern states within which all of the colored people are forced to remain on pain of starvation if they attempt to cross it. A little while, when labor was at a premium in the North, negroes were lured to some of the great cities. Some of these same cities since that time have been driving them back to the South. One New Jersey town actually threatened to deport them. They were sent back to the South in droves from Gary and Hammond. There are in this race a small minority of gifted men and women who can take care of themselves anywhere, and do.

The News and Courier tries to speak dispassionately, but the moment comes when it cannot withhold denunciation of the presumably unconscious liars and hypocrites who are teaching the American people that the Southern whites, especially the farmers are a race of wealthy slave drivers who beat down a weak people.

The truth is that the negroes have kept the Southern whites poor two hundred and fifty years, the negroes are their burden, and they have borne it and the Northern multimillionaires have steadily for a century piled the burden on the negroes and white employers through their tariff laws and other legislation.

Of course we have evil-minded and selfish employers. Are there none elsewhere?

The South is a good land. The sun shines and the rains fall upon it. The Lord God smiles upon it. Yet the Southern people, the white people and the black, are poor, and the uplifters of the North are in this day, in the midst of the Democratic administration, diligently preaching that the Southern whites have enriched themselves at the poor negro's expense. It is a lie of lies.

There is a worse side. The Southern white people, seemingly no longer resent these slanders. Millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money is being distributed. Few voices in Georgia are raised in answer to a godly uplifter from New York when he descends to the vernacular of the East Side to characterize their governor. This article perhaps will not be popular in South Carolina. Our state teems with brethren who are getting government money, and, in the words of the late Captain Ben Tillman, are "tamed, so to speak."

RICHMOND, VA.
NEWS LEADER

FEB 6 1934

A RATHER DIFFERENT VIEW OF THE POWELL LETTER.

Editor The News Leader:

Sir,—I did not read the article that Miss Dorothy Powell wrote in reference to Emperor Jones, but I must say we owe our allegiance to the white race and we really appreciate what they have done for us. We are human, the same God that made the white man made the Negro, giving each 5 senses, a conscious and a sub-conscious mind.

When our race was groping in darkness (slavery) the whites brought them to light by training them spiritually, as well as intellectually; with that training and the mother wit that was born in our people has been stepping stones to our prosperity. There are no hammocks nor shade trees on the road to success.

If Miss Powell reads as most white people, history will show her that many of her race have Negro blood running through their veins. Some of the world's most noted white men and women possess this transfusion by nursing the breast of a Negro mammy, who cared for them day and night.

Give honor where honor is due. Did not the Negro till the soil and cultivate the land, that produce was raised and sold for money which was spent for the advancement of her race? Did not the Negro shed blood on the battle field to save her race? Although the Negro is "jim-crowed" and does not receive justice to a certain extent, they should not be discarded as a race. If Miss Powell has that much prejudice against the Negro that she does not care to see them on the screen in a movie she probably will enjoy her life better in a white city where she will not see a Negro on the active screen of life from day to day. Does Miss Powell realize that if she expect to go to heaven that the Negro will be there?

THERESA S. CAPERS.

THE CHALLENGE TO THE SOUTH

Columbia
2-3-34

The Southerner is an individualist as are all members of agrarian communities. Combined with this individualism is an old and honorable tradition inherited from the first Colonial days of this vast Republic. An honest love and respect for the customs, chivalry and culture of the old South still influences the manners and thought of the generations now living, lending color and distinction to something that is rare and really indigenous to the soil of the South.

Montgomery Ala

With impatience and lack of proper understanding and sympathy, critics from other parts of the country have criticized the South for lack of progress, of intolerance and laziness, of blind stubborn adherence to outmoded customs and ideals.

Much of this criticism is direct and rude, some of it is courteously veiled, all of it bears some semblance of truth, but few critics bother to reach the root of the difficulty, which bears a monotonous similarity to conditions prevalent all over the world where the struggle for daily existence has clouded and obscured everything

else.

The dream of an ideal society where all men are equal, every man guaranteed the means of subsistence, every man assured of the same opportunities has persisted despite the flaring failure of the machinery through which it might be achieved and the repeated misuse and abuse of power by those who have succeeded in obtaining it.

Every youngster, when he first awakens to the injustices and inequalities of the society surrounding him, passes through stages of impatient desire for sweeping reform. Inexperience coupled with untried faith leads him to believe that all men are capable of grasping the full significance of equal opportunity, that the true values of life have been obscured by greed and selfishness.

Contact with practical affairs soon produces disillusionment and it is only the very intelligent or the isolated who reach middle age with the same full set of unshakable ideals.

The War Between the States deprived the South of what it had come to regard as its inalienable property rights, without substituting something in its place. Impoverished and without substantial aid from the industrial East, the South started upon its difficult period of reconstruction, with almost insurmountable handicaps.

Its poverty and difficulties did not attract new blood in great quantity from the outside, so that old tradition and orthodox thinking remain an integral part of the South even today.

The vast numbers of immigrants bringing their own traditions and ideals mixed with the Colonial strains in the East, then pushed West, where the frontier furnished the greater lure for personal gain and achievement.

It is not strange that this foreign element seeking a fortune in a new world, desirous of discarding the yokes of oppression in the old, should be quicker to demand and adopt radical changes, nor is it difficult to understand the regimentation of political ideas in the more thickly populated areas of the country.

What is difficult to comprehend not only by the East in its attitude toward the South in its own evaluation of itself, is its own conservatism in the face of rapidly changing conditions and pressing economic hardships.

The South as well as any other agrarian section of the country would benefit greatly by a fuller realization of the benefits to be derived from a cooperative society. And it need not sacrifice the basic traditions of individualism nor its social ideals by attempting to follow the lines of some reforms that emanate from other sections of the country.

At the coming election in May, the people of Alabama will go to the polls to register their choice of an executive for their State, upholding the right to determine the ways and means by which their own territory should be governed.

If they use intelligence in their selection, regardless of personal sentiment or desire for personal privilege, they will be adhering to the principles of traditional honor that are their real heritage, rather than the weak, diluted, false and superficial pride that is often mistaken for the discharge of honorable duty.

If they confuse the issues involved in the practical administrations of the State with their own personal feelings and emotional standards they will indeed deserve the criticism directed against them from other sections of the country.

If the citizens of Alabama remain blind to the real need for constructive action, and direct attack upon the problems that actually confront the State, then they need not wail over the consequences of their decision, nor shout to someone from the outside to relieve their suffering.

The time and opportunity has come to the South to forge ahead. It is time to seek leaders who are not bound with superficial sentiments concerning the spirit and traditions of their ancestors, who would probably show a more definitely progressive realism if they were alive today.

We know we need change, so let us entrust the management of our affairs to the men who are honestly seeking a tangible solution to the difficulties that confront us, rather than to those to whom the future could be only an empty repetition of the past.

Birmingham, Ala., News
February 15, 1934

EDITOR ASKS 'FAIR DEAL' FOR NEGRO

Threat Of Communism Pointed Out By Feidelson In An Address At Auburn

AUBURN, Ala.—The Negro problem in the South must be solved before real happiness and prosperity can be enjoyed by this section, Judge Charles N. Feidelson, associate editor of The Age-Herald, told a group of 500 students and townsmen at Langdon Hall here Tuesday.

"Unless the Negro is dealt with fairly and justly, we in the South may have to pay a very bitter price," Judge Feidelson said. He added that an attitude of continued indifference toward Negroes would force them into the arms of Communism. He said the Negro is here to stay, that the South has prospered through his activity and the South must adjust his economic conditions so as to insure whites and Negroes living harmoniously.

Judge Feidelson also condemned lynching and said it was regrettable that Alabama figured in the 24 lynchings of last year.

"One of the painful aspects of the situation," the speaker said, "is that many persons, who would not dream of being lynchers, by their indifference or lethargy give moral consent to mob violence."

He said that "fair and decent treatment" to the Negro doesn't mean social equality, adding that the Negro does not want social equality, but just an even chance to survive.

P. O. Davis, executive secretary, introduced Judge Feidelson and pointed out his long and successful career as an editorial writer.

Judge Feidelson also addressed the sociology class of Dr. Harold Hoffsommer while in Auburn.

"A Negro President"

MUSSOLINI'S NEWSPAPER, Il Popolo d'Italia, which professes to reflect the opinions of Italy's Premier, expressed alarm last week over the drop in births of whites in the United States and asked: "Are we to see within a century a Negro in the White House?" The Roman strong man's journal said, in part:

Birmingham News
3-31-34

"Blind and foolish are these ignorant destroyers who believe they can efficaciously combat the depression by sterility.

"When we reflect there are in the United States 11,500,000 Negroes, people of extraordinary fecundity, it is necessary to conclude with a real cry of alarm. The 'yellow peril' is nothing. We will encounter an Africanized America, in which the white race, by the inexorable law of numbers, will end by being suffocated by the fertile grandsons of Uncle Tom."

Such prattle (taken aside from the racial bias displayed) exhibits Il Popolo's unfamiliarity with the United States census. The fact is that there is little evidence that the colored population will even equal the white within a century. That "extraordinary fecundity" attributed us must be considered along with our excessive mortality rate as compared with the whites, and the fact that the white population is being increased constantly by immigration.

In 1870 the 4,880,000 Negroes in the United States comprised 12.7 per cent of the population. The percentage rose to 13.1 in 1880, but since then it has decreased steadily until in 1930 Negroes formed but 9.7 per cent of the population of the nation. Federal mortality statistics tell us that in the birth registration area in 1926 (this included 84,290,000 of an approximate total population of 115,000,000) the excess of the whites' birth rate over the death rate was 8.5 per 1,000. Negroes had an excess of only 6.9, and the Negro death rate was 19.3, compared with 11.7 for whites.

Thus, we see that, while we lead the whites by 6 points in the birth rate, we also are more generous to the undertaker. If a Negro is elected President within a century we believe that our "fecundity" will have little to do with the matter. Liberal white voters are fairly certain to have the task of the turning trick.

Race Problem – 1934

United States.

Facts Revealed in Congressional Record

Defender

8-18-34

Chicago Illinois

(A page from The Congressional Record)

Mr. GAVAGAN. Mr. Speaker, representing the Twenty-first Congressional District of New York, including the greater part of Harlem, the native state of both President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Hon. James A. Farley, Postmaster General of the United States and chairman of the Democratic National Committee, I therefore take peculiar pride in setting forth in the Congressional Record as I see it just how the colored citizen has fared under the "new deal."

It is understood, of course, that as part of the whole citizenry the colored American citizen has and will enjoy the same wholesome benefits to be derived from higher standards of living, increased wages, and better housing conditions in the national recovery program as his fellow compatriots.

It has been increasingly evident that President Roosevelt, unlike his predecessor as well as Mrs. Roosevelt, have drawn no "color line" at the White House.

The Chief Executive of the United States entertained President Stenio Vincent, of Haiti, and then posed with him for a picture and the sound movies. He was no less diffident in the honor freely bestowed upon his classmates of Harvard University, among them some 14 distinguished colored citizens. They and their families found the sociability of the President and Mrs. Roosevelt as they chatted on the White House lawn most stimulating. The little 6-year-old colored boy during the Easter-egg rolling fete who was "shot" in the picture with the three other youngsters, got a great thrill out of holding the hand of the First Lady of the land while she beamed the Roosevelt smile before the battery of cameramen for the edification of all and sundry everywhere, at home and abroad. It recalled a like picture taken on her visit to the Virgin Islands. Mrs. Roosevelt's deeds have been no less significant than her speeches, especially the admonition to the educational leaders of the Nation assembled in Washington when she stoutly condemned double standards in teachers' salaries, buildings, equipment, and educational opportunities practiced to the detriment and social welfare of the whole country, and the colored citizen more specifically.

Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, addressing a group of Race educators in Washington, declared:

"The day of really working together has come. We must learn to work together regardless of race, creed, or color."

NO GROUP TO BE BEATEN DOWN

After telling the confernece that she favored equal educational opportunities for every child in the land, she said:

"We can have no group beaten down, underprivileged, without reaction on the rest. Where the standard of education is low, the standard of living is low."

Unfortunately, Mrs. Roosevelt's address did not receive the widsepread publicity it should have had. Such preachments as she uttered should be especially emphasized in the South, where black men and women have been deprived of education and training, which would have been beneficial both to them and the communities in which they live.

We congratulate Mrs. Roosevelt in her courageous stand for those principles which, if adhered to, will ultimately banish the brutalizing influences of the southern white man and enable him to recognize that the South cannot rise to its proper place economically, socially, and politically until it becomes educated beyond the distressing influences of hate, greed, and selfishness.

The colored race must be educated, to be sure, but the Nation must be educated as well to the point where it can appreciate the advantages to be obtained from a unified spiritual accord inherently applicable to all citizens alike.

The fact that President Roosevelt granted Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an hour in the Wihte House study Sunday a fortnight ago to get the facts as only he could reveal them on the history of lynchings and mob violence in this country must be construed as a distinctly forward step.

The President's personal interest, and that of the administration, was further borne out by the pressure upon Congress to pass the Wagner-Costigan Federal antilynching bill, favorably reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee. It is the first serious effort in this direction taken in the past six years that I have been here. Many promises to introduce and push such legislation had been written into certain party platforms, but up to the advent of this administration no action had been taken to put it through Congress.

RACE WORKERS IN WHITE HOUSE

In passing, a citation of the fact that there are 52 employees in the White House proper, of which 28 are colored men and women, today is pertinent; 5 chauffeurs, 3 of them colored, and a half dozen messengers in the office of the President, and 1 clerk, Edgar Pryor, who was requested because of his expert knowledge of naval affairs, acquired while employed in the office of Assistant Secretary of the Navy, the position held by the present Commander in Chief during the administration of President Woodrow Wilson.

President Roosevelt's personal bodyguard is Gus Grenich, and his constant attendant Irvin Henry McDuffie incorrectly designated by a newspaper writer as a Scotchman, but he is, as a mater of fact, a highly respected member of the colored race, once a partner of the Herndon Barber Shop, of Atlanta, Ga., one of the most successful businesses of its kind in America. Mrs. Allen, steward and director of the White House cuisine, holds a most responsible position. She is a colored woman of splendid training and fine personality.

The country has become so certain of the wholesome implications of the "new deal" in all its ramifications that no question was raised and not a dissenting vote cast in the United States Senate against the confirmation of Dr. William J. Thompkins, of Kansas City, Mo., for recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia. The fact that President Roosevelt saw fit to honor a distinguished colored citizen by such an appointment was sufficient to receive the unreserved official public approbation of North and South alike and every one of the 96 Senators' affirmative votes.

Missouri's particular pride in this unprecedented recognition of one of its most renowned leaders in professional, civic, and business achievement has known no race limitations and New York joins in its felicitations. President Roosevelt, as Governor of New York, portended this greater national recognition of our colored citizens when he signed the bill, twice vetoed, which made possible the election of the only two municipal judgeships in the country held by colored lawyers, excepting the District of Columbia.

No little credit for Dr. Thompkins' high place today in the United States Government may be attributed to the faithfulness with which Postmaster General James A. Farley and the dynamic leader of the party has carried through the promise of the platform of the 1932 Democratic National Convention written in Chicago, "Equal rights for all, special privileges for none."

G. Victor Cools, of New York, a graduate of Columbia University, and well known economic expert, and John Prescott Murchison, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo., have been appointed regional project managers with two other colored leaders for the subsistence homesteads division. Many states have been recognized in this very important organization as well as the Home Owners' Loan Corporation. Thousands of families have been given a new start in life through these services. Several laws passed by Congress during this session will enable the Administrator of Agricultural Adjustment Act to better protect the interests of the tenant farmer in the South, so many of whom are colored.

PRESIDENT PROMISES FAIR PLAY TO ALL

The President outlined in his final message to Congress legislation which will guarantee in the future to every family regardless of race, creed, or color absolute security of job, unemployment insurance, a home, an education, and old-age pension. It is significant that in Richmond, Va., one of the two most successful "self-help subsistence projects"—the other is Lansing, Mich.—out of 300 under the supervision of Administrator Harry L. Hopkins, of the Federal Emergency Relief Commission, that both colored and white families are working together for decent American living standards.

The Civilian Conservation Corps has absorbed 50,000 white and colored boys, who were "hitch-hiking" over the country, to the great boon of these fine American youngsters, out of their own, likewise the general peace and safety of every community in the country, thereby has been brought a little nearer reality. Many others from large families in urban centers have added the full weight of their mighty sinews of brain and muscle to reforestation and the like, while providing at the same time $25 a month cash relief to the folks back home. Employment, too, has come to colored recreational leaders, doctors, and nurses from the establishment throughout the country of these C.C.C. camps. There has been no color line in this service to American boys and American families. It is estimated there are a million colored men and women on work relief by the Federal Emergency Relief Commission. Positions as accountants, auditors, clerks, stenographers, case aides, tabulators, statisticians, technical supervisors, nurses, teachers, doctors, foremen, timekeepers, skilled and unskilled laborers have been created under this "new deal" governmental set-up to a greater degree than ever before afforded the colored citizen. Many thousands of these are scattered over the five boroughs of New York as elsewhere.

EXPERTS OF RACE GET OPPORTUNITY

The "little cabinet" and the much-discussed "brain trust" have had their counterpart in the administration bringing into the Government such well-known colored leaders and highly trained social experts as Eugene Kinckle Jones, Yale University graduate, and for 25 years executive secretary of the National Urban League, with headquarters in New York, as the special adviser on Negro affairs to Secretary of the Department of Commerce, Hon. Daniel C. Roper; Forester B. Washington, director Atlanta School of Social Science, as an assistant to the Honorable Harry L. Hopkins, Administrator of the Federal Emergency Relief Commission; and Earl R. Moses, M. A., University of Chicago, and research director of the Chicago Urban League, as a member of the Research and Statistics Bureau of the Federal Emergency Relief Commission; Robert L. Vann, Special Assistant Attorney General under Attorney General Cummings; William Hastie, Harvard University, and Theopolius Mann, Illinois University, attorneys in the Department of the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Harold L. Ickes; and Prof. H. D. Hunt, of Fort Valley, Ga., in the Farm Credit Administration; T. M. Campbell, Tuskegee, and J. B. Pierce, Hampton Institute, in the Department of Agriculture, under Secretary Henry A. Wallace. L. A. Oxley, of North Carolina, was appointed as labor arbitrator and adviser on Negro affairs in the Department of Labor by Secretary Frances Perkins.

In the 17 Southern States, with nearly 2,000,000 illiterates and a 10,000,000 population of colored citizens, over a half million colored persons were taught to read and write during the past year, according to Dr. Coliver, former dean of Fisk University and assistant to Dr. Anderman, head of the adult educational program under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration; too, the school term was extended two months and the salaries of a thousand colored school teachers increased. A real frontal attack against illiteracy has been made and is continuing under the personal impetus of Mrs. Roosevelt's leadership.

In Chicago 114 colored school teachers are now employed under the "new deal" continuation summer school at a salary of $100 per month, and an equal number of nurses are also on the job. A like opportunity is presented to every community in the United States and the islands of the sea under our jurisdiction. One hundred and twenty colored colleges of higher learning provided between 15 and 20 dollars a month per capita, during the past year from Federal funds which benefited nearly 4,000 colored students. Howard University and the Freedmen's Hospital in Washington received $2,000,000 from the Public Works Administration.

These generous and general doses of new educational opportunities made possible along constructive

social lines in every State of the Union, for all alike, should prove an incalulable asset in the development of an enlightened and happier citizenship.

MANY GET CHANCES IN POST OFFICE DEPT.

In the department of Government giving permanent employment to the largest number of colored workers notable progress has been made under Postmaster General James A. Farley, both in status and working conditions.

Thousands of ex-service men and their families were benefited by the extra jobs in the post office, created by the holiday rush of the Yuletide.

The New York post office has made many promotions in the past year, a policy, I understand, carried out all over the country along with the erection of many modern post office buildings.

In Pittsburgh at the Wylie avenue post office, the office of the district supervisor is capably filled by a colored postal employee, promoted under Postmaster General James A. Parley to the new rank, now, for nearly a year. It was one of the first official acts of this high official in the President's Cambinet.

Colored men share the positions as elevator operators in the Washington Post Office Building dedicated last week. A colored girl and a supervisor are assigned to the private elevator of the Post Master General in this newest of the Capital's buildings, second in size only to the great Department of Commerce Building, where colored women elevator operators serve, as in so many of the Government biuldings.

It is estimated upwards of 60 colored farmers in each of the thousand and 1,500 counties of the South have been loaned an average per capita of $200 for seed, fertilizer, livestock, and machinery for planting cotton or plowing it up under the direction of the A. A. A. Administrator. This runs into millions of dallers in direct financial assistance for these people from the Government.

It certainly cannot be denied that no class of our citizenry has received larger benefits in general and specific employment than the colored worker from the repeal of prohibition, which was carried through as one of the first big objectives of the "new deal."

Finally, I may say, with pardonable pride, that my vote for all the "new deal" legislation and my unswerving and enthusiastic approval of President Roosevelt's leadership in Congress is a source of inexpressible joy to me, because it has made possible the greatest service to my constituents high and low, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, all alike, regardless of race or color.

DR. ALBERT S. BECKHAM REVEALS RESULTS OF RESEARCH IN RACIAL ANTAGONISMS

The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, volume XXIX, No. 1, April-June, 1934, carries an interesting article under the caption, "A Study of Race Attitudes in Negro Children of Adolescent Age," by Dr. Albert Sidney Beckham, psychologist at the Institute for Juvenile Research, located in Chicago. Dr. Beckham is a distinguished psychologist of the Race and has done a great deal in the field of original research.

Dr. Beckham did not confine his study to children. Of the 450 individuals studied, 100 were adults, 100 juvenile delinquent boys and 250 non-delinquent boys and girls. The non-delinquents were chosen from the ninth and tenth grades of Chicago public schools. Adults were studied purely to strengthen the general study by comparing the racial attitudes of children with that of adults. "It is often said," the study reveals, "that attitudes of children who are normal from a standpoint of conduct are different from the attitudes of delinquent children. This study will inquire into that problem by comparing the racial attitudes of normal children with the attitudes of delinquent children."

Dr. Beckham asked his subjects the following questions: "At what age did you experience your first humiliation because of race prejudice.", "What effect did this humiliation have on you?", "What actually happened to make this humiliation?", "Describe any changes within you either in reference to school, home or elsewhere because of humiliation based on race prejudice", "In your actual experience have you found white teachers prejudiced against Negro pupils?", "Indicate how frequently race prejudice is discussed in your home."

Summarizing his study, Dr. Beckham said, "Several persons in this study have not faced any humiliation based on race prejudice. The average age that adults received a first humiliation based on prejudice was 12, while for both delinquent and non-delinquent boys and girls it was 11. The most common effect with adults and non-delinquent children was resentfulness while among delinquent boys the most frequent effect was mixed emotional states of sadness, regret, fear, pain, etc."

One of Dr. Beckham's findings which will surprise many students of the effects of race prejudice is the fact that 72 per cent of the adults reported that they considered white teachers usually fair. Seventy-three and nine tenths of the delinquent boys opined that white teachers were always fair and 48 per cent of the non-delinquent boys and girls agreed to this statement. "Grading is the most common method in which white teachers have indicated prejudice against Negro children," states Dr. Beckham, "and the most frequent method is in the discrimination of positions such as in athletics, etc."

The value of this study to persons dealing with problems of children in adjusting Negro children in their homes and schools.

"WHITE AND COLORED FOLK MAKE MERRY TOGETHER"

Chronicle

THIS was the heading of a news item that appeared in one of our local dailies Nov. 14, and, lest you be led astray, it did not represent any rejoicing over a happy occasion, but rather the veiled implicaton of the deadly sinfulness of such association. At least it was deadly enough in the minds of the members of the Boston Licensing Board to merit their revoking the license of the Club Bohemian. 11-17-34

Though there were two or three charges involved, one in particular was a direct violation of the law if proved, and that was the illegal sale of liquor. But, to us, it seemed that the major offence (which is no crime), in the minds of the authorities, was too much associaion between whites and Negroes. This was made pretty apparent in the police's pronounced inclination to specify at the least opportunity the matter of race, rather than the selling of liquor. No, the records will not indicate that it was the influence of this type of testimony that secured the results, but those of us who have watched the ups and downs of such business ventures sponsored by Negro proprietors know full well about the pressure exerted upon them. But in good old New England we consider it an indication of bad taste to clearly state our objections in some cases.

Boston, Mass.

Especially is this problem of night clubs a vexing one for the "objectors" to deal with . . . unless they are opened by white proprietors . . . and then it does not even seem to merit attention. In such cases, about the only things that can close them is the lack of money or a killing. Witness, if you please the laxity that was exhibited by both police from Station 10, the Licensing Board and all other factors for law and order when the Cotton Club was in our midst. The close proximity of two churches or the lengthy petitions of righteously indignant Negro citizens, protesting against its existence, all went for naught. The only solution was the roaring, deadly gunfire of a gangster.

We sometimes wonder if the members of our police force and these other law enforcement organizations ever take time out to sit down with their conscience and figure out how few people they ever really fool with their superficial gestures? But perhaps, after all, these noble and most worthy men and women are conscientious but a trifle erratic in their judgment and application of the laws. For in this special case it would be the most colossal attempt to bamboozle one's self in the history of the world if these same persons really imagine that they can stop the natural inclination of human beings to go where they wish and associate with whatever race they choose. For, as far as our humble knowledge goes, this is an old and ancient practice that slightly antedates the history of both the distinguished Boston Police force as well as the Licensing Board.

United States.

Ruminations

By J. A. ROGERS

Segregation and Its Advocates.

THE QUESTION of segregation is in the air. Some, it appears, are advocating more of it. These are certainly gluttons, it seems to me, for if there is one thing we have nothing but in America it is segregation. Northwards of New York City as far as the Canadian border there is a certain degree of freedom it is true, but in all the vast region to the south and southwest there is enough of it to satisfy the most fire-breathing exponent of Negroism.

Who are the Negroes who advocate segregation and why do they do so? First, there are the leaders, who see more profit for themselves the more followers they have—in short, they're no different from the leaders of any other —"ism," white or black. Next there are the followers, who are animated with the mistaken notion that one way to cure the thing you are condemning in another group is to have more of it yourself. The psychology of these followers goes back ten thousand years, and differs not a whit in black or white throughout the ages. I am convinced, therefore, that only sharpers or fools want segregation.

* * *

Sharpers or Fools.

ONE HAS but to consider how segregation, in no matter what society or in what age, has always worked. In the case under consideration one finds that in all the things that make for the benefit of the dominant society the so-called Negro is a full-fledged citizen. Indeed in all the things that make for the national benefit, which in this case means largely white man's benefit—as say paying taxes, defending the nation, and the like—the Negro had better be a full citizen or he'll land in jail. On the other hand in nearly everything that makes for his own benefit he is a pariah, and were he to enforce too vigorously his demand for citizenship on this side, he would land in jail, also.

* * *

Exploiters All.

STUDY THE psychology of the advocates of segregation, white or black, and you'll find it identical. Both are exploiters, or would-be exploiters of their groups. Were it possible to change their present complexions each kind would readily fit into the opposite color. The great, great curse of the Negro has been his leaders, that is about 90 per cent of them. Most of these spouters of catchy platitudes are endowed to an extraordinary degree with the gift of deluding the people, and themselves also, that they are talking for the masses, when all the time they are secretly looking out for their own petty, egotistical selves. Gandhi, working for the pariahs of India, lives like one of them. He travelled fourth class from India to England, which is horrible.

But the Negro followers are equally guilty as the leaders. First, they want to be amused and excited, and last of all to be instructed. Clowning and the desire to be clowned to is in our blood, put there I believe by the whites, for the African Negro is dignified, if he is anything at all. Prospective Aframerican leaders ought first to take a course in vaudeville and monkey shines. The late Becton mastered this. In consequence we read that his loss was the great news of Aframerica in 1933.

* * *

Social Equality.

OUR GREAT TASK is to break down segregation. In all those things that are degrading so-called social equality has been forced on us. We must demand social equality in the elevating things. Jim-crowism must be replaced by the freedom to enter public places; concubinage by legal marriage; and the back-door entrance to life be made to give way to the front-door one. We must demand citizenship and cease being like the white convicts on parole, the only other ones in America, besides us, whose movements are restricted to any appreciable degree.

In the meantime equally important is the task of self-development. We need first modern knowledge in the current ways of making a living, and next about our own history. This latter is to serve not for a boast, but as a driving force for the former. Slavery and the degradation forced into us can be overcome by the inspiration derived from a knowledge of our past. The Germans in the Eighteenth Century were far below the present level of the Aframerican. In some parts as Westphalia they were actual slaves in a far more degraded condition than the Negro slaves of their time. Yet before 1914 Germany was the foremost intellectual country of the world and the best developed in most ways. The Germans had high-souled, unselfish leaders, however. And when Aframerica is ready for such leaders it will also take its place in the sun.

SEGREGATION.

How any fair-minded, clear-thinking person can arrive at the conclusion that Dr. W. E. B. DuBois favors segregation or demands segregation is difficult to understand. A careful perusal of his recently-published views on the subject does not anywhere indicate that segregation is less repugnant to him in 1934 than in 1914. It is obvious, however, that years of personal experience and investigation have wrought a mental metamorphosis, and that Dr. DuBois has formed some new and pretty definite ideas which he makes public with an admirable exhibition of courage, clarity and unanswerable argumentation.

DuBois is being misunderstood and wrongly criticised today just as Booker T. Washington was twenty-five years ago when the Tuskegeean was branded as an enemy of higher education because he was a leader of world-renown in the field of industrial education. It was the erroneous assumption that Washington could not be an advocate of one without being an implacable foe of the other. And yet he was a member of the trustee boards of Howard and Fisk universities and influential in advancing the interests of many other institutions of higher learning.

Dr. DuBois tells some unpleasant facts about segregation. He realizes that the American Negro is confronted with a condition and not a theory; that any appreciable change never will come from ballyhooing, the passing of resolutions, editorial condemnation or heated debate within or outside of the race. He has graphically drawn a word picture of a situation as it really exists and has not mirrored our hopes and what we so ardently wish things to be.

"What can we do" DuBois pointedly asks. Then he replies: "The only thing that we can but must do, is voluntarily and insistently organize our economic and social power, no matter how much segregation it involves. Learn to associate with ourselves and to train ourselves for effective association. Organize our strength as consumers; learn to cooperate and use machines and power as producers; train ourselves in methods of democratic control within our group. Run and support our own institutions."

Who can give a better answer to the question: "What can we do?" Unless one is burdened with an inferiority complex and an overweening desire to socialize with white people, who oppose patronizing C. M. A. Stores and who favors white political leadership in Negro communities, such as Harlem, what objection can be raised or fault found with this wise advice?

Some striking observations made by the editor of the Crisis Magazine are:

"Segregation may be just as evil today as it was in 1910, but it is more insistent, more prevalent and more unassailable by appeal or argument.

"The difference between North and South in the matter of segregation is largely a difference of degree; of wide degree, certainly, but still of degree.

"It is the bounden duty of every Negro and every enlightened American to protest; to oppose the policy (segregation) so far as it is manifest by laws; to agitate against customs by revealing facts; and to appeal to the sense of decency and justice in all American citizens.

"Remember that the white people of America will certainly never want us until we want ourselves."

In any of the foregoing statements can there be found anything either by word or implication to support the contention that W. E. B. DuBois has become a convert to the policy of segregation? Is not his present position analagous to that of a General who discovers that his method of attack has been based on the wrong premise and has the good sense and the vision to plan a new offensive along different and more effective lines?

The controversy raging within the race on the question of segregation presents some strange and incongruous aspects. There are teachers in St. Louis, Washington, Baltimore and other large cities where the races are

separated in the public schools who are numbered among the most irreconcilable of anti-segregationists; physicians who elect to settle in Negro communities only and never think of building up a white practice, who hold membership in colored medical societies and are barred from practicing in hospitals under white management sometimes are the most vocal in their opposition to the establishment of a modern, private hospital under colored supervision in the community on the ground of segregation. Political leaders pose as uncompromising antagonists of segregation but fight to the last ditch to maintain separate political organizations which savor of "Jim Crowism." Dr. DuBois points out that not one of the twelve colored Ph.D's of last year trained in the highest American and European standards, is going to get a job in any white university. And we ask, what would become of the ministers of the gospel, the editors and reporters were it not for the Negro churches and publications?

The New York Age agrees with Dr. DuBois when he says that "every Negro should oppose segregation so far as it is manifest by law." Yes, and any attempt by Federal, State or municipal legislators to enact laws designed to segregate Negroes should meet the combined and aggressive opposition of the race. Any endeavor to impose an unwritten law to discriminate or segregate Negro citizens in the Senate or House restauarants should be stubbornly resisted and no compromise made.

The New York Age does not wholly agree with Dr. DuBois when he says: "If Spingarn asserts, the N. A. A. C. P. has conducted a quarter century campaign against segregation, the net result has been a little less than nothing." When we recall the important cases the N. A. A. C. P. has taken to the United States Supreme Court, in which the highest court of the land has declared against the legality of setting up segregated districts in cities, in all fairness, it cannot be said that the net result of the association's efforts has been less than nothing. It is true that its quarter-century campaign has not materially altered the general situation, which, in fact, has grown steadily worse.

The segregation issue usually is discussed academically in which generalities are dealt with and little consideration, if any, given to the various forms of segregation. Who can in all sincerity dispute the assertion that the Negro has profited by voluntary segregation? Would there be a Negro in Congress today if there had not been voluntary segregation on Chicago's South Side? Would it have been possible for two Negroes to have been elected Judges of the Municipal Court in Harlem if the colored voters in that section had not largely outnumbered the white voters? How many Negroes would be serving as State legislators, aldermen or councilmen if they did not live in districts growing out of voluntary segregation? In some municipalities the city wide election has been adopted to prevent the representation of Negroes from districts where the race vote dominates.

Voluntary segregation has meant much to the political and economic advancement of white racial groups ,as the history of the Irish, Jew and Italian in New York City reveals. It also has been found helpful by them in fighting discrimination. It was only several months ago that Italians for the first time elected one of their race a Democratic district leader in Manhattan, the revolt having been made possible by reason of their numerical strength. The ascendency of Negro Republicans in the 19th A. D., Manhattan, a few years ago, in which the district leadership and all important offices were captured, could not have been accomplished if the race had not had votes to back up its claims. In large cities of the North, an alderman, State senator or assemblyman as a rule reflects the racial complexion of the vast majority of his constituents.

Dr. DuBois "hits the nail squarely on the head" when he says: "Remember, the white people of America will certainly never want us until we want ourselves." There is too much insistence on the part of Negroes to be in the company with white people. There is a type of Negro to whom the society of any white person is preferable to that of any colored person. Until the Negro learns to have a proper appreciation for his own he should not expect others to do so. What Negro has been generally looked upon as outstanding in his field until the white man put his stamp of approval on him?

This lack of appreciation is also painfully noticeable in channels of business. Proprietors of stores on 125th street will tell you that their colored customers prefer being waited on by a white salesgirl. Some who object to members of their own group serving them are loudest in their condemnation of race discrimination. Residents of Chicago have done more to promote their economic welfare than any other group of Negroes in the country.

Instead of criticising W. E. B. DuBois for what he has said on segregation he should be praised and applauded. He has rendered a valuable and distinct service, functioning as a physician who has made an accurate diagnosis of a most complicated case. He has been honest and frank with his patient. Not only has he named the disease, determined the symptoms and given "flat facts," but he has further distinguished himself by writing an effacacious prescription. His answer to the question propounded by himself: "What then can we do?" is not guaranteed to effect an immediate cure; for the disease is malignant and deep rooted. Only time, faithful and constant consideration of the prescribed remedy will eventually effect a cure.

Dawson, Ga., News
April 5, 1934

WILL NEGRO RULE U.S.? ASKS MUSSOLINI PAPER

AFRICANIZED AMERICA FEARED IF BIRTH DECLINE CONTINUES, IT SAYS.

Premier Benito Mussolini's newspaper has characterized as "alarming" the "dimunition of births in the United States," and asks, "are we to see within a century a negro in the White House?" says an Associated Press dispatch from Rome.

"The dimunition of births in the United States is assuming alarming proportions," says "Il Popolo d'Italia" editorially. "If it continues at this rate the number of coffins will surpass the number of cradles. Some might say it is the effect of the crisis. This observation mirrors one of the most eloquent aspects of that materialist slave of its own strength and position which, in a land of all comforts and mechanical marvels, willingly sacrifices its power of tomorrow to the comfortable life and illusory well-being of today.

"Blind and foolish are the ignorant destroyers who believe they can efficaciously combat the depression by sterility . . . When we reflect there are in the United States 11,500,000 negroes, people of extraordinary fecundity, it is necessary to conclude with a real cry of alarm. The yellow peril is nothing. We shall encounter an Africanized America in which the white race, by the inexorable law of numbers, will end by being suffocated by the fertile grandsons of Uncle Tom.

"Are we to see within a century a negro in the White House?"

New Orleans Bans Forums in Schools

Hathaway Spoke for Negro Rights

5-14-34

NEW ORLEANS, La., May 13.—The New Orleans Parish School Board has closed the auditoriums of all public schools to the New Orleans public for public forums and lectures because of the speech delivered by Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, two weeks ago in one of the New Orleans public school auditoriums, advocating equality for Negroes.

After the public meeting of the school board to argue the case three people were arrested. Their names are Richard Whitten, a student at Tulane University and national chairman of the Students League for Industrial Democracy; Solomon Marks and Harnett Kane. They demanded the right of free speech. All three were later released.

The chief argument of those who voted to close the school auditoriums to public forums and lectures was that Hathaway advocated complete equality for Negroes and because he declared that the capitalists would not give up their power peacefully.

Race Problem - 1934
United States.

DAYTON, O.
JOURNAL

DEC 9 1934

Head of Wilberforce University Cites Negro's Greatest Problem

Atmosphere of Fair Play Seen By Dr. R. R. Wright, Jr., as Biggest Need.

The negro's greatest problem in America is not poverty, crime, ignorance or unemployment but the attitude of the great white majority which excludes negroes from participation on terms of equality in all phases of economic life and seeks to segregate them to themselves, forcing them to live on a lower standard, Dr. R. R. Wright, Jr., president of Wilberforce university, said in an address he made before the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America last week.

"White people, as a rule, look upon negroes as different and are unwilling to give them a square deal as they would a white person," said Dr. Wright. "They exclude them from the major labor unions, from promotion into first-class jobs. The negroes are the last hired and first fired; when a negro gets a job he is supposed to work longer and get less pay than a white man.

Hostile Sentiment.

"It is this condition that makes crime excessive and promotes shiftlessness. The negro is hedged about by a wall of hostile public sentiment which says 'Thou shalt not pass.'

"The majority of white people's attitude toward negroes is one based almost entirely upon race and not upon character or achievement or any other factor which the negro can himself change. When we seek economic improvement through the NRA, the system fails to function where a great majority of negroes are concerned. A wage differential based upon race is insisted upon and negro labor does not get either in wages or in reduction of hours what the industrial codes promised.

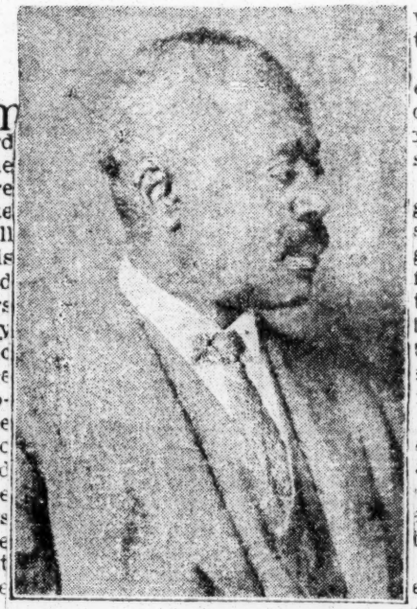
"The Agricultural Adjustment Administration finds itself confronted with a double standard when it comes to deal with the negro farmers, and its hands are practically tied because the white man insists that the negro shall not get square deal. If money is to come to tenant farmers and sharecroppers, the white managers and landlords too often find a way to cheat them out of it, and public sentiment upholds them. If the government experiments in subsistence homesteads, the whole scheme must be modified so as to exclude the negroes; and we find the strongest government in the world cannot administer the laws as they are written because of the public sentiment which says that a negro shall not have a square deal.

"It is only when the negro has an atmosphere of fair play will he begin to be economically secure. The responsibility for making this atmosphere is the business of the church. It alone has charge of the hearts and consciences of the people. It alone sets itself up as the one institution which promulgates peace and good will toward all men. It alone can batter down the walls of racial prejudice. Politics alone cannot; business cannot; labor organizations cannot; the law cannot; only the moral sentiment making power, as it gets into politics and business and labor and the law, can do it. The acid test of the practicability of Christianity in making a fair social order is the negro. I have faith in the church."

Dr. Wright concluded with the following constructive suggestions as to how the church should accept its responsibility:

Nationally—

1. The church should make a united effort to call the attention of the nation to a sense of sin against God and man on account of the outrageous and iniquitous growth of racial prejudice among us. The nation should be called to repentance and the help of God invoked that we might hold aloft the greatest principle which Jesus



DR. R. R. WRIGHT, JR.

enunciated — the brotherhood of man.

2. Make a thorough study of "The Economic Cost of Racial Prejudice in the United States." Such a study has never been made and would bring together a body of facts which would make a profound impression on the Christian consciousness and our American economic intelligence.

3. On the basis of such a study to formulate a Christian program for eradicating this prejudice, beginning in the home, the school, and reaching out into society.

4. To urge the fair administration of all governmental programs so far as the negro is concerned and fair representation of negroes in that administration. To urge the negro's right to vote, to serve on jury, to participate in labor organization.

5. In the meantime to urge vigorous and sincere preaching of the gospel of Jesus insofar as it relates to fairness toward those of different races.

Locally—

1. Local churches to urge Christian merchants and industrial leaders to give fair play to negroes in their particular communities.

2. To form local study clubs of "The Economic Cost of Racial Prejudice in the Local Community."

3. To urge Christian housewives to give a better opportunity to negro domestics.

4. To urge Christian boards of education to give a more liberal distribution of the funds for education of negroes—for teachers and schools.

5. To urge municipalities to give more attention to housing, streets, and sanitation among negroes. For example, it would be a fine show of good Christian attitude if, while the government is liberally spending money, some of these funds could be used to put sewers, paving, more lights in neglected negro neighborhoods.

6. To urge white and negro citizens to come together once in a while to frankly discuss the economic problems of the community and what each can do to solve these problems.

7. Urge white and negro workers in the same and allied fields of labor to meet together for improvement in their common employment.

8. Urge white and negro ministers to meet once per month in joint sessions to frankly discuss the progress of and obstacles of confronting the spirit of Jesus in the ecomonic and social life of the community

Let Pennsylvania Ave. Tremble, Says Nannie Burroughs in Speech

Praises NAACP for Work in Picketing Crime Parley and Scores Cowardice

NEXT TWELVE MONTHS ARE MOST IMPORTANT

Tells Audience That the Negro Has His Religion to Scholastics

Tribune

Speaking before an audience of over 1,000 persons at Vermont Avenue Baptist Church following the NAACP's recent anti-lynching demonstration before the Crime Conference, Miss Nannie H. Burroughs applauded the District NAACP for its persistence and courage in adherence to further effort.

Wh. Post 29-35

"There are enough Negroes in Washington to make Pennsylvania Avenue tremble!" said Miss Burroughs.

"It is no evidence of Christianity to have people mock you and spit on you, and defeat the future of your children—it is a mark of cowards!

Religion Mixed

"You've got this religion mixed up," she continued.. "You like to remember 'He never said a mumlin' word,' but you forget that Jesus didn't have to say 'All power is given unto me,'—You don't have to say it if you've got the power—He had it."

The next twelve months will be the most important in determining the status of the black man in America for some time to come, prophesied this militant leader.

Demand Rights

"Lynchings and burnings start as much in the Federal government as in Mississippi. Prejudice has made the Negro satisfied. All they want to know here in Washington, or down in Mississippi or Alabama, or Tennessee, is 'Will they take it? And how much will they take?'

"If we do not demand our rights, who in the world will demand them for us?

"Get rid of cowards. There is no place for them—black or white—in this country!"

"Jesus said, 'What's the matter with you? Can't you watch an hour?' "

"What's the matter with you black folks that you can't watch an hour in a crisis like this?"

Challenges Youth

Calling on the younger generation, the speaker challenged them to action, saying:

"You, the third generation from slavery, have no right to sit here tonight and enjoy the blessings [illegible] the sacrifices of other generations unless you, too, are willing to shoulder the burdens and responsibilities facing your race and carry on!

"You've got to have right: you've got to have courage; you've got to have faith; you've got to have hope.. Justice, right and the constitution are on your side.

No Minority Group

"Do you know how God works his arithmetic? There is no such thing as a minority group—you belong to the human race.

Striking the Bible with her clenched fist, the speaker challenged, "The Bible says, 'One can chase a thousand; and two can put ten thousand to flight' "

Race Problem - 1934

United States.

Is The South Losing Its Individual Nature?

Within recent years a good deal has been published to the effect that the South is steadily losing its individual character in the general melting pot of American life. One of the articles in a current weekly magazine deals with the peculiarities of the old customs and ways of thought in Charleston, S. C., but the author of the article declared that he had not found much to remind him of the ante-bellum South in various other parts of the country below the Potomac.

Without attempting to predict what will come about within the next 100 years or so, a resident of this part of the country could assemble any quantity of evidence which would substantiate the belief that the South is likely to remain a very distinctive section for a few more years, at least. Although it is true that the cimate has much influence upon the nature of the South, one should not make the error of assuming that the weather is the only important factor concerned. Even should the scientists succeed in giving us a different kind of weather in the South, there would still be many elements which would make our part of the country different from the rest of the United States.

It is often said that the South is unique in the homogeneity of its population. This observation is not quite as true as it might seem at first glance. The population groups in the South are perhaps as widely different from each other as is the case anywhere else in the country. What really applies to the Southern population, however, is that the groups have remained distinct from each other for several generations. That is to say, there has grown up a certain homegeneity within each of the distinctly separate classes of the population. The classes tend to be more insulated from each other in the South than is the case elsewhere in the country. This fact stands as one of the strongest bulwarks against change in the South.

Again, the South possesses an extremely powerful sense of regionalism. It has a highly developed sectional consciousness. Every experience of the South has tended to build up this feeling. From the earliest stages of its history, when the South was far more dependent upon cotton than it is at present, this part of the United States has had its own special economic interests. The War Between the States had a tremendous influence in the direction of building up a kind of sectional indignation in the South, a feeling which had a tendency to draw all classes together in a profound unity and sympathy.

During the years of the depression, and more especially during the Roosevelt administration, the South has been made to feel a unity of purpose and direction. The people in the Southern states have been made to realize how much they have in common with regard to both industrial and agricultural enterprises. All of these things make ~~for regional solidarity.~~

Birmingham Ala. Age-Herald 1934

America's Obligation To The Negro

By R. B. ELEAZER

Let it be said at the outset that white Americans owe to the Negro nothing which they do not owe equally to themselves—to their own self-respect and their sense of fairness and justice. The Negro's very presence among us, by our volition, not his own, and primarily for our convenience rather than for his welfare; his vast contribution to the economic development and wealth of the country, especially the South; the fact that his condition today, good or bad—even his character—are in great measure what the white man has made them; the inevitable influence of those conditions upon ourselves; the sense of responsibility which a people so fortunate as we cannot escape—all these considerations lay upon us a peculiar obligation to be not only just, but generous, in our treatment of the Negro in our midst.

In general, this obligation rests upon the basic Christian emphasis on human values. In the sight of Jesus and of every faithful disciple of his, every human being is sacred—one of God's children. Christianity admits no other basis of human relations. The Negro is a human being. If we are to be Christians, we must recognize his infinite worth as such and shape our attitude toward him accordingly. This principle honestly applied carries a number of implications:

1. It means respect for the Negro's personality—both for what he is and for what he may become. A little reflection will show that on both grounds there is ample ground for respect. Even in its primitive African savagery, the race manifests traits that command our admiration. The fidelity of Livingstone's native bearers, who, after his death, voluntarily carried his body fifteen hundred miles to the sea that it might be sent home, is worthy to be recorded among earth's golden deeds. Missionaries to Africa are high in their praise of the honesty and fidelity of the native Christians. The loyalty of the Negro to his white folks during the Civil War—a record which Henry W. Grady says was not marred by a single breach of trust—is unmatched in history. The character and achievement of Negroes like Booker T. Washington and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune in education. like Dunbar and Culler and a score of others in poetry, like Carver and Just in science, like Hayes and Burleigh and Coleridge Taylor in music, like Bannister and Tanner in painting, Williams and Robeson on the stage, Spaulding and the Malones in business, attest the possibilities of the race to attain and achieve.

2. We must cease thinking of Negroes primarily in terms of our own convenience, as a race divinely doomed to perpetual servitude to the white man's will. In the Christian philosophy every human being is an end in itself—never the mere means to some other's end. Slavery violated that principle, and slavery is gone. But there are still those who oppose the education of Negroes on the assumption that it will make them less submissive servants. There are some who still hold Negroes in practical peonage, others who take advantage of their ignorance and helplessness, and many who use them merely as chattels and conveniences. These conditions must pass, as slavery did.

3. This means also that we must cease putting stumblingblocks in the Negro's way and setting limits to his possibilities. No man has the right to say to any other, "You may progress just so far and no farther." Am I God, that I should assume such authority over any of his children? As Bishop F. F. Reese, of Savannah, Ga., has well said, "The Negro is entitled to make, under God, the best of himself; and no prejudice, contempt, or injustice on the part of the white man should hinder or handicap him."

4. But this obligation goes farther yet. It is positive as well as negative. As the dominant race, we must give the Negro fair opportunity for self-development. This applies particularly in the matter of education. We are doing much for Negro education, to be sure; in the light of all the circumstances our policy in this regard has been commendable. However, so long as our expenditures for all other human beings, an attitude of active public education average from two to twenty times as much for the white child as for the colored, we must be sympathy and good will. This surely is what Jesus meant by the universal love of neighbors which he enjoined. If I rightly interpret the mind of Negroes, they will accord us the assurance of such an attitude toward them just so far as we cease to be a progressive race, and no farther.

5. We owe it to the Negro and to ourselves to protect his property and his life. Neither is yet safe from the fury of the mob, South or North. Negro homes and churches are still destroyed by bomb and torch, families are driven from their homes by threats of violence, men and women are beaten and tortured. In 1933 twenty-eight Negroes were lynched, of whom less than half were accused of serious crimes. A number of these victims were undoubtedly innocent. So far not one of the lynchers has been convicted. In most cases no effort was made even to apprehend them. No wonder Negroes are beginning to question our civilization and even our Christianity. No wonder the same question is staring our missionaries in the face in every foreign land.

6. Every community owes to the Negro a fair provision of public utilities. Street paving, water mains, lights and sewers—the common heritage of our urban population—must not be denied this large group merely because it happens to be dark in color and without political power. The dominant group cannot maintain its self-respect while pursuing a policy so arbitrary and cruel.

7. America owes the Negro a progressive recognition of the rights of citizenship. Not all Negroes are competent to exercise those rights, to be sure. But is it justice that those who are should be denied them, while incompetent white men are accorded them freely? The ballot must be protected, of course, by suffrage limitations—perhaps stricter than any we have yet applied. But should not such limitations be applied equally to both races? Would good government be endangered by such a course? Would it not rather be conserved?

8. Finally, the white man owes to the Negro, as to all other human beings, an attitude of active sympathy and good will. This surely is what Jesus meant by the universal love of neighbors which he enjoined. If I rightly interpret the mind of Negroes, they will accord us the assurance of such an attitude toward them just so far as we cease to be a progressive race, and no farther.

Race Problem - 1934

United States.

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Within recent years a good deal has been published to the effect that the South is steadily losing its individual character in the general melting pot of American life. One of the articles in a current weekly magazine deals with the peculiarities of the old customs and ways of thought in Charleston, S. C. About the author of the article declared that he had not found much to remind him of the antebellum South in various other parts of the country below the Potomac.

Without attempting to predict what will come about within the next 100 years or so, a resident of this part of the country could assemble any quantity of evidence which would substantiate the belief that the South is likely to remain a very distinctive section for a few more years, at least. Although it is true that the climate has much influence upon the nature of the South, one should not make the error of assuming that the weather is the only important factor concerned. Even should the scientists succeed in giving us a different kind of weather in the South, there would still be many elements which would make our part of the country different from the rest of the United States.

It is often said that the South is unique in the homogeneity of its population. This observation is not quite as true as it might seem at first glance. The population groups in the South are perhaps as widely different from each other as is the case anywhere else in the country. What really applies to the Southern population, however, is that the groups have remained distinct from each other for several generations. That is to say, there has grown up a certain homogeneity within each of the distinctly separate classes of the population. The classes tend to be more insulated from each other in the South than is the case elsewhere in the country. This fact stands as one of the strongest bulwarks against change in the South.

Again, the South possesses an extremely powerful sense of regionalism. It has a highly developed sectional consciousness. Every experience of the South has tended to build up this feeling. From the earliest stages of its history, when the South was far more dependent upon cotton than it is at present, this part of the United States has had its own special economic interests. The War between the States had a tremendous influence upon the old South and ways of thought found unity and sympathy. During the years of the depression, and more especially during the Roosevelt administration, the South has been made to feel a unity of purpose and direction. The people in the Southern States have been made to realize how much they have in common with regard to both industrial and agricultural enterprises. All of these things make for regional solidarity.

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By R. B. ELEAZER

Let it be said at the outset that white Americans owe to the Negro nothing which they do not owe equally to themselves—to their own self-respect and their sense of fairness and justice. The Negro's very presence among us, by our volition, not his own, and primarily for our convenience rather than for his welfare; his vast contribution to the economic development and wealth of the country, especially the South; the fact that his condition today, good or bad—even his character—are in great measure what the white man has made them; the inevitable influence of responsibility which a people so fortunate as we cannot escape—all these considerations lay upon us a peculiar obligation to be not only just, but generous, in our treatment of the Negro in our midst. In general, this obligation rests upon the basic Christian emphasis on human values. In the sight of Jesus and of every faithful disciple of his, every human being is sacred—one of God's children. Christianity admits no other basis of human relations. The Negro is a human being. If we are to be Christians, we must recognize his infinite worth as such and shape our attitude toward him according to the measure of his worth. In the Christian philosophy every human being is an end in itself—never the mere means to some other's end. Slavery violated that principle, and slavery is gone. But there are still those who oppose the education of Negroes on the assumption that it will make them less submissive servants. There are some who still hold Negroes in practical peonage, others who take advantage of their ignorance and helplessness, and many who use them merely as chattels and conveniences. These conditions too must pass, as slavery did.

3. This means also that we must cease putting stumblingblocks in the Negro's way and setting limits to his possibilities. No man has the right to say to any other, "You may progress just so far and no farther." Am I God, that I should assume such authority over any of his children? As Bishop F. F. Reese, of Savannah, Ga., has well said, "The Negro is entitled to make, under God, the best of himself of which he is capable; and no prejudice, contempt, or injustice on the part of the white man should hinder or handicap him."

4. But this obligation goes farther yet. It is positive as well as negative. As the dominant race, we must give the Negro fair opportunity for self-development. This applies particularly in the matter of education. We are doing much for Negro education, to be sure; in the light of all the circumstances our policy in this regard has been commendable. However, so long as our expenditures for public education average from two to twenty times as much for the white child as for the colored, we can hardly flatter ourselves that our duty is done.

5. We owe it to the Negro and to ourselves to protect his property and his life. Neither is yet safe from the fury of the mob, South or North. Negro homes and churches are still destroyed by bomb and torch, families are driven from their homes by threats of violence, men and women are beaten and tortured. In 1933 twenty-eight Negroes were lynched, of whom less than half were accused of serious crimes. A number of these victims were undoubtedly innocent. So far not one of the lynchers has been convicted. In most cases no effort was made even to apprehend them. No wonder Negroes are beginning to question our civilization and even our Christianity. No wonder the same question is staring our missionaries in the face in every foreign land.

6. Every community owes to the Negro a fair provision of public utilities. Street paving, water mains, lights and sewers—the common heritage of our urban population—must not be denied this large group merely because it happens to be dark in color and without political power. The dominant group cannot maintain its self-respect while pursuing a policy so arbitrary and cruel.

7. America owes the Negro a progressive recognition of the rights of citizenship. Not all Negroes are competent to exercise those rights, to be sure. But is it justice that those who are should be denied them, while incompetent white men are accorded them freely? The ballot must be protected, of course, by suffrage limitations—perhaps stricter than any we have yet applied. But should not such limitations be applied equally to both races? Would good government be endangered by such a course? Would it not rather be conserved?

8. Finally, the white man owes to the Negro, as to all other human beings, an attitude of active sympathy and good will. This surely is what Jesus meant by the universal love of neighbors which he enjoined. If I rightly interpret the mind of Negroes, just the assurance of such an attitude toward them

1. It means respect for the Negro's personality—both for what he is and for what he may become. A little reflection will show that on both grounds there is ample ground for respect. Even in its primitive African savagery, the race manifests traits that command our admiration. The fidelity of Livingstone's native bearers, who, after his death, voluntarily carried his body fifteen hundred miles to the sea that it might be sent home, is worthy to be recorded among earth's golden deeds. Missionaries to Africa are high in their praise of the honesty and fidelity of the native Christians. The loyalty of the Negro to his white folks during the Civil War—a record which Henry W. Grady says was not marred by a single breach of trust—is unmatched in history. The character and achievement of Negroes like Booker T. Washington and Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune in education, like Dunbar and Culler and a score of others in poetry, like Carver and Just in science, like Hayes and Burleigh and Coleridge Taylor in music, like Bannister and Tanner in painting, Williams and Robeson on the stage, Spaulding and the Malones in business, attest the possibilities of the race to attain and achieve.

2. We must cease thinking of Negroes primarily in terms of our own convenience, as a race divinely doomed to perpetual servitude to the white man's will.

on the part of white people would do more than anything else to lift the shadow from their lives, take the sting of bitterness from their souls, and set them singing with the spontaneous joy that is their natural heritage. Not only so, but it would make easy and natural the solution of many of the problems that now perplex us. Surely such an attitude is not too much to ask.

NAACP Secretary Irks Miss. Editor; Says "Go to Hell"

Afro-American

Ofay Editor Asked What the NAACP Is Doing About Black Lynching

9-15-34

WILKINS ANSWERS ALL SHOULD BE "JUGGED"

He Then Asks Miss. Editor "Nasty" Question.

NEW YORK.—(ANP)—Several weeks ago, a colored man was set upon by a group of colored men near Bethany, Louisiana, and beaten so severely that he died.

The incident offered an opportunity to Colonel Frederick Sullens, white, down in Jackson, Miss., to pose a question for the NAACP, through his newspaper, the Daily News. Asked Colonel Sullens:

"What is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People going to do about that?"

Go to Hell

Roy Wilkins, NAACP secretary, in New York, shot back a sixteen-inch answer to the funny colonel, asking a few questions himself. Evidently, Mr. Wilkins's questions drove the colonel to his favorite drink, for, responding, he wrote:

"Answering your recent hemorrhage of words: You have my kind permission to go to hell!"

Replying to "Kingfish" Sullens's original question, Mr. Wilkins had written:

"This association does not expect to get anything done about the lynching in Bethany, La. Notwithstanding the mob members were black, we made our usual objection and protest. I confess it was something of a shock to me to find the South, in the Bethany case, abandoning its traditional policy of meting out the full punishment under the law to colored people for the same crimes which whites go scot free.

Sacred Right to Lynch

"The South was, you might say, presenting a solid phalanx in defense of the sacred right to lynch—a sort of philosophy: 'We don't usually allow our Negroes to do what we do and get the same rewards we get, but this is lynching, and lynching is different; we can't afford to punish **anyone** for lynching, for soon we would not have it to "pleasure" ourselves with.'"

Forty and two-tenths per cent of Jackson's population of 48,282 is colored. Mr. Wilkins wanted to know:

"Do these citizens get forty per cent of every tax dollar collected in the fair city of Jackson?

Schools

"Are the colored schools of Jackson still dilapidated as they were reported two years ago?

"Are there any playgrounds, parks, swimming or wading pools for the use of two-fifths of the city's population?

Unpaved Streets

"Are the streets in the 'colored section' of the city still unpaved and dusty as was reported in a CWA survey?

"Is it true that there are sections of the city of Jackson built and beautified with the money of the taxpayers in which two out of every five residents of the city are not permitted?

"Has any colored person ever voted in the Democratic primary in Jackson?

"Is it true that the mayor of Jackson told a delegation of colored citizens who sought CWA jobs for their race and the use of some Federal money to improve their section that they couldn't have what they wanted and if they didn't like it they could move out of town?

"Is it true that the Mississippi state highway department does not employ colored persons in any capacity whatsoever?"

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
STAR

SEP 8 1934

RACE QUESTION IN SOUTH.

To the Editor of The Indianapolis Star:

Please allow me to answer a statement made by Nate Bess in your "Views of Our Readers" column. I am from Georgia and have been interested in the political situation there for a number of years and when Nat Bess says the Negro is "informed just how to vote," he is making a statement that is wrong. In the first place, the Negro does not vote in local elections, as we only have a white primary, so we have no reason to tell him how to vote. In the national elections most all of them vote Republican tickets, and as there are so very few Republican votes in the South and especially Georgia, we would have no reason to dictate how the Negro should vote.

It is just such people as Nate Bess who are continually causing strife between the white and Negro race. The Negro is far better off down South where he is known and knows his place than he is up North where most of the Negroes I have come in contact with seem to think they are the social equal of the white race, which is not and never can be permitted.

The Negro is all right in his place, but he should stay there, and mingle with his own people. But I would rather have one good old Southern Negro than ten of the kind that blow off through the news columns of the papers just to have something to say. A SOUTHERNER.

Indianapolis.

GREENSBORO, N. C.
NEWS

AUG 25 1934

NEGRO QUESTION IS ONE FOR THE SOUTH

No Great Interest In Matter In the North, Says Dr. Channing H. Tobias.

(Special to Daily News)

Lake Junaluska, Aug. 24.—Dr. Channing H. Tobias, of Augusta, Ga., and New York, expressed the conviction that the question of race relations is primarily one for the south and the people of the south to settle, not only because the preponderance of negro population is in the south, but because of the south's social and political security.

Not only is there no great interest in the matter in the north as has been popularly supposed, but no northern sentiment would resent the south's handling of the race problem. Because of the south's strategic position and her peculiar responsibility in this matter, the south can afford to be generous, he declared.

Dr. Tobias praised the public press as among the helpful agencies which had contributed to better racial understanding and improvement of conditions among negroes in the past few years. "In this connection", he said, "I want to refer to an apparently small matter, but one that has been gratifying to the negro people, that is the policy of most of the leading newspapers in the south in capitalizing the word 'negro'. This has done much to dignify the race in the eyes of the public and thereby to that extent has helped to bring the personality of the negro nearer on a par with that of other people."

Declaring that the south had nothing to fear politically by launching a broad interracial program, Dr. Tobias said, "There are illustrations in the south to bear this out. In such border states as West Virginia, Kentucky, and near-border states as Tennessee and North Carolina where negroes have some opportunities for political participation there is not only no bad effect, but conditions in these states so far as living conditions, educational opportunities, and general satisfaction among colored people are superior to those in some states where they are disposed to make the negro a political issue.

"I am glad to admit that possibly due to the political solidarity of the south, under the present administration there have been few attempts by politicians to inject the negro problem into local and state issues."

Advertiser 8-7-34

Montgomery Ala.

NOTES ON SOUTHERN GIRLS

If Carl Carmer caused any Alabamian to disagree with him about anything else in Alabama, certainly Mr. Carmer's belief in the idea of the "Southern Belle" should make up for any of the lesser differences between the author of "Stars Fell on Alabama" and the people of this State.

The other day Mr. Carmer was invited by The New York World Telegram to contribute an article to the woman's page. He chose as his subject the girls of the Deep South, especially the girls of Alabama.

"From the time when she is able to understand words," says Mr. Carmer, "a Southern girl hears that she is a "sugar pie,' the 'cutest little ol' thing,' and 'just darlin', naturally enough she places a value on the qualities those words symbolize."

And, so Mr. Carmer observed when he was in Alabama, the making of the charming Southern belle does not stop there.

Says the Yankee writer who learned chivarly in a six-year course in Alabama:

No babies in the United States are more surrounded by affection and attention than those of the deep South. Parents and Negro mammies and black butlers and yard boys continually conspire to lavish devotion upon their little charges

The wonder is that Southern girls are not completely spoiled. But "sugar pie" is sweet, and the first lesson Mary Elizabeth or Fannie Louise or Annie-Mae learns is to be sweet.

Cuteness is probably next in importance. In the effort to develop it in their girl children Southern parents frequently go too far, and the results is one of those marvels of precocity—a 3-year-old dancer of jazz rhythms or singer of sophisticated songs, with whom the newsreels are too wont to make us familiar.

Just last Winter I met a young lady of some nine Summers whose mother had taught her all of a complete three-act play, which with little encouragement she recited, impersonating each character in turn. Unfortunately, it would seem that the percentage of such children is a little higher in the South.

As for the third quality, that of being "just darlin'," this is really a combination of the first two.

Sweetness, cuteness and being just darlin' are social attributes. Possession of them leads to personal popularity, the goal which most Southern mothers vision for their offspring. The ideal of the "great belle" has not yet died. And it makes for a poise and charm which the Northern girl cannot help but envy.

From the time she is 12 or 13 the Georgia or Alabama girl manages her dozens of beaux with the hand of a master. While her Yankee cousin is going through the tortures of an adolescent one-girl, one-man love affair, she is driving sixty miles through a Black Belt night to a dance where each of a hundred boys will "break" to tell her that she's mighty pretty tonight and he sure does love her.

"Courtin'" is a witty game that every girl or boy in the South can play. It is played conventionally, with pretty definite rules. When a lovely daughter of the South drawls out reproachfully, "You don't l-o-v-e me," the answer must be as fervent as the imagination and vocabulary of the hearer can achieve, regardless of his actual sentiment, his age or his matrimonial status.

Indeed, I remember one of the most attractive and charming of Alabama's maidens who would make the awful charge over the telephone and then wave the receiver about, allowing it to stop on the willing ears of many of her girl friends as the young man at the other end of the line made his response.

When you add to the fact that she is socially competent the fact that a Southern girl is usually pretty you must admit that she is a dangerous young person. Just what the comparative percentage of pulchritude are I do not know, but I defy any Northern town of like size to produce such a record as that of Selma, Ala., which has the reputation (North and South) of never having harbored as a resident one girl upon whom it was not a distinct pleasure to look.

The New Yorker may object that the Southerner does not dress well, may sniff at her ruffles and furbelows. But I once attended a tea in Manhattan for a Mississippi beauty prize winner given by an advertising company. The girls from the company were good looking, smartly and correctly dressed in tailored blacks and blues.

Then the guest of honor came in. She wore a ruffled flowered organdy. She wore a lace picture hat from whose far depths she looked up into the eyes of the hard-boiled advertising managers, editors, business men, who came, saw and were conquered. As one of the New York girls said to me afterward:—"She made all of us girls feel that we were wrong. She won in a walk."

"I do not know just how a Southern girl tells when a young man becomes a serious suitor," admits Mr. Carmer. "Perhaps she relies on her instinct, which she has been developing while her Eastern cousins have been developing their brains. Certain it is that Southern girls do marry.

They make wives of the type usually described as old fashioned. They prefer not to have jobs. They are not athletic, save for swimming, at which they are all adept. They make their husbands happy by admiring them, which is a pretty good way. They are accomplished and generous hostesses. And they raise their sons and daughters in the old tradition, making life come full circle."

Now The Advertiser is an Alabama institution. And by all rules of the game it should be able to put a mere Yankee in the shade when it comes to giving toasts to The Ladies, God bless 'em! But this Yankee's theft of the traditional honey-coated flattery of the Southern gentleman leaves this institution feeling like a rank novice at a Selma ball.

United States

CASH—NOT CRITICISM

TRULY, the life of any Negro who seeks to contribute something to the welfare of his group in this country is anything but a bed of roses. Someone has said that the Negro who seeks to be a leader of his race in this country is a fool. We are not inclined to be so harsh, but we do believe that there is a tendency on the part of too many Negroes to exhibit their "fitness" for leadership by attempting to slay any and every Negro who has made a contribution to race advancement in this country.

Courier

Dr. DuBois is reported as having delivered an address in Chicago which, if we are to believe his critics, rendered him a fit subject for the gallows. In fact, it seems that there are those who would string him up and wash their hands in his dripping blood, if by so doing they could prove themselves great thinkers and great leaders. But, if they were asked for cash to finance the hanging they would not have it.

3-31-34

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dr. DuBois is quoted as saying:

> "Segregation is not logical, never has been, and never will be."

This seems to us to indicate the personal opinion of Dr. DuBois on the question of segregation. After he had closed his set speech and the open forum took charge of the meeting, he is quoted as saying with respect to segregation:

> "What are you going to fight with, and while you are fighting, what are you going to live on?"

This statement seems to have branded our distinguished leader, our admitted scholar, our champion for higher education, a scoundrel and a bum. These two questions evidently did not register with his audience. We never think of the expense of any kind of warfare, when as a matter of fact there can be no kind of warfare without sufficient money to carry it to successful conclusions. The N. A. A. C. P. desires very much to fight our cause. Who will put up a dollar to finance the fight? Certainly not the critics.

Suppose we recite a little history of our own making on the question of segregation. Our churches, a segregated institution, dedicated to God, with generations yet unborn, mortgaged to keep them open, are institutions of our own making. Is there one among us brave enough to rise and make the motion to destroy all Negro churches? Our lodges—the Masons, the Pythians, the Elks, the Odd Fellows, all Negro institutions of segregation—who will rise to make the motion to dissolve them? Our insurance companies, created because white insurance companies would not give us equal protection under policy contracts, who will make the motion to dissolve them? Our newspapers, employing hundreds of Negroes, putting thousands of dollars into Negroes' mouths, dedicated to the destruction of all the evils mentioned by the learned Doctor in his address—these newspapers are institutions of segregation, organized by Negroes, owned by Negroes, and dedicated to the cause of Negroes—who will make the motion to destroy our newspapers? Our publishing houses, operated by our Negro churches, costing millions of dollars, employing thousands of people—who will make the motion to destroy our publishing houses?

This is a brief sketch of Negro institutions dedicated to the cause of freedom of thought, of mind and of body, with the hope that, if properly managed and operated long enough they will eventually bring us closer to the place where we can truthfully say we all live in "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

Dr. DuBois has not surrendered his personal opinion about segregation and the evils thereof. He has not told us to stop fighting, and he is quoted as saying:

> "Certainly I have no objections to your fighting as long and as fiercely as you want to; I merely say that since we are segregated and will have to live together for some years to come, we may as well make the most of the situation."

What does he mean by making the most of the situation? He means simply that we must make segregation pay, and at the same time use our many segregated institutions to fight the battle against oppression, discrimination, and unjust treatment. These segregated institutions of ours—our churches, lodges, newspapers, insurance companies, and what-not—are but the instruments we are now employing to destroy conditions with which we are dissatisfied. This is what he means by making the most of it, and if we gather his words correctly from the public press, he has not surrendered, and he has not asked anybody else to surrender.

Let us not build the gallows, nor place the hangman's noose too hastily, for the men who have given their lives to help bring us to the place where our Negro boys and girls have the courage to dare think for themselves. The very opportunities our young critics enjoy today were made possible by the sacrifices of men who have stood the fire throughout the last quarter century. It is one thing to theorize, but it is quite another to put up the cash and to go broke in the interests of a people who are prone to substitute criticism for cash. If we are tired of segregation, let us put up some cash and fight it. Let us not get mad when we are told a truth that hurts.

DEBS AND DuBOIS

It is of interest to study the lives of these two characters, Prof. W. E. B. DuBois and Eugene V. Debs. Prof. DuBois has for 30 years been a key man in the fight for race equality. He has now hung up his armor and capitulated to the enemies of his cause. It is hoped that the terms of his surrender are not involved in the retention of his comfortable position at Atlanta university. It is not charged that such is the case, but his very sudden decision to leave the field of battle for a quiet haven of rest under self-modulated restraint admits of much speculation.

Defender

3-31-34

Chicago, Ill.

It was no half-way surrender upon the part of Dr. DuBois; it was full and complete. To him "Dark Water" is now muddy water, and the "Souls of Black Folk" appears to no longer enjoy the sympathy of its creator; "The Quest of the Silver Fleece" has become a prodigal whom the professor no longer seeks to save. How came this breaking down of long continued emotions, so long the bulwark of his mental occupation? Has he become a convert to the other point of view or has he become convinced that it was "Love's Labor Lost"? It is regrettable that so formidable a character in the fight for human rights should find it convenient to retreat and desert the cause.

It will be recalled that Eugene V. Debs, who devoted his life to the unpopular cause of laboring men and was ruled out of the society of the men of his race, continued to fight. When he was imprisoned because he stood his ground unflinchingly for justice and fair play for the underprivileged his voice did not cease nor did his pen fail to write.

When President Harding offered him freedom if he would admit his speeches against the United States entering the World war were untimely he replied:

> "I will permit the flies to take me out of my cell piece by piece before I will recant or retract one statement I've made about the capitalistic junkers who are leading this nation down the road to ruin."

This was the conviction of an imprisoned man who, when entering that prison left this sermon to the world: "I go to prison with my head erect, my spirit untamed and my soul unconquered."

Debs was not born to surrender, but our Prof. DuBois has given up the ship.

CHICAGO N.A.A.C.P. LAWYER SAYS DuBOIS SHOULD BE DROPPED AS EDITOR OF CRISIS

Calls His Attitude Not Surprising

Attorney Irvin C. Mollison, president of the Illinois state conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, when interviewed by a Chicago Defender reporter, vigorously denounced the policy and program of segregation enunciated by Dr. William E. Burghardt DuBois in his lecture before the National Student club of Chicago several days ago.

Mr. Mollison stated emphatically that the official policy and program of the Illinois state conference and its branches were diametrically opposed to the defeatist philosophy of segregation expounded by the editor of the Crisis, and that the Illinois state conference unequivocably stands for full social, political and economic rights and is squarely against any system of segregation, proscription, color caste, oppression and injustices which may be practiced in Illinois or anywhere in the United States. Mr. Mollison went on to make the following observation in respect to the position taken by Dr. DuBois:

"DuBois surrendered his principles several years ago and compromised the Colored groups' fight for equality when he accepted a $3,500 fellowship from the Rosenwald foundation interests. After the acceptance of such a sizeable gratuity and hand-out from the organization and from interests which practice and promote segregation and discrimination, he could not thereafter fight segregation, discrimination and injustices meted out to the Colored race; and especially he could not fight projects advanced by these same interests, which carry with them not only the principles but the practice of segregation and tacit acceptance of racial inferiority.

"And again, the acceptance of a professorship at a university which is dependent upon foundations and rich donors is not consistent with a fearless challenge and unequivocable demand for complete equality and civil rights for the Colored race.

Not Surprising

"The position of DuBois, however, is not surprising to one who has closely analyzed his intellectual position in the past, although the deterioration of his moral fabric is more rapid than anticipated by his critics, of which I have always been one of the most severe. Several weeks ago in a controversy with certain elements of the managing control of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he stated that he was not for compulsory segregation, but inferred that he was for voluntary segregation by the Race itself, which is another way of saying that he is for compulsory segregation, without embarrassing the conscience of those who employ the pressure to segregate.

"DuBois never did, even in his early years, enunciate a theory of racial equality for the masses of Negroes. He advanced a philosophy of the talented tenth, which contrasted with the biracialism and accepted theory of inferiority advocated by Booker T. Washington in the famous controversies seemed to be an acceptable radical theory of racial advancement and thought. However, 25 years ago the masses of Negroes did not themselves believe in their own essential equality, and very few, if any Negroes at that time saw implied and inherent in DuBois' philosophy of the talented tenth and imputation and admission of the inferiority (by DuBois) of the other nine-tenths of the Negro population.

"In all of his books, "Dark Water," "Souls of Black Folk" and the "Quest of the Silver Fleece," DuBois presents an articulate wail and lamentation at the horrors and cruel injustices of a color caste system which excludes exceptionally talented Negroes (one out of 10) from opportunities and personal association in the general white social and economic world, and particularly he decries the exclusion of the so-called cultured Negro from the social, economic, literary, financial and political advantages of the general white world and the separation of the so-called cultured Negro from personal association with so-called cultured whites.

"DuBois was never concerned with the masses of the Negroes and their welfare. He was only concerned with the success with which this talented tenth Negro could lift himself into the high regions of the white social, economic and political system, and especially into literary and artistic circles.

Never Stood Firm

"When DuBois was instrumental in 1909 in the promotion of the Niagara movement and the subsequent formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he did not insist upon the formation of an organization and the enunciation of that organization's fundamental principles and philosophy, which would demand unequivocable full and complete social, economic and political equality, but accepted the compromising principles of an organization which stands only for advancement. DuBois did not stand and did not then demand the pronouncement of a principle of absolute social, economic and political equality. He only demanded that the Negroes' status and condition be advanced from its then position of condition of inferiority, and that advancement could always fall far short of full equality, and is always consistent with various programs of segregation and proscription and denial of social justice, which are carefully and subtly pushed forward by such organizations as the Rosenwald foundation and interests.

"Colored people have greatly mistaken in recent years the worth of DuBois as a leader, and they have themselves to blame if they have not realized that Dr. DuBois always stood for a compromise and never for full equality for the masses of Negroes. He believed only in full equality for the talented Negroes whom he estimated to number, one out of every 10.

"The present philosophy of DuBois is a 'subsistence philosophy' the subsistence being purely personal. The best that he could have done in the later years of his moral deterioration and surrender of complete principles was to remain silent. The fact that he has accepted lecture fees for the dissemination of his philosophy of segregation and lack of hope for the Negro youth, does not at all add anything to his stature. Certainly, the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be derelict in their duty and in the principles if they do not immediately remove him as editor of the Crisis."

Ruminations

—By J. A. ROGERS—

Average Great Man Would Be Sir Oracle.

ONE DELUSION of the average great man is that because he had made a success in his particular field he is competent to be a Sir Oracle on every other.

Mussolini, Italian dictator, is a conspicuous example in point. He is an authority on everything, inside and outside of Italy. He seems to have everything but a sense of humor. Twice now Mussolini has expressed himself on the Negro in America and twice he has talked the veriest rot.

In his latest gush of wisdom he sees the 12,000,000 colored Americans breeding to a point where they will oust the remaining 108,000,000 white Americans. "We shall encounter an Africanized America in which the white race by the inexorable law of numbers will end by being suffocated by the fertile grandsons of Uncle Tom."

To which we say, no such luck. Mussolini must have obtained his information from Cole Blease, Heflin or Shufeldt. The white foreign-born population of America is not only almost as prolific as the Negro, but its infant death-rate is less. City life also lowers the Negro birth-rate and the general Negro death-rate is at least one-third higher than that of the white.

Look at the Figures.

But let us look at figures. Suppose there were 4,000,000 Negro women capable of bearing children, and they had one child annually and none ever died—an impossible situation—it would take at least a quarter of a century to equal the number of whites. On the other if 30,000,000 white mothers had but two children apiece against the 25 apiece of the Negro mothers the former would still be miles ahead. As things are if the white mothers had but one child in ten years they would still be ahead of the Negro.

The 108,000,000 American whites could absorb the 12,000,000 blacks and mixed bloods in four generations and leave no more visible race of African ancestry than say what is to be found in the whites of New Orleans and South Carolina. Better yet, say in Mussoluini's population, particularly in Southern Italy, where the mixing with the Negro has gone on from the earliest times.

* * *

Earliest Italians Negroid.

The earliest inhabitants of Italy were the Grimaldi, a Negro race whose remains were found at Grimaldi on the Franco-Italian border. The Romans brought large numbers of Negroes there; so did Hannibal, and when Negro slavery was introduced into Southern Europe in 1442, Negroes were brought into Italy. The son of one of these Negro slaves and Pope Clement VII —Allessandro de Medici—became head of the most illustrious royal line that Italy has ever had. In Sicily, especially, the absorption has been considerable.

Further, the first nation that began world-wide development on a large scale were the Portuguese who from the earliest years were a Negroid people. After them came the Spainiards, who were strongly mixed with the Moors. The so-called pure whites came last.

This writer has been to Italy five times, and has been over much of it in automobile. Generally speaking the average Italian is worse off than the average Aframerican, economically.

Method in Madness.

Were there any merit in whiteness of skin this ought not to be so. Again the illiteracy among Mussolini's people is higher than among Negroes, and about six times higher than that of the Northern Negro. Of course, I am assuming that the Italians, particularly those of the South are a white race. But in that case we'll have to find some other name for the Scandinavians.

There is some method in Mussolini's madness. American immigration laws discriminate against Italians because they are held to be an inferior race—the quota is all in favor of the Northern Europeans. Therefore Mussolini seems to think that by showing color prejudice which the Italians emphatically have not, he will win closer kinship with Nordic America. In rising countries like Germany and Italy it is considered smart to show off with American racial superciliousness, hence the pronouncements of Hitler and Mussolini.

Mussolini also asks, "Are we to see within a century a Negro in the White House?" Answer, "If succeeding generations of Negroes are as apathetic as this one, there will be none not even in two centuries."

United States.

DuBOIS AND THE CRISIS.

The probability of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois re-
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Both the Crisis Magazine and the National
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People would sustain a severe loss were Dr.
DuBois to resign as editor. No other single
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associated at 69 Fifth Avenue, they should
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The New York Age and its editor have
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handed him. In fact, for many years The
New York Age vigorously and consistently
opposed Dr. DuBois' leadership at every op-
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for the betterment of the masses of the race
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The hopes and aspirations of Washington
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his heart.

In a recent lecture at Kansas City, Mo.,
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peoples are exploited and discriminated
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No matter how much one has disagreed
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Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, as editor of the
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into being, nurtured and developed into a mili-
tant institution for race advancement.

ROME, (CNA) MARCH 31

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Benito Mussolini, Italian fascist dictator, makes a bid for a united front of
the budding fascism of the "New Deal" with Italian fascism against the rising
liberation struggles of the Negro peoples in the United States and Africa.

3-31-34

Crucifying Negroes

Mussolini insults the Negro masses to whom he refers as "the fertile
grandsons of Uncle Tom," and appeals to the southern lynch rulers with the
bogey of Negro domination of the United States, asking "are we to see within
a century a Negro in the White House?" He discovers an "alarming" decrease in
the white birthrate of the United States, which he denies is due to the ravages
of the depression on the whole toiling population, for that would be to admit
the commonplace knowledge that the Negro masses are the worst sufferers under
the crisis of decaying capitalism. New York, N.Y.

2162 — Feb. Am.

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Negro masses too mild and tells his fellow reactionaries in the United States
that they are sacrificing their power of tomorrow "to the comfortable life and
illusory well-being of to-day." He gives the cue to Italian fascists in the
U.S. to actively support the violent suppression of the Negro masses by the
brutal American white ruling class which, finding itself up a blind alley,
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United States.

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New York Age

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SEEKS ALLIES FOR WAR PLANS

It will be remembered that in a recent war-like speech, Mussolini threatened his imperialist rivals with Italian expansion at the expense of their African colonial loot. Fascist Italy, like the rest of the imperialist powers, is frantically seeking new alignments for its war plans, both in Europe and across the Atlantic. In addition, fascist Italy is waging a savage war of extermination against the militant tribes in Tripoli, North Africa, who have refused to submit tamely to the robbery of their lands. This predatory war is rivalled in savage brutality only by the punitive expeditions of democratic France against the heroic Riff tribesmen in Morocco and the imperialist-directed crusade of the Nanking government of Kuomintang China against the Chinese Soviet Republic.

Behind Mussolini's talk of Negro domination in the U.S. stalks the growing fear of all the imperialist bandits before the revolutionary upsurge of the Negro and colonial masses. The thought that these oppressed and looted nations may throw off the yoke of imperialist oppression is so horrifying to Mussolini that he now discards his pet chauvinistic slogan of "the yellow peril" in favor of "the African peril". "The yellow peril", he writes, "is nothing in comparison to his new coinage of "the African peril".

can we?

Oberlin, Ohio, March 7

ROBERT FRITZMEIER
HOMER HARTZELL
CHARLES OLDS

Correspondence

Progress at Oberlin

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

During this school year Oberlin College celebrated one hundred years of liberal tradition. Oberlin's history began with Abolitionist agitation, the establishment of a terminus of the underground railroad and an escapade known as the Wellington rescue (a group of students traveled nine miles to a neighboring town and forcefully took a fugitive slave from a sheriff). Oberlin College was the first educational institution in America to open its doors to women and Negroes. It now has on the campus a Peace Society and a Cosmopolitan Club. Its administrators and faculty are constantly stressing the need for maintaining a plastic and objective attitude.

As Oberlin enters its second century, one of the first examples of this "plasticity and objectivity" is the official suppression of *Progress*, a student publication. *Progress* was published during the first semester of this year by the Oberlin Radical Club. The aim of the paper was to provide a medium for the expression of controversial opinion. This organ alone made it possible to present the "other side" of all pertinent issues. It was often critical of administrative action and of some of the more antiquated rules of the college, and of the capitalistic social scheme in general; but conservative opinion was invited and published. The organization has been dubbed "red" and "Bolshevik," but so far the "reddest" of its activities have been the circulation of handbills advocating the abolition of compulsory attendance at chapel and attempts to organize a cooperative bookstore and to hold meetings for the discussion of discrimination against Negroes. When recognition of the publication for the second semester was asked, the authorities denied the request.

We have heard many diatribes in Oberlin against European fascism and its policy of suppression of a free press. We have also been given constant assurance that in America none of these crimes against liberty would or could be committed. We should like to believe this. But in the face of the facts, how

Heflin And Blease Again

FORMER Senator HEFLIN of Alabama is running for Congress and former Senator BLEASE of South Carolina is a candidate for Governor of his state. The American people should pray that they be kept in retirement, but reaction of their respective states to present political trends favors their come-back. There is no question more susceptible to distortion by the demagogue than the question of "states rights." The whole Federal program for economic recovery, the whole plan for restoring security and happiness to the people runs counter to the political demagogue's conception of states rights—which means to them the right of a ruling oligarchy of a state to exploit the people for their own benefit, and to set up and maintain caste systems designed to enable them to perpetuate their ruling oligarchies. The time is ripe in Alabama and in South Carolina for the return of the HEFLINS and the BLEASES.

WASHINGTON, D. C
NEWS

MAR 27 1934

Sees Negro Blinded by 'Pussyfooting' Progress of Equality

Editor, The News:

WHITE Americans are very pusillanimous in dealing with the colored Americans. The leaders will tell the colored man that it takes a long time to wipe out segregation, prejudice and other racial evils. They say that it is a slow, voluntary and gradual process to destroy these evils. By such pussyfooting they blind the Negro, fool him and do not better the existing conditions. The South has its own peculiar method of keeping down and suppressing the Negro. Many of these methods are tyrannical.

In history we read that Caesar was slain when it was thought he would tyrannize Rome. Palaces have been besieged and the blood of tyrants have flowed over the lands. Suppressed tribes, nations and peoples have always bewailed under the iron ban of tyrants. The historian touches a pathetic recess of our hearts when he narrates such incidents and we wish that we had been living at those times in order to champion the people and their rights. Vain thoughts. Hence, 200 years, more or less, students will be reading about us and about the ways in which the Negro was treated. He, too, will wish pathetically in vain that he could have been living at this time in order to champion the Negro and his rights. There is no doubt about it.

Why can't the champions come forth from the ranks of today? Let the champion be he who has no price and who can be silenced only by the sting of death and whose works will produce fruit a hundred fold.

BERNARD C. JOHNSON, JR.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.
TRIBUNE

MAR 28 1934

Dark Prospect

THE Duce's pet newspaper worries about the decline of the United States birth rate, and asks, "Are we to see within a century a Negro in the White House?"

"Blind and foolish are these ignorant destroyers (the American people) who believe they can efficaciously combat the depression by sterility. When we reflect that there are in the United States 11,500,000 Negroes, people of extraordinary fecundity, it is necessary to conclude with a real cry of alarm. The 'yellow peril' is nothing. We will encounter an Africanized America, in which the white race, by the inexorable law of numbers, will end by being suffocated by the fertile grandsons of Uncle Tom."

The silly season for fretting about the imaginary woes of distant peoples lasts the year round. The native population of the United States, embracing both the white and the Negro elements, was once in real danger of "suffocation." Before immigration was put upon a quota basis, aliens from all parts of Europe and Asia were entering this country far more rapidly than they could be assimilated. We don't know yet the full price to be paid for that long orgy of immigration. We do know that it profoundly modified the national character, and we cannot doubt that it is now playing a part in the modification of our institutions. But we don't remember that the Duce or any other ruler abroad took pains to warn us against "suffocation." On the contrary, some of them got decidedly uppish when we began to cry for air and put up immigration fences.

Race Problem - 1934

United States.
NEWS
Louisville, Ga.

JUN 28 1934

A Code of Justice For The Negro

IF the News and Farmer has a hobby or an ideal—call it what you will—it is the desire that the white race and the colored race here in Jefferson county live together in peace understanding and love. The two races are so tied together in the bundle of life and the well being, both economically and spiritually, of the two races is so inter-dependent on the other that we hold that the white race cannot rise to the heights for which is is designed without lifting along with itself its colored neighbors, nor can the colored race exist in squalor and ignorance without having a detrimental effect on its white neighbors. Any workable design for life in the South must have a pattern whereby the two races can live and work side by side each taking thought of the well being of the other. Always looking toward a better understanding between the negro and white race the News and Farmer was very happy to see recently published in a Catholic paper a "Code of Justice For The Negro". This code is being circulated in Catholic colleges of higher learning. Some of its points are as follows:

"To Maintain that the Negro as a human being and as a citizen is entitled to the rights of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness and to the essential opportunities of life and the full measure of social justice.

'To be courteous and kind to every colored person, remembering the heavy yoke of injustice and discrimination he is bearing.

'T'o say a helpful word for him on every proper occasion.

"Not to speak slightingly or use nick names which tend to humilate, offend or discourage him.

"To recognize that the Negro shares our membership in the Mystical Body of Christ and the privileges that flow therefrom and to conduct ourselves in accordance therewith.

"To give liberally on the Sundays of the year when the collections are devoted to the heroic missionaries laboring among the Negro group.

"To become increasingly interested in the welfare of the Negro; to engage actively in some form of action looking to the betterment of his condition spiritually and materially."

A CODE OF JUSTICE FOR THE NEGRO

From the Louisville News and Farmer.

If the News and Farmer has a hobby or an ideal—call it what you will—it is the desire that the white race and the colored race here in Jefferson county live together in peace and understanding. The two races are so tied together in the bundle of life and the well being, both economically and spiritually, of the two races is so inter-dependent on the other that we hold that the white race cannot rise to the heights for which it is designed without lifting along with itself its colored neighbors, nor can the colored race exist in squalor and ignorance without having a detrimental effect on its white neighbors. Any workable design for life in the South must have a pattern whereby the two races can live and work side by side each taking thought of the well being of the other. Always looking toward a better understanding between the Negro and white race the News and Farmer was very happy to see recently published in a Catholic paper a "Code of Justice For The Negro."

Bonifay, Fla., Advertiser
February 2, 1934

America's Race Problem

Among our many social and political problems there is none more important than that of bringing about a perfect harmony among our racial elements, based on respect and confidence. The largest single racial problem is that of the black and white. Every tenth man in America is a negro.

In a particular sense this is a Southern problem, and fortunately there it is in a fair way to a satisfactory solution. Nothing should be left undone to insure the confidence of the black man in his white brother, nor to incerase the appreciation and respect of the white man for the character and capacity of his colored neighbor.

To this end nothing can ever be more effective in the mind of every true son of the south than the immortal words of Henry W. Grady:

"History has no parallel to the faith kept by the negro in the south during the war. Often five hundred negroes to a single white man, and yet through these dusky throngs the women and children walked in safety, and the unprotected homes rested in peace. Unmarshalled, the black battalions moved patiently to the fields in the morning to feed the armies their idleness would have starved, and at night gathered anxiously at the big house to "hear the news from marster," though conscious that his victory made their chains enduring. . . . . When the master going to a war in which slavery was involved said to his slave, 'I leave my home and loved ones in your charge,' the tendencies between man and master stood disclosed. And when the slave held that charge sacred through storm and temptation, he gave new meaning to faith and loyalty. I rejoice that when freedom came to him after years of waiting, it was all the sweeter because the black hands from which the shackles fell were stainless of a single crime against the helpless ones confided to his care."

Augusta, Ga., Bulletin
July 21, 1934

"Code for Negro" Is Lauded Editorially

Louisville, Ga., News and Farmer Commends It

The News and Farmer, Louisville, Ga., official organ of Jefferson County, in a recent editorial records that it is very happy to see published in a Catholic newspaper, The Bulletin. "a 'Code of Justice for the Negro' being circulated in Catholic colleges of higher learning."

The News and Farmer, published in the county against which Erskine Caldwell directed charges a few months ago on the score of its alleged treatment of the Negro, reprints the "Code of Justice" from The Bulletin, and says:

"If the News and Farmer has a hobby or an ideal—call it what you will—it is the desire that the white race and the colored race here in Jefferson County live together in peace, understanding and love. The two races are so tied together in the bundle of life, and the well-being, both economically and spiritually, of the two races is so inter-dependent that we hold that the white race cannot rise to the heights for which it is designed without lifting along with itself its colored neighbors, nor can the colored race exist in squalor and ignorance without having a detrimental effect on its white neighbors. Any workable design for life in the South must have a pattern whereby the two races can live and work, side by side, each taking thought of the well being of the other."

"Some Bad 'Uns' In Dixie," Declares Alabama Citizen

Editor, The Pittsburgh Courier,
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Dear Sir:

To verify the statement of Bishop Shaw stating that there are some good white people in the South, take the case that happened in Grove Hill, Alabama. The Clarke County Negro Farmers Conference met there and since there was no colored auditorium that would afford ample room, permission was given to use the Sage Auditorium (white) which is located on the school campus. Dr. George W. Carver, scientist of Tuskegee Institute, delivered the main address to a mixed audience of white and colored demonstrating a number of products produced from the peanue. The science class of the white school was present. Two weeks later, a communication from one J. G. Horton appeared in a county paper to this effect:

"Speaking of social equality, somebody in this county is trying to put the white people on an equal level with the Negroes, according to what was pulled off on February 8th at the Sage Auditorium. It was bad enough to invite the Negroes to use the auditorium, but when it came to carrying our young men and women in there where those Negroes were, it was too much, and then asking them to report on the speech made by George W. Carver. The Negroes not only used the auditorium but other conveniences of the school. How many parents would permit this at their homes? Not many, if any, is my opinion. and one of our best young lawyers, the mayor, was called upon to present the speaker after which he was given a seat between two 'burly blacks' on the rostrum. I was not there but my informant said it looked to him like a banquet of flowers in a smutty pot. These things must be stopped. It makes me shudder to think what such things will lead to in a few years. I am told that in one of our leading towns of the country, there is a white minister who invites Negroes to his church and preaches to them, advocating social equality in his message. Such things as have recently happened must be curbed. I hope the guilty parties who are responsible for such will begin to think what it will lead to and stop permitting it. I am sure that 75 or 80 per cent of the citizens of the County will endorse what I have said."

The writer joins hands with Bishop Shaw in saying there are a number of good whites in the South but they are in the minority. There are thousands of those with the same mind and idea as this Mr. Horton, but as a race, let us not look at that. Let us do something tangible. The Negro race is pregnant with malice, hatred and avarice. This is a very good time for Negroes to prove that they can all pull at the same end of the rope at the same time, that is, by doing all one can morally and financially toward the support of the N. A. A. C. P. Count me one of the million. Let us as a race eliminate all the evil works of Satan and emulate the spiritual life of Jesus Christ.

—A CONTRIBUTOR.

THE SENSITIVE SOUTH

"Is the South suffering from an inferiority complex?"

Prof. Clarence E. Cason, dean of the Department of Journalism at the University of Alabama, asked that question of the Birmingham Rotary Club.

We should like to know just how every Birmingham Rotarian who heard that question answered it in his own mind. For we believe that many would be prone to lean slightly toward the affirmative.

Of this much we Southerners can be certain. We are too touchy about outside criticism. We are forever on guard against adverse criticism of our customs, our institutions, our traditions—in fact anything and everything Southern except the heat.

It is one thing to resent abusive falsities. It is quite another thing to fly up into arms the moment a Yankee casts a critical eye below the Mason-Dixon Line.

Why do we so resent attention from those who think our systems are all wrong? Why can not we laugh at the fun poked at us—Because you know we are as likely to fume and fuss and shout "outside critic" at the man who is amused by some provincial custom as we are when our economic set-up is attacked.

Certainly we must admit that the South is flavored with provincialisms. We are proud of them. Then why must we draw a line and dare one to spit over our shoulder every time some amused stranger laughs at something which is merely quaint to him?

The South must defend the economical, political and judicial systems of its own choosing against those who would tear them down to substitute systems which Southerners do not want. That is a priviledge and a right.

But we Southerners do not stop our "defense" there. We insist on protecting anything and everything Southern which migh draw gibes or ridicule from the North.

It is our reaction to these gentle pin pricks which causes some persons to wonder if the South really suffers an inferiority complex.

Sensitiveness of this sort, however, is not peculiar to the South. One can find it among all peoples, in all sections of the world.

When a Yankee critic says that the South is sensitive, to adverse criticism, large and small, we must agree with him. But we also can find senstitive spots in the critic and among his people.

That word "inferiority complex," we are afraid, covers a multitude of sins and virtues.

LIBERALISM IN ALABAMA.

John Temple Graves II, recently writing in the Sunday edition of The New York Times, observed that Alabama is growing tired of the North's criticism of its treatment (rather mistreatment) of the Negro. One of his statements was:

The question here is a State-mindedness in which liberals are beginning to join the illiberals in weariness of a blanket criticism that puts two and two together to make five against Alabama and that visits upon the 2,700,000 people of this State the sins of a considerably fewer than 2,700,000. That liberal-minded, enlightened human beings do actually live, breathe and have their being in this darkly and ever-more darkly-pictured State is suggested in the fact that almost as many Alabamians voted for Judge Horton as voted against him and that the press was unanimous in his praise.

Any Northerner who has been in the South and studied the social, economic and political conditions of that section is fully aware that all white Southerners are not lynchers or Negrophobiaists. The declaration that some of the Negro's best friends are in the South is true. The Negro has no better or sympathetic friend than a Southern white man when he is "right on the race question." But unfortunately, this type of Nordic is not in the saddle in the South—certainly not in Alabama.

Mr. Graves unconsciously points out that intolerance and bigotry are dominant in Alabama when he refers to the regrettable defeat of Judge Horton, although the eminent jurist was supported by all the daily newspapers of the State But Judge Horton had aroused the hostility of the majority by ruling in accordance with the law and evidence when he presided at the Scottsboro trial. Therefore, he was defeated at the polls. Tom Knight, who, as Attorney General, made demagogic appeals to the lynchers and bigots during the legal proceedings was elevated to the Lieutenant Governorship.

In all candor, Mr. Graves admits that race and sectional prejudice in the communities in which the Scottsboro trials were conducted have made fairness to the Negro boys almost impossible and may bring about their legal death, although he courageously says they do not deserve to die. Outsiders contribute to this exhibition of race and sectional prejudice, this Southern writer charges. But we ask him, if outsiders had not interestd themselves would not all the defendants be in their graves today? Only one Southern white lawyer of standing has been brave enough to represent the defendants in court. And he lives in Tennessee.

The recent decision of the highest court in Alabama is proof positive that it is a difficult matter for a Negro to get justice whenever white people are on the other side of a case either as plaintiffs or defendants. In drama, the press and in book form this fact is being made known to the world with telling effect for the first time.

Down at Tuskegee Institute members of the faculty speak highly of John Temple Graves II. They say he represents the New South. In all likelihood he is a liberal and personally is expressing his views when he says: "Liberals suspect that unless they are ready and willing to find something wrong with everything about Alabama, their right to be called liberal or enlightened will be open to serious question hereafter in New York. And they are honestly unable to find their State either wholly or hopelessly wrong."

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Pittsburgh, Pa.
Dear Sir:

To verify the statement of Bishop Shaw stating that there are some good white people in the South, take the case that happened in Grove Hill, Alabama. The Clarke County Negro Farmers Conference met there and since there was no colored auditorium that would afford ample room, permission was given to use the Sage Auditorium (white) which is located on the school campus. Dr. George W. Carver, scientist of Tuskegee Institute, delivered the main address to a mixed audience of white and colored demonstrating a number of products produced from the peanue. The science class of the white school was present. Two weeks later, a communication from one J. G. Horton appeared in a county paper to this effect:

"Speaking of social equality, somebody in this county is trying to put the white people on an equal level with the Negroes, according to what was pulled off on February 8th at the Sage Auditorium. It was bad enough to invite the Negroes to use the auditorium, but when it came to carrying our young men and women in there where those Negroes were, it was too much, and then asking them to report on the speech made by George W. Carver. The Negroes not only used the auditorium but other conveniences of the school. How many parents would permit this at their homes? Not many, if any, is my opinion, and one of our best young lawyers, the mayor, was called upon to present the speaker, after which he was given a seat between two 'burly blacks' on the rostrum. I was not there but my informant said it looked to him like a banquet of flowers in a smutty pot. These things must be stopped. It makes me shudder to think what such things will lead to in a few years. I am told that in one of our leading towns of the country, there is a white minister who invites Negroes to his church and preaches to them, advocating social equality in his message. Such things as have recently happened must be curbed. I hope the guilty parties who are responsible for such will begin to think what it will lead to and stop permitting it. I am sure that 75 or 80 per cent of the citizens of the County will endorse what I have said."

The writer joins hands with Bishop Shaw in saying there are a number of good whites in the South but they are in the minority. There are thousands of those with the same mind and idea as this Mr. Horton, but as a race, let us not look at that. Let us do something tangible. The Negro race is pregnant with malice, hatred and avarice. This is a very good time for Negroes to prove that they can all pull at the same end of the rope at the same time, that is, by doing all one can morally and financially toward the support of the N. A. A. C. P. Count me one of the million. Let us as a race eliminate all the evil works of Satan and emulate the spiritual life of Jesus Christ.

—A CONTRIBUTOR.

THE SENSITIVE SOUTH

"Is the South suffering from an inferiority complex?"

Prof. Clarence E. Cason, dean of the Department of Journalism at the University of Alabama, asked that question of the Birmingham Rotary Club.

We should like to know just how every Birmingham Rotarian who heard that question answered it in his own mind. For we believe that many would be prone to lean slightly toward the affirmative.

Of this much we Southerners can be certain. We are too touchy about outside criticism. We are forever on guard against adverse criticism of our customs, our institutions, our traditions—in fact anything and everything Southern except the heat.

It is one thing to resent abusive falsities. It is quite another thing to fly up into arms the moment a Yankee casts a critical eye below the Mason-Dixon Line.

Why do we so resent attention from those who think our systems are all wrong? Why can not we laugh at the fun poked at us—Because you know we are as likely to fume and fuss and shout "outside critic" at the man who is amused by some provincial custom as we are when our economic set-up is attacked.

Certainly we must admit that the South is flavored with provincialisms. We are proud of them. Then why must we draw a line and dare one to spit over our shoulder every time some amused stranger laughs at something which is merely quaint to him?

The South must defend the economical, political and judicial systems of its own choosing against those who would tear them down to substitute systems which Southerners do not want. That is a priviledge and a right.

But we Southerners do not stop our "defense" there. We insist on protecting anything and everything Southern which migh draw gibes or ridicule from the North.

It is our reaction to these gentle pin pricks which causes some persons to wonder if the South really suffers an inferiority complex.

Sensitiveness of this sort, however, is not peculiar to the South. One can find it among all peoples, in all sections of the world.

When a Yankee critic says that the South is sensitive, to adverse criticism, large and small, we must agree with him. But we also can find senstitive spots in the critic and among his people.

That word "inferiority complex," we are afraid, covers a multitude of sins and virtues.

LIBERALISM IN ALABAMA.

John Temple Graves II, recently writing in the Sunday edition of The New York Times, observed that Alabama is growing tired of the North's criticism of its treatment (rather mis-treatment) of the Negro. One of his statements was:

The question here is a State-mindedness in which liberals are beginning to join the illiberals in weariness of a blanket criticism that puts two and two together to make five against Alabama and that visits upon the 2,700,000 people of this State the sins of a considerably fewer than 2,700,000. That liberal-minded, enlightened human beings do actually live, breathe and have their being in this darkly and ever-more darkly-pictured State is suggested in the fact that almost as many Alabamians voted for Judge Horton as voted against him and that the press was unanimous in his praise.

Any Northerner who has been in the South and studied the social, economic and political conditions of that section is fully aware that all white Southerners are not lynchers or Negrophobiaists. The declaration that some of the Negro's best friends are in the South is true. The Negro has no better or sympathetic friend than a Southern white man when he is "right on the race question." But unfortunately, this type of Nordic is not in the saddle in the South—certainly not in Alabama.

Mr. Graves unconsciously points out that intolerance and bigotry are dominant in Alabama when he refers to the regrettable defeat of Judge Horton, although the eminent jurist was supported by all the daily newspapers of the State But Judge Horton had aroused the hostility of the majority by ruling in accordance with the law and evidence when he presided at the Scottsboro trial. Therefore, he was defeated at the polls. Tom Knight, who, as Attorney General, made demagogic appeals to the lynchers and bigots during the legal proceedings was elevated to the Lieutenant Governorship.

In all candor, Mr. Graves admits that race and sectional prejudice in the communities in which the Scottsboro trials were conducted have made fairness to the Negro boys almost impossible and may bring about their legal death, although he courageously says they do not deserve to die. Outsiders contribute to this exhibition of race and sectional prejudice, this Southern writer charges. But we ask him, if outsiders had not interestd themselves would not all the defendants be in their graves today? Only one Southern white lawyer of standing has been brave enough to represent the defendants in court. And he lives in Tennessee.

The recent decision of the highest court in Alabama is proof positive that it is a difficult matter for a Negro to get justice whenever white people are on the other side of a case either as plaintiffs or defendants. In drama, the press and in book form this fact is being made known to the world with telling effect for the first time.

Down at Tuskegee Institute members of the faculty speak highly of John Temple Graves II. They say he represents the New South. In all likelihood he is a liberal and personally is expressing his views when he says: "Liberals suspect that unless they are willing to find something wrong with everything about Alabama, their right to be called liberal or enlightened will be open to serious question hereafter in New York. And they are honestly unable to find their State either wholly or hopelessly wrong."

Courier 1-13-34

Montgomery Ala. Age

New York N.Y. 7-28-34

United States

BITTER CRITICISM OF AMERICAN RACE PREJUDICE BY ROSENWALD FUND HEAD DRAWS COMMENT

UNITED STATES IN POOR POSITION TO CENSOR JAPANESE IMPERIALISM, SAYS FISK UNIVERSITY SPEAKER

Customs anr Ideals of East Surpass Those Of European Peoples

CHICAGO, Mar. 22.—(ANP)—Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. comments as follows on the quotations printed last week from his lecture at Fisk University in which he said America regarded the Japanese as "bad niggers."

"The quotations from my Fisk lectures sound very bitter and jingoistic when taken out of their setting. I was not trying in these lectures to stir up race or national feeling, but rather to give some appreciation of the beauties of life of peoples of the various Pacific countries. I do not praise the Japanese because they are "colored." Nor do I praise or criticize the people of America and Europe because they are 'white.' All I want to point out is that while the white nations of the west have made great contributions to civilization, other peoples and other races also have distinctive gifts.

Japanese Civilization Beautiful

"The Japanese have a beautiful and successful civilization, which should be judged on its merits. Japan has recently carried western militarism even farther than the western nations. I doubt if any country is justified in the imperialistic conquests on which Japan is now engaged. But the actions should be judged without the heat of prejudice. And America and England and the countries of Europe are in a poor position to criticize imperialism, since they themselves started it.

When England Gives Up India

"When England gives up India, then and then only can she with any decency ask Japan to retire from Manchuria. America got control of the Panama Canal by an action almost exactly like that of Japan in Manchuria—by fomenting a revolution in the Republic of Columbia and by helping to set up a puppet state—The Republic of Panama—which from the beginning has been under American dominance very like to that of Japan in the new nation of Manchuquo.

"But I am much more interested in the beauties of life among the Pacific peoples than I am in political and military questions.

People of Far East Know How To Live

"What I tried to point out to the Fisk students—and what I am constantly saying in books and magazine articles—is that there are ways of life followed by people in other parts of the world which are quite as good and in some ways better and more satisfying than the ways of life in America and Europe.

"The nations of the west have done some things better than they have ever been done anywhere in the world at any time in history. Specifically we have developed to a high state tools—machines, science, the mechanical and material phases of life. In matters having to do with inventions and efficient organization and intellectuality we are the leaders of the world.

Ideals Excel Ours

'But in the countries, which we hump together under the term the East, there are other customs and other ideals which sometimes excel ours. In the Polynesian Islands, in China and the villages of Japan, in the Malay Archipelago and in Africa there are not the efficient tools of the west but there is an astonishing amount of enjoyment and expression. In Java or Bali or Samoa, song and dance and drama have a large place in the life of everyone. There is less devotion to careful planning for the future, but much more delight in the present. Life in such places seems to be clearly understood, even by the simplest villagers and farmer, to be something to be lived as it goes along. Success to them is not a remote goal but something to be realized every day.

Live For Present

"This enjoyment of every day life, supported as it is in the east by the security of a simple communed sharing of labor and of wealth, is something we need to learn in America and Europe. The present hard times show the suffering that may come under competitive capitalism even in the midst of potential plenty. It is easy for us in spite of all our powerful machines to allow daily life to become dull drudgery.

"I urge that we retain our efficient tools. But I urge also that we study with some humility the ways by which other peoples fill their lives with meaning and enjoyment. We should not resent the success of other people. Rather we should learn from others how we may enrich our own lives.

"I suggest that instead of sending our navy to try to whip Japan, we send commissions and students to learn some of the art and beauty and joy of Japanese life and

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

Star

MAR 27 1934

MUSSOLINI NEEDLESSLY ANXIOUS.

PREMIER MUSSOLINI may be right when he views with alarm the birth rate in Italy, but he is giving himself a lot of unnecessary trouble and anxiety when he worries about ours. He is quoted in a Roman paper as seeing the time in the early future when "the number of biers will surpass the number of cradles" in the United States. When the death rate exceeds the birth rate, a population would be on the way to extinction. But that does not threaten us, according to statistics.

The census returns show that the population of the United States increased from 105,710,620 to 122,775,046 during the decade from 1920 to 1930. That was an increase of a little more than 16 per cent It was not as great a percentage of increase as we had in some previous decades, but it was more indicative of the stability of our population. Much of the remarkable increases in other decades was due to millions who poured into this country from abroad. Immigration ceased last decade to be a great factor in our population statistics.

The premier also is needlessly disturbed for the future of the white man in the United States. He says, if present conditions continue, the Negro will far outnumber the whites in another century. If he had studied the census figures he would know the Negro population has increased 57.4 per cent in forty years, while the white population increased 105 per cent, much of it due, to be sure, to immigration The increase in colored population the last decade was 13.65, compared with 16.14 per cent for whites Apparently, it will take much more than a century for the colored population to overtake the white totals at that rate.

COLUMBIA, S. C.

STATE

APR 4 - 1934

The Agitators Who "Play Politics."

Here is a letter written by Henry G. Ives, of Pittsfield, Mass., to The Springfield Republican. It reveals a Northern understanding of some Southern problems in respect to lynching which we do not recall having heard expressed before in just this way:

> A neighbor, of Southern birth, tells me that justice for the Negro is more likely to be achieved if we Northerners let the finer people in the South deal with this matter unhampered by our suggestions. A young college trained Negro who has taught in the South agrees with her and their common position is strengthened by the recent organization of Southern women who have undertaken to stop lynching.

At the same time, there is an approach to the problem which we Northerners can and should make; that of sympathy and appreciation when Southerners do plead with their own people to refrain from mob violence when the color question is rife. We can let our Southern friends know that such gallantry on their part is recognized by us as a distinct contribution to the national welfare. I would walk many miles, even in this cold weather, to meet those Southern women who show the same courage which was manifested by the boys in gray on the battlefield. All honor to them, for they revive our faith in womanhood. If they succeed the sections will be reunited in one common America.

Nor let us forget Governor Ritchie, who risked his popularity by demanding the arrest of the Maryland lynchers. Their savage retort to him indicates the risk he ran. When the memory of his brilliant administration of the state of Maryland is forgotten, some of us will remember how from a sick bed he issued orders that the mob which wreaked its mad vengeance on a feeble-minded Negro boy should be dealt with by the arm of the law.

These women and such men as Governor Ritchie are the true South. They stand for its real spirit. Let us support them by keeping silent when we should, by praising their unselfish devotion and above all making them feel that South and North justice to the Negro is a common problem. Just now "careless seems the great avenger," and yet, we must believe, if history has any meaning, "standeth God within the shadows keeping watch above his own."

Many editors of Northern newspapers long ago sensed this situation, and concluded that reforms must be won by friends of good government in the South, and that the unrestrained denunciation of "the South" by outsiders for the crimes of mobs was often a handicap to Southerners fighting for law and order. And they wisely acted accordingly.

But of late, organized, professional Northern denouncers of Southern lynching, have taken the field. And they do not seem inclined to stay their vitriolic tongues or pens even when a glimmering of common sense would tell them they imperil lives of Negroes in the South by this policy, and can bring safety to none. Numbers of these agitators are safely situated Northern Negroes, clamorous for newspaper publicity. And they are intent upon getting it, regardless of the harm they may do the people in whose cause they assume to be arrayed.

However, in that respect these professional agitators, some of whom are of Harlem, are no different from other professional agitators with very white skins, whose chief concern is to demonstrate "activity," and so make it appear they are earning their pay, or that their jobs are necessary. They are looking for No. 1 always. Holding no public office, they yet "play politics" for their own benefit, regardless of consequence to others. Peace and prosperity are against their personal interests.

Why Some Negroes Advocate Segregation

By CARTER G. WOODSON

Of Washington, D. C., Editor of the JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY, and author of "The Negro in Our History," "The Mis-education of the Negro" and "The Negro Professional Man."

In the first place, as I have said elsewhere, Negro segregationists have been mis-educated. They have never learned to think. They have been taught to admire the Hebrew, Greek, the Latin, and the Teuton and to despise the Negro. The more the Negro receives of such education the worse off he is. Unless a Negro under such circumstances has sufficient independence to learn the truth for himself and the courge to proclaim it he will be worse off than if he had learned nothing at all in school. Such mis-educated Negroes instead of becoming an asset to the race develop into the greatest liability in opposing, discouraging, exploiting and betraying their own people at every turn on the way through their ordeal.

In his mis-education the Negro learns that while his race does not amount to anything all others have achieved well and the white have done things even wonderful. The mis-guided black man, then, falls down and worships the white face. The Negro paints his face and straightens his hair in order to look so much like this "superior" being as possible. Instead of trying to develop himself to attract the white man to him this imitator restricts himself altogether to trying to break down the barriers between him and his "superior" neighbor. Since the Negro combatant has failed in this effort he sours upon life and would lay himself down and die.

On some mis-educated Negroes the effect of this misguidance is more appalling, for they pass beyond the stage of those who worship the white as not to be able to remain comfrtface and becme so overawed thereby as not to be able to remain comfortable in the presence of the Nordic. Such Negroes do not feel free in the same school, church, or theatres where whites are present in large numbers. This timorous element cannot play, sing or speak with freedom before large audiences of the overpowering race Negro performers lacking confidence in themselves on such occasions cannot overcome the feeling that some of the whites then facing the participants can perform these parts better than the Negroes thus functioning. The thus discourged and mentally enslaves Negro, therefore, must restrict himself altogether to circles of his own people. His white educator might well sit back then in the satisfaction of having effected the desired outcome in driving the Negro away and keeping him in a sequestered sphere.

Still another element of Negroes who once had hope and did not entirely succumb to the propaganda in our so-called education have lost the will to fight against odds. After being educated they naturally keep before themselves the experiences of the various "superior" races contrasted with the well-played up unpromising background and status of their own people. While being daily reminded by the church, the school, and the press of the experiences of those whom the once militant Negro had to combat—experiences which assure success in meeting the ineffective attacks of discontented Negroes—the Negroes, feebly struggling against difficulties find in their own history, as written by the whites, nothing but discouragement and failure. This misguided Negro's ambition, then, is easily killed by his "education": and he choses the line of least resistance. The recent accession to the ranks of Mis-educated Negroes sometimes do worse than give up the fight. Regarding the effort to rise as hopeless, such Negroes frequently decide to spend their lives selfishly in exploiting their people for whatever they may be worth. Their education has led them to long for the expensive gew-gaws and toys of life by which the white man has exploited the weak in working toward a disproportionate distribution of wealth. To live at least temporarily in the luxury and ease which the exploiting class offers such Negroes for "selling out" their helpless people these unprincipled men readily yield and serve the machine to aid in their own undoing. To this class belong most of our politicians, all of whom are not necessarily employed by the federal or state governments. Men of this type have been set up in all Negro communities. They have their price.

Recently there has been much stir about the advocacy of segregation by one of our "leaders". I myself do not like it, and I shall not make another contribution to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People until they clear themselves of this sigma. Some of those who are attacking the man who has thus surrendered, however, are segregationists themselves I understand that our distinguished "dean" does not like this attitude. Yet he advocated the jim-crow Inauguaral Ball here in Washington about a year ago and other "aristocratic" Negroes in the same city carried further this idea Negro segregationists may be accounted for in this way.

in having for the benefit of the Warm Springs Foundation in Georgia another big back door dance with the Negro servants of the White House as the guests of honor.

Some of those criticizing the segregationist and others coming to his defense contend that this was the position of Booker T. Washington. This version of the matter, however, is far from the truth. Booker T. Washington cannot be classified as a segregationist. Like any other sensible person, he took the position that while segregation is undesirable, if it is forced upon us, we must make the most of it. In other words, in our segregated sphere we must so devolep from within that the white man will not desire to raise a barrier against us.

Referring to segregation itself Booker T. Washington said: "Practically every thoughtful Negro resents its injustices and doubts its sincerity.. Any race adjustment based on injustice," said he, "finally defeats itself. The Civil War is the best illustration of what results where it's attempted to make wrong right or seem to be right. It is inconsistent," he contended; "the Negro is segregated from his white neighbor, but white business men are not prevented from doing business in Negro neighborhooods. There has been no case of segregation of Negro in the United States that has not widened the breach between the two races. Wherever a form of segregation exists, it will be found that it has been administered in such a way as to embitter the Negro and harm more or less the moral fiber of the white man. That the Negro does not express this constant sense of wrong is no proof that he does not feel it."

MYTH AND FACT IN THE SOUTH

To the Editor of The New York Times:

There exists in the North a definite myth about the South, and especially about Charleston, which R. L. Duffus, author of an article on that city, took with him and brought home with some artistic decorations.

For example, he states that the standard history displayed in the Charleston book-stores ends with the year 1865. I do not know about the book-stores, but I did recently examine with some care the books on the Civil War in the Charleston library, which not so long ago celebrated its 150th anniversary. I found a long shelf of standard biographies of Lincoln from Herndon to Beveridge and including the most partisan of all, the Nicolay-Hay. I did not find any life of Jefferson Davis or of Robert E. Lee. Doubtless the library has some, but they were certainly not prominently displayed. The most popular figure on the Southern side in the library's collection seemed to be Calhoun, which was natural enough, but on the table of recent accessions I found Gerald Johnson's recent book, "Secession," in which that doughty South Carolinian is called a pompous ass or some similarly endearing term.

Nostalgia Is for the Spirit.

It is possible to distinguish between reverence for the spirit of the past and reverence for its ancient forms. This, I think, is what modern Charleston manages to do. Its nostalgia for the past is not for slavery, nor the wasteful plantation economy, nor the yellow fever; but for a spirit and culture that by and large placed its emphasis on intelligence, breeding and individual character rather than on mass production of men, machines and those ready-made opinions that pass for ideas in the modern world.

It is not insignificant that in spite of the past the old society of Charleston regards Boston with more respect than any other Northern city. As for slavery, an alert member of the younger generation with superior facilities for observation said to me recently: "Plantation slaves were generally better off physically than slum negroes in the North today, but as a social system slavery was simply impossible."

As for the reality of the old spirit, consider that many of its architectural masterpieces were produced when the city was a get-rich-quick town more or less like the San Francisco of early days, from an economic standpoint. It was wealthy and new. Yet today the early mansions of San Francisco, like those of Chicago or Pittsburgh, are certainly not artistic shrines. There was something about Charleston that had a timeless quality, that endured.

Time to Discard Myths.

It seems time to get rid of some of these myths about the South, perpetuated mostly by authors celebrated, in Robert Louis Stevenson's phrase that should be famous, for works evolved largely from "overcelebration and the heat of rooms." In a six-week stay in that region I heard a Southern minister declare in public that the Negro had progressed more since slavery than any other race in equal time; I heard the son of a slave owner say that the old slave civilization was a fine thing materially for the few but a curse for the many; I visited a college for Negroes where half the faculty was white (mostly Southern white) and half Negro; I visited a white high school where Lincoln's Birthday was celebrated—but nearly everywhere I found a rising resentment against standardization and regimentation, a passion for the older spirit of individual flavor and character.

A Charleston woman recommended me to a tea-room. "The food is excellent, truly Southern and the lady who runs it talks just the way all Northerners expect all Southerners to talk." If Northerners go South expecting all Southerners to talk, or even to think, a certain way, they will find plenty who do, but they are not all of the picture. A sense of humor is still a prized Southern possession.

ERNEST S. CLOWES.

Bridgehampton, N. Y., April 30 1934.

Race Problem - 1934

United States.

ADVERTISER

Pittsburg, Kans.

MAY 3 1934

NEGROES SLANDERED

The naval officer in charge of the recruiting area including Kansas made some magnificent scare talk before a civic club in Topeka the other day, according to Jack Harris in the Hutchinson News. He said that with the promise of arms, equipment and supplies by Japanese agents, Negroes in midwestern cities were organizing and drilling. "The idea," he explained, "is that in time of national emergency they would aid Japan, fighting us from the inside."

This recalls the hysteria of the world war that existed in this country, most of it silly. No person who knows the least bit about the American Negro is going to believe the naval officer's charge for the Negro has a splendid record of patriotism. He made no organized effort to free himself before the civil war. He awaited the outcome of the battle between the whites of the North and South and adjusted himself to the result. Few if any Negroes ever are found in the ranks of "red" organizations or are available as members for Communistic and Socialistic organizations. Their record of valor as soldiers in United States service is praiseworthy. Here is something else that citizens of the United States should know: Mexicans dislike Japanese and Chinese. They have a law whereby a Mexican woman who marries an Oriental immediately loses her Mexican citizenship and that country will do no more for her. In case of Japanese trouble, Mexico—and she has no slouch of an army—would be straining at the leash to join us against the yellow hordes and we might need her help. Which is just another reason for our continued acceptance of the friendly overtures from the republic to the south.—*Lyons Daily News.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

NEWS

FEB 28 1934

This Country Lacks a Decent Religious Attitude, He Thinks

Editor, The News:

SINCE this country was dedicated by its pioneers for religious freedom it should have a religious aspect. If it had a religious aspect it would have a religious feeling towards all regardless of race, color or creed.

America is full of people who attend church on Sunday, vow with all their heart and soul that they love God, and all during the week entertain a malicious hate towards their brothers and neighbors.

Here in America one man is made fun of, avoided, despised, hated, maltreated, segregated, mobbed, lynched, slain, treated like the meanest of vermin, merely because of his race, another simply because of his color and another, in spite of "religious freedom," because of his religion. When they seek the higher ideals of life they are spurned, discouraged and are not given a chance, fair play or consideration.

America can truly be called the land of hate.

BERNARD C. JOHNSON JR.

CLEVELAND, O.

NEWS

MAY 24 1934

The News Mailbag

HOME FOR THE NEGRO

To the Editor of The News:

Sir—Colonize Alaska with the American Negro. It will keep back Japanese invasion. It will prevent a great destructive American war with Japan and Russia. It will develop this last American frontier, bring wealth to our government and conserve the natural resources of Alaska for America.

We have just a few thousand American people living in Alaska and any power might invade this American territory. So I suggest that all Negro C. C. camps be transferred to Alaska and keep sending them there until we have a million living there. Put Negro doctors in charge of the medical department of each C. C. camp and assign a U. S. government farm expert to each C. C. camp to teach them Alaskan farming. Extend Alaskan C. C. camp enlistment to three years. Teach the boys military tactics. When enlistment ends give the boys a farm and build a home on each farm and give the farmer-soldier time to pay for the home. Then we will have 1,000,000 American soldiers and farmers in Alaska, willing and always ready to work and fight for our country. The Negro has been out of the tropics for 300 years and he is a product of this great American melting pot, mixed with the blood of every European nation. His aim, his desires, are all in America and for America.

With Alaska's small population of only 60,000 people, half Indians and half white, what have we to stop Japan from invading Alaska?

Alaska has everything to support a million families. And under the plan submitted to our government to colonize Alaska with the American Negro the increased wealth of Alaska will bring all the money spent on C. C. camps in Alaska back 100 fold.

JOE T. THOMAS, M. D.,
2406 E. 40th st.

HOUSTON, TEX.

POST

APR 8 1934

Letters From the People

VIEWS OF OUR READERS

THE RACE PROBLEM.

To The Houston Post:

HOUSTON, Texas.—I have read several articles and communications in The Post recently about the "negro problem" and suggestions that better conditions be created for them. I think there is undue emphasis on the subject. It is true that there are undesirable conditions among them. It is also true that there are many poor and neglected among the whites; but why emphasize the necessity for improved conditions among the negroes?

But as to the negroes: Quaker L. McQueen of Corrigan in The Post last week, on the subject, said: "What should be done is to organize a new deal and give him justice. It is not impossible to do that, but highly improbable."

Now, I wish to assert that a great deal has been done for the negro, by his home people, the Southern whites. Liberal provisions have been made for public education which includes the negro. Does Quaker L. McQueen think there should be special accommodations for the negro more than for whites? Their chance is equal to the whites. Isn't that enough? The last sentence of the above complaint sounds very like ingratitude for the help toward their advancement already rendered. That sort of complaint does not promote a better feeling or a more rapid stride in the direction desired.

Those who are disposed to complain of conditions, and insist upon better conditions, should take into consideration: First, that the Southern people did not bring the negroes over here; second, no Southern man ever kidnaped the Africans and brought them to the Southern States; third, Great Britain vetoed efforts of Southern colonies to stop their importation; fourth, Southern men in congress finally got a bill through to stop importation, but New England slave traders continued smuggling them through; fifth, slaves were owned North and South until climatic conditions proved them unprofitable North, and they were then sold South. Southern owners, many of them, voluntarily freed their slaves, and at any time would have listened to a proposal for gradual emancipation with compensation from the government responsible; and yet, upon abolition of slavery after the war, the negro's first act, the great mass of them, was to line up with strangers with their votes (the whites being disfranchised) in robbing and plundering the devastated South by law.

Now all these things considered, should not the negroes give the men of the South credit for great magnanimity and efforts to provide better conditions? They have equal rights to work to save and to accumulate and to acquire an education.

There has been more marked improvement in the negro race in the South the last fifty years than any other race or people in the history of the world. Let us all be fair toward the negroes and the whites. There is no "negro problem" if they are let alone by outsiders. The interference by inter-racial associations from other states accomplish nothing for the negro except, perhaps, to create dissatisfaction and race prejudice, which can hardly serve his advancement or welfare.

The Southern white men are the best friends the negroes have, and the sooner the younger generation realize that, the better it will be for their better condition. Negroes must not imagine that the "smart" negroes of the North have fared better. They were smart enough to get away and go North, but many of them would be glad to get back to the South where they are born in foreign countries; four senators and fifteen congressmen; Is this not taking and accepting hatred for all things American, into our American Government? Is it not obviously true that Pitt County Government and Management is and looks, equally as wrong, ridiculous and absurd, as our National, State and County Governments, just as well as our Congressional body there may be more, for some of them. Excepting of course, the Illinois, extra shade of color. the members have failed to sketch their lives or record the places of their birth, in the congressional di-rectory. Illinois has in some way imported a Negro from Alabama to sent him to Washington. Is this not for all things American, into our Government and Management and looks, equally as ridiculous and absurd, as our National Congressional body Excepting of course, the Illinois, extra shade of color.

Respectfully yours,
A CITYZEN

GREENVILLE, N. C.

REFLECTOR

MAY 22 1934

Greenville, N. C.
May 21st, 1934.

Mr. D. J. Whichard,
Greenville, N. C.

Dear Sir:

Kindly be good enough to print the following in your paper, the Daily Reflector:

Do the God-fearing and Law-abiding people of Pitt County Rule?

I, for one of Pitt County's native born citizens, am not content, to sit silent, while aspersions are cast upon the courage and integrity of her people, and their just stations in our County and Community life are taken by outsiders, and they are demanding more, and working hard for more; position and power. Who will pay the bill

I believe in protecting Home, from all invasion, however; good, pleasing, agreeable and harmless they, or it may seem. And this applies to our National, State and County Governments, just as well as our Home.

Look for a minute at our National law making body at Washington, D. C. Now making laws for us American born citizens to live under, Nineteen of them were

Race Problem - 1934

United States.

ADVERTISER

Pittsburg, Kans.

MAY 3

NEGROES SLANDERED

The naval officer in charge of the recruiting area including Kansas made some magnificent scare talk before a civic club in Topeka the other day, according to Jack Harris in the Hutchinson News. He said that with the promise of arms, equipment and supplies by Japanese agents, Negroes in midwestern cities were organizing and drilling. "The idea," he explained, "is that in time of national emergency they would aid Japan, fighting us from the inside."

This recalls the hysteria of the world war that existed in this country, most of it silly. No person who knows the least bit about the American Negro is going to believe the naval officer's charge for the Negro has a splendid record of patriotism. He made no organized effort to free himself before the civil war. He awaited the outcome of the battle between the whites of the North and South and adjusted himself to the result. Few if any Negroes ever are found in the ranks of "red" organizations or are available as members for Communistic and Socialistic organizations. Their record of valor as soldiers in United States service is praiseworthy. Here is something else that citizens of the United States should know: Mexicans dislike Japanese and Chinese. They have a law whereby a Mexican woman who marries an Oriental immediately loses her Mexican citizenship and that country will do no more for her. In case of Japanese trouble, Mexico—and she has no slouch of an army—would be straining at the leash to join us against the yellow hordes and we might need her help. Which is just another reason for our continued acceptance of the friendly overtures from the republic to the south.—*Evening Daily News.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.
NEWS

FEB 28 1934

This Country Lacks a Decent Religious Attitude, He Thinks

Editor, The News:

SINCE this country was dedicated by its pioneers for religious freedom it should have a religious aspect. If it had a religious aspect it would have a religious feeling towards all regardless of race, color or creed.

America is full of people who attend church on Sunday, vow with all their heart and soul that they love God, and all during the week entertain a malicious hate towards their brothers and neighbors.

Here in America one man is made fun of, avoided, despised, hated, maltreated, segregated, mobbed, lynched, slain, treated like the meanest of vermin, merely because of his race, another simply because of his color and another, in spite of "religious freedom," because of his religion. When they seek the higher ideals of life they are spurned, discouraged and are not given a chance, fair play or consideration.

America can truly be called the land of hate.

BERNARD C. JOHNSON JR.

CLEVELAND, O.
NEWS

MAY 24 1934

The News Mailbag

HOME FOR THE NEGRO

To the Editor of The News:

Sir—Colonize Alaska with the American Negro. It will keep back Japanese invasion. It will prevent a great destructive American war with Japan and Russia. It will develop this last American frontier, bring wealth to our government and conserve the natural resources of Alaska for America.

We have just a few thousand American people living in Alaska and any power might invade this American territory. So I suggest that all Negro C. C. camps be transferred to Alaska and keep sending them there until we have a million living there. Put Negro doctors in charge of the medical department of each C. C. camp and assign a U. S. government farm expert to each C. C. camp to teach them Alaskan farming. Extend Alaskan C. C. camp enlistment to three years. Teach the boys military tactics. When enlistment ends give the boys a farm and build a home on each farm and give the farmer-soldier time to pay for the home. Then we will have 1,000,000 American soldiers and farmers in Alaska, willing and always ready to work and fight for our country. The Negro has been out of the tropics for 300 years and he is a product of this great American melting pot, mixed with the blood of every European nation. His aim, his desires, are all in America and for America.

With Alaska's small population of only 60,000 people, half Indians and half white, what have we to stop Japan from invading Alaska?

Alaska has everything to support a million families. And under the plan submitted to our government to colonize Alaska with the American Negro the increased wealth of Alaska will bring all the money spent on C. C. camps in Alaska back 100 fold.

JOE T. THOMAS, M. D.,
2406 E. 40th st.

HOUSTON, TEX.
POST

APR 8 1934

Letters From the People

VIEWS OF OUR READERS

THE RACE PROBLEM.

To The Houston Post:

HOUSTON, Texas.—I have read several articles and communications in The Post recently about the "negro problem" and suggestions that better conditions be created for them. I think there is undue emphasis on the subject. It is true that there are undesirable conditions among them. It is also true that there are many poor and neglected among the whites; but why emphasize the necessity for improved conditions among the negroes?

But as to the negroes: Quaker L. McQueen of Corrigan in The Post last week, on the subject, said: "What should be done is to organize a new deal and give him justice. It is not impossible to do that, but highly improbable."

Now, I wish to assert that a great deal has been done for the negro, by his home people, the Southern whites. Liberal provisions have been made for public education which includes the negro. Does Quaker L. McQueen think there should be special accommodations for the negro more than for whites? Their chance is equal to the whites. Isn't that enough? The last sentence of the above complaint sounds very like ingratitude for the help toward their advancement already rendered. That sort of complaint does not promote a better feeling or a more rapid stride in the direction desired.

Those who are disposed to complain of conditions, and insist upon better conditions, should take into consideration: First, that the Southern people did not bring the negroes over here; second, no Southern man ever kidnaped the Africans and brought them to the Southern States; third, Great Britain vetoed efforts of Southern colonies to stop their importation; fourth, Southern men in congress finally got a bill through to stop importation, but New England slave traders continued smuggling them through; fifth, slaves were owned North and South until climatic conditions proved them unprofitable North, and they were then sold South. Southern owners, many of them, voluntarily freed their slaves, and at any time would have listened to a proposal for gradual emancipation with compensation from the government responsible; and yet, upon abolition of slavery after the war, the negro's first act, the great mass of them, was to line up with strangers with their votes (the whites being disfranchised) in robbing and plundering the devastated South by law.

Now all these things considered, should not the negroes give the men of the South credit for great magnanimity and efforts to provide better conditions? They have equal rights to work to save and to accumulate and to acquire an education.

There has been more marked improvement in the negro race in the South the last fifty years than any other race or people in the history of the world. Let us all be fair toward the negroes and the whites. There is no "negro problem" if they are let alone by outsiders. The interference by inter-racial associations from other states accomplish nothing for the negro except, perhaps, to create dissatisfaction and race prejudice, which can hardly serve his advancement or welfare.

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Look for a minute at our National, State and County Governments. Is it not obviously true that Pitt County Government and Management is and looks, equally as ridiculous and absurd, as our National Congressional body Home. Exceptin of course, the Illinois, extra shade of color.

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A CITIZEN.

GREENVILLE, N. C.
REFLECTOR

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I believe in protecting Home, from all invasion, however; good, pleasing, agreeable and harmless or it may seem. And this applies to our National, State and County Governments, just as well as our Home.

Look for a minute at our National law making body at Washington, D. C. Now making laws for us American born citizens to live under. Nineteen of them were born in foreign countries; four senators and fifteen congressmen; hatred for our American Government? there may be more, for some of the members have failed to sketch their lives or record the places of their birth, in the congressional directory. Illinois has in some way imported a Negro from Alabama, our National Congressional body made a congressman of him and does?

Why the South Is Backward

Statistics put the eleven Southern States at the bottom of the table of illiteracy, crime, health, wealth and progressive government; and the reason therefor is manifest. These are the States which have written Jim Crowism in their statutes and have adopted it as a fixed policy in their treatment of a large percentage of their population.

Separate educational equipment, Jim Crow administration of justice and election laws, segregated residential sections which from governmental neglect breed disease and crime, discrimination in work opportunities on account of color and restrictions placed on Negroes as to where they can spend their money, all combine to keep these States backward and at the bottom of the tables in all things which make for progressive communities.

The South is backward and stays down because the section expends all of its time, thought and effort contriving how to keep Negroes down, apparently not conscious of the fact that it must stay down also in order to accomplish its purpose. No community can keep pace with the times which denies itself the possibilities and contributions inherent in nearly one-half of its population.

Planet 1-27-34

Richmond, Va.

PROF. BROADUS MITCHELL STIRS CITIES IN SOUTH

Afro-American

Economist Urges Federal Control in Memphis Speech.

1-27-34

IS RAPPED BY GA. EDUCATOR

Baltimore, Md.

Oglethorpe Prexy Defends Caste System.

ATLANTA, Ga.—Frankly defending a racial caste system for the South, Dr. Thornwell Jacobs, white, president of Oglethorpe University, rapped a recent speech made by Dr. Broadus Mitchell of Johns Hopkins and declared that Dixie was never intended as a democracy, in a daily paper, last week.

The Dixie educator referred to a recent speech made by Dr. Mitchell in Memphis, Tenn., in which the latter urged governmental control of industry and some of the other activities previously left to states and municipalities.

Control Lynching.

"The state's inability to control," declared Dr. Mitchell, "has been shown in regard to lynching during the past year. The increase of lynching and the unwillingness of those sworn to the responsibility of administering justice, to accept their responsibility, has indicated the imperative need of federal regulation of the activity which President Roosevelt has termed 'collective murder.'"

Dr. Mitchell, who was a prominent figure in protesting against lynchings in Maryland, and who spoke to a mixed audience of 500 people, also declared that the profit motive in industry was responsible for many of our present ills.

Not Democracy.

The Oglethrope president declared that the South is not a democracy.

"If the system referred to by Dr. Mitchell as that of private gain is eliminated," said he, "and the principle of Adolf Hitler—which is making all Germans as alike as two peas in a pod—prevails, what effect will that have on Georgia? Any man with a grain of common sense knows that the Southern States never have been, are not, and never will be a democracy in the true sense of the word.

"We have in these states a white aristocracy superimposed on a colored proletariat. We have a working class composed almost entirely of Negroes, and a ruling class composed almost entirely of whites. This dominance is preserved by means of the system of private gain, by the possession of more wealth, better homes and more power on the part of the white ruling caste.

"When that system fails the Southern States will become a weltering chaos of social calamities. And the leaders of the South are apparently as blind to what is happening as if they understood none of it—which, indeed, may be the case."

THE PROBLEM OF THE SOUTH

Advertiser

Just what does Brother Winston, of North Carolina, mean by his vaguely-worded contention that "the Confederacy has been kept from a decent burial too long?"

Among other things, he says: "Northern prejudices do not retard material prosperity nor shut out immigration."

Immigration from Japan and China, for example?

Does Mr. Winston mean that immigration into the Northern States is altogether free and unrestricted? Or that Northern prejudices are fully justified by the fact that material prosperity and immigration are not obstructed by them?

1-16-34

Here, however, he palpably contradicts his own statement. For it is stated that "He (Mr. Winston) believes the Negro should be encouraged to move elsewhere."

Montgomery, Ala.

Just where is this "Elsewhere," in our reformer's new scheme of national realignment? How is the Negro to be "encouraged" to move "elsewhere," and what is the alternative, if any, if such "encouragement" failed of its purpose?

Mr. Winston speaks of "material prosperity"—another of his vague expressions—as if it were the supreme good. Thomas Jefferson wrote of "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Material prosperity often entails the sacrifice of liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and of the life of future generations, and of peoples and nations themselves. The material prosperity of Babylon and Carthage went down before the living force of Rome and Persia. The material prosperity of 18th century England did not suffice to defeat the leaders of the American Revolution. And it was something more than material prosperity that enabled Japan to strike the blow that sent the Empire of the Tsars tottering to its fall.

Mr. Winston adds that no "reputable" Northern family would live in a State where the vandalism of Northern troops in the South during the War of Secession was mentioned in the schools. I fancy that many "reputable" Northern families could hardly tolerate either of the following passages. The first is from Spengler's "The Hour of Decision" (1934); the second from "One Irish Summer," by W. E. Curtis (1906).

"The planters in Spanish South America and English North America had long since formed a true aristocracy on the model of the Spanish grandee and the English lord. The second of these groups was annihilated in the Civil War of 1861 and replaced by the parvenus of New York and Chicago and their revenues from capital milliards . . . The brilliant episode of the dollar and dollar society, starting from the War of Secession in 1865, seems to be approaching its end. Will Chicago be the Moscow of the New World?"—Pages 91-181

"General Sherman used to tell of a joke on himself when he was visiting Ireland shortly after the war. Hearing a band coming down the street playing "Marching Through Georgia," he naturally assumed that it was a serenade in his honor. He put on his other coat, brushed his hair and whiskers, and sat down to await a summons which did not come. After the music had passed beyond hearing he asked his aide-de-camp to find out what had happened. Colonel Audenreid, who was with him, quickly returned to explain that a local military company had marched down the street to the music of an old Irish air which had been plagiarized for one of our war songs."—Page 267.

Judging from such reports of Mr. Winston's utterances on present-day Southern sentiment, it would seem that his baseless assumptions leave him quite incapable of properly estimating great influences in history, or of appreciating their power over the memory and consequent attitude of those whose lives have been shaped by them.

But as Mr. Winston seems interested in processes of historical interment, it may be pertinent to ask, Did he ever hear of a ditty called "John Brown's Body," etc., and, if so, what thinks he of laying that lugubrious old spook? And would the reputable, onion-skin-if-not-blue-blood, Northern families of whom he speaks favor burial or incineration for such slightly unorthodox publications as Mrs. Forakker's "I Would Live Again," and Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth's "Crowded Hours?"

J. A. OSGOODE.

Montgomery, Ala., July 12 1934.

RICHMOND, VA.

~~NEWS LEADER~~

Dispatch

OCT 21 1934

Negro Leader Defines Equality

To the Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

Sir,—In your editorial, "Negroes North and South," approximately 802 words (13 paragraphs) were used in telling the Negroes of Richmond and vicinity why they should remain in the South.

You made an attempt to justify your position by making a comparison of the things obtainable in the North with a whitewash of conditions that exist in the South. Your attempt at justification was indeed feeble.

As an appeal to the Negroes to remain in the South, you used the interview of Richard B. Harrison of "The Green Pastures," and part of a famous address delivered in Atlanta in 1895 by the greatest Negro that ever lived, Booker T. Washington. This appeal fell short of its mark as far as the Negroes of Richmond are concerned.

When the Civil War ended the whole United States became obtainable for the Negro, just as it was obtainable for any other people living here. Thousands of foreigners, traveling as many miles enter this country annually. They are given a hearty welcome from Maine to California and from Canada to Mexico. On the other hand, thousands of Americans leave this country annually for foreign countries. Nothing is said of either group. But when a few Negroes signal their intentions of leaving the South for the North or West, there goes up a storm of protest from our Southern newspapers. Why? It can't be that you have our general welfare at heart, for actions speak louder than words.

Richard B. Harrison in speaking on Negro equality stated, "the only equality they want is an equal opportunity to strive for God, their country and their families." This is the same equality for which the N. A. A. C. P. preach. Now strive means to fight or to contend. We have fought for the country, so we should contend to live in any of the 48 States we choose. If we are to have an equal opportunity for our families, we will have to fight and contend for jobs that pay equal wage, be they private, municipal or Federal; healthy modern homes; better and more schools for our children, justice before all courts, even in Alabama the right to be represented by our own people; equal unmolested traveling accommodations and the right of unemployment family relief equal to that of any other family on relief without regard to race, color or creed. Where does The Times-Dispatch stand on that part of Mr. Harrison's interview?

By studying the life of Booker T. Washington, we find that Washington was one of the greatest Negro opportunists that ever lived. If he had not been, there would be no Tuskegee today. Few men there were who understood Booker T. Washington's psychology. I am strong of the opinion that Mr. Harrison has made a study of the life of Booker T. Washington, for he seems to be using some of Washington's psychology.

Now Mr. Editor, will The Times-Dispatch use the same number of words and paragraphs advocating the other part of Mr. Harrison's interview, or will you be like the man who always told his wife he loved her but failed to provide for her?

HORACE H. SCOTT.

Richmond.

Race Problem - 1934
United States

Ferdinand Q. Morton Answers W. E. B. DuBois on Issue of Racial Segregation

By FERDINAND Q. MORTON
(From a letter to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois)

"Dear Dr. DuBois:

"I have just read your articles on segregation. Upon reading them, my first impression was that the close view which you recently have had of the poverty and suffering among our people in the South had deeply affected you.

"I know the intensity of the love which you bear for your race; and I can understand and sympathize with the emotion, rekindled in you against the hideous injustice of race discrimination—the major cause of this suffering and want. Not I alone, but, as I believe, a majority of the intelligent people of our race are in sympathy not with your point of view, perhaps, but with the sentiment that prompted you to adopt it. You may be assured that your place in our admiration and esteem is secure—just as secure as is the place in history which your extraordinary services to your race and your country have won for you.

"In effect, you propose that we cease to direct our major effort at breaking down the barriers of segregation, and concentrate our energies merely upon making life as comfortable as possible behind the barriers. You propose that we accept as permanent the social status resulting from segregation and apply ourselves to the task of institutionalizing that status in its entirety, with the purpose of achieving, as nearly as possible, complete separation, or, at least, economic and social separation equal in measure to the social separation enforced against us by the majority. You propose that we surrender the line of battle, in the forefront of which you for years so gallantly stood, and retreat to a narrower front. These proposals you base upon the premise that the majority decree by which we are segregated is an unalterable one. You assert that in no substantial measure has racial prejudice against us relaxed; that the future holds no hope for equality of opportunity and the integral participation by us in the life of our country; and that we shall remain perpetually a proscribed group.

FERDINAND Q. MORTON

REJECT PROPOSALS

"I reject your proposals and challenge your premises. I reject your proposals, first, for the reason that economic separation is impractical. We are a laboring people. We have little to sell except the work of our hands, and, since we cannot find a market for it among our own group, we must of necessity market it among the majority group. A separate existence behind the barriers cannot be achieved when every morning we must go outside of them to earn a livelihood. The establishment of industrial and commercial organizations upon the scale proposed by you requires capital far in excess of that which we control or could reasonably hope to control.

"Your proposals are unsound in principle. The Negro always and under every condition should resist segregation in every form. Its ultimate destruction should never cease to be his major objective. He should never voluntarily accept and institutionalize the status resulting from segregation except where sheer necessity compels him to do so—and then only under continued protest. Without separate institutions, the status which the majority has assigned to us cannot be maintained. No social status can exist unless it is institutionalized.

"Every separate institution, therefore, undeniably tends to perpetuate our present status. Other than the home the only separate major institution which the Negro voluntarily should establish, maintain and support, are those that are absolutely indispensable to his religious, moral and intellectual welfare—churches and schools in the South. The only separate minor institutions which we should build, or maintain and support, are those that serve our daily needs and those that are designed for the achievement of our major objective—the demolishing of all racial barriers.

WOULD HINDER PROGRESS

"The adoption of your proposals would retard immeasurably our advance toward our major objective, because of the evil psychological effects that would follow—effects comparable to those that would have followed the adoption of a certain course of action advocated by Booker T. Washington a generation ago. I confess that I am unable clearly to distinguish our proposals from certain of those put forward by him. The withdrawal to ourselves behind the barriers of segegation, as you propose, inevitably would be construed both by the Negro himself and by the majority group, not as the enforced or involuntary acceptance by us of an inferior status from which there is no immediate hope of escape; but as the voluntary submission on our part to the decree of segregation, and the acceptance by us of all the false implications of inferiority which that decree carries with it.

"The victim of wrong and depression need not bow his head in shame as long as he resists with all the force at his command. Shame lies in submission. Even the appearance of submission we must at all hazards avoid. You refer to the duty that rests upon the 'uplifted classes' of our group. Certainly they bear a heavy responsibility. Their primary duty, however, is to reveal by the things they achieve the utter absurdity of the pretense of inherent racial superiority made by the majority group, and to keep alive in the Negro an indomitable spirit of resistance.

NO LETTING UP

"You advocate withdrawal behind the barriers because members of the majority group, to quote you, 'refuse to treat me like a man.' The psychological reaction is precisely the thing that must be discouraged in our youth. Its further development in them will be fatal to our cause. We must teach them that such a reaction implies some consciousness of racial inferiority. We must teach them to view this question impersonally; for the ability so to view it is the most definite indication of a lack of consciousness of racial inferiority. We are not primarily concerned with **the attitude of members of another** race toward us. We do not seek racial integration. We do not seek even association with the majority group as an end and merely for the sake of association. That which we do seek is common use of our country's institutions. We contend against no race. But without malice, hatred, fear or envy for any, and without regard to any question of race whatsoever, we contend for our rights as American citizens. As American citizens we are entitled to the full, free and untrammeled use of every single institution in America. We will not build separate institutions for our exclusive use when our country's institutions are our birth right. There is not one which we have not helped to establish. For our toil has helped to build this country, our valor to defend it and our souls to make its culture.

FUTURE NOT HOPELESS

"Even if I shared with you the belief that the future was hopeless, I should, nevertheless, reject your proposals; but the future is not hopeless; the barriers of segregation are not indestructible. Slowly but steadily race prejudice in America grows weaker and the status of the Negro improves. Evidence of this fact is to be found on every hand. A generation ago the prediction was widely made that the migration of the Negro from the South and his settlement in any considerable numbers in other sections of the country would immediately create in those sections a condition parallel to that existing in the South. That prediction has been proved false. In less than twenty years 1,500,000 Negroes have left the South and made their homes in the North and West. The Negro population of many of our large cities has in some cases been augmented by tens of thousands. It is not to be denied that these settlers have encountered in their new homes in many cases race prejudice and discrimination as violent as that from which they sought escape. On the other hand, it is not to be denied that practically every community extended to them the equal protection of the law, wider economic opportunity, educational facilities for their children and political equality and civic recognition. Throughout these sections of the country, the number of Negroes holding representative public office and seats in Legislatures is every year increasing. The right of the Negro to enter civil service is being more and more widely enforced. In the colleges and universities of these sections, the number of Negro students is likewise increasing. They participate in athletic competition, both intra-mural and inter-collegiate upon the terms of equality. Less than two years ago, the entire nation gave enthusiastic acclaim to a colored boy who won the sprints in the Olympic game. Negro writers, artists and actors are steadily increasing in number and their work is being accepted and judged by its merits. The attitude of the American Federation of Labor and labor unions generally toward the Negro is fast becoming more liberal. In the city of New York ,less than twenty-five years ago, race riots were not uncommon but the Negro enjoys here today substantial, political and civic equality. All these things are but the objective manifestations of a growing liberality of thought and sentiment on the part of the nation toward the Negro. This thought and

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS

sentiment is as yet unorganized and quiescent or negative; and exists, of course, in varying degrees of shade and intensity. Let it not be said that this is a defense of wrong and injustice. It is merely a simple and fair statement of fact. None condemns more severely than I do those high in the councils of the nation and those who wield powerful influence upon public sentiment for their callous indifference upon this question, and for their inexcusable failure to take a forthright position upon the subject of the nation's duty toward its Negro citizens. The attitude of the average American on this subject is far more liberal than governmental policies or the pronouncements of the nation's leaders.

TRUTH IS EVIDENT

"The truth of the last proposition is self-evident when one considers that wrong and injustice toward the Negro in America is utterly without a moral basis. When slavery was formally abolished, caste was resorted to for the purpose of saving an industrial system. There are those who will defend this on the ground that it was an act of self-preservation on the part of organized society. But even this specious defense is not now available in view of the revolutionary change in industrial economic and social conditions. Discrimination against the Negro in America cannot endure, for it lacks both rational and religious foundations. He is not an economic menace to the majority group; he does not voluntarily threaten its racial integrity and with the same nationality, the same culture and the same religion he must eventually enjoy full and equal participation in the life of the nation. Custom, habit and ignorance are persistent. But I believe implicitly that America possesses both the moral capacity and the inclination to do justice by the Negro. The nations abolished slavery not wholly upon moral grounds but largely so. It enfranchised the freed man and formally conferred upon him the full rights of citizenship, and has made often a sincere and in large part not entirely an unsuccessful effort to protect him in those rights. In view of this, he who says that the future is hopeless for us, disregards not only the history of the Negro in America but also the history of mankind.

"Our fathers never spiritually submitted to slavery. Thousands of them endured hardships and risked death to escape from it when they might have led easy and comfortable lives in bondage. They never ceased to petition a merciful Providence for deliverance; and never did they lose their faith that some day by divine decree their shackles would be stricken off. Let us have courage, patience and faith. Let us confront the future with an indomitable resolutoin to win every right and privilege of American citizenship. . . .

Tobias Scores South for Its Iniustices

LAKE JUNALUSKA, N.C. — Speaking on the general subject, "The South's Opportunity and Responsibility in Race Relationships," Dr. Channing H. Tobias, national secretary for colored work of the YMCA, has just delivered six lectures here before the summer assembly of the Methodist Episcopal Church South (white).

During his stay here, Dr. Tobias was a guest of the Mission Hotel and a dinner was given in his honor attended by forty leaders of the assembly.

In his closing address in the Lakeside Auditorium before approximately two thousand people, the speaker said among other things:

"A tremendous responsibility is placed upon the Christian conscience of the white South with respect to justice to the colored man in the fact that at the present moment the South is not only politically secure, but politically dominant. The leadership of the North, including the President of the United States, is less and less disposed to take any chances of alienating the white South.

South Must Lead

"This gives the South the chance to project a program of interracial co-operation that will not only alter its own historic attitude, but free the North for a fuller expression of justice and fairness to colored people. Too often Northern hotels, colleges, and similar institutions exclude us from privileges on the ground that their Southern patrons object."

Referring to participation in government in the South, Dr. Tobias said: "When through various well-known subterfuges you exclude colored men from the ballot, you leave a stain upon your souls for which there is no excuse. Even in the South, itself, you have evidence of the value of unlimited exercise of franchise rights, for in West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina, where colored people participate freely, not only do colored people enjoy better advantages but relationships between the races are better than in the states farther South."

Must Have Like Standards

In referring to lynching, the speaker spoke appreciatively of the changing attitude towards the crime itself, but insisted that the evil would never be eliminated until the double standards of living and working that cheapened the personalities of colored people were done away with. He used as his chief illustration the Armwood lynching at Princess Anne, Md.

Perhaps the climax of Dr. Tobias's address was reached in his vivid description of the tragic dean of women at Fisk Univer- dean fo women of Fisk University, two years ago. Said the speaker:

"Miss Derricotte was a distinguished leader of her people and a tireless worker in this country and abroad in bringing about better relationships between races. She and a group of friends were driving to her old home in Georgia when her automobile crashed in a collision with another car. There was a hospital in the community, but because of hard and fast lines of racial discrimination she was refused admission and died from the resultant neglect.

"I wonder what Jesus of Nazareth, whom you acknowledge as Lord, would have done. How long will your Christian conscience allow such a condition to obtain?"

Response Sympathetic

There was apparently a very sympathetic response to the address as was shown in the comment of one of the hearers, a minister from South Carolina, in speaking to Dr. Tobias at the close of the meeting. He said: "I would say that I greatly enjoyed your address, but you have made me feel so ashamed of myself that I cannot use the word 'enjoy.' It will be very difficult, but I am going back home to try to make things better."

Greensboro, N. C., News
August 25, 1934

NEGRO QUESTION IS ONE FOR THE SOUTH

No Great Interest In Matter In the North, Says Dr. Channing H. Tobias.

(Special to Daily News)

Lake Junaluska, Aug. 24.—Dr Channing H. Tobias, of Augusta, Ga., and New York, expressed the conviction that the question of race relations is primarily one for the south and the people of the south to settle, not only because the preponderance of negro population is in the south, but because of the south's social and political security. Not only is there no great interest in the matter in the north as has been popularly supposed, but no northern sentiment would resent the south's handling of the race problem. Because of the south's strategic position and her peculiar responsibility in this matter, the south can afford to be generous, he declared.

Dr. Tobias praised the public press as among the helpful agencies which had contributed to better racial understanding and improvement of conditions among negroes in the past few years. "In this connection", he said, "I want to refer to an apparently small matter, but one that has been gratifying to the negro people, that is the policy of most of the leading newspapers in the south in capitalizing the word negro'. This has done much to dignify the race in the eyes of the public and thereby to that extent has helped to bring the personality of the negro nearer on a par with that of other people."

Declaring that the south had nothing to fear politically by launching a broad interracial program, Dr. Tobias said, "There are illustrations in the south to bear this out. In such border states as West Virginia, Kentucky, and near-border states as Tennessee and North Carolina where negroes have some opportunities for political participation there is not only no bad effect, but conditions in these states so far as living conditions, educational opportunities, and general satisfaction among colored people are superior to those in some states where they are disposed to make the negro a political issue.

"I am glad to admit that possibly due to the political solidarity of the south, under the present administration there have been few attempts by politicians to inject the negro problem into local and state issues."

THE WHITE MAN'S PROBLEM

The Negro as a race does not hate the white man. On the contrary, the history of the race in this country shows a devotion and loyalty without a parallel anywhere. In fact, the loyalty of Negroes to their masters during the Civil War is one of the romances of American history. There may be instances of individual Negroes who have become embittered because of real or imaginary wrongs, but the mass of our people are without any feeling of hostility to their white fellow-Americans.

It has been our conviction for a long time that the so-called Negro problem is created in large part by the attitude of many white people towards the Negro. If they were willing to treat him as a man and accord him a "square deal" in those things where their interests touch his, the problem would fade away. The following utterance attributed by The Church Advocate, of Baltimore, to the Rev. Quincy Ewing, would seem to support our view:

"The foundation of it, true or false, is the white man's conviction that the Negro as a race, and as an individual, is his inferior; not human in the sense that he is human, not entitled to the exercise of human rights in the sense that he is entitled to the exercise of them. The problem itself, the essence of it, the heart of it, is the white man's determination to make good his conviction, coupled with constant anxiety lest, by some means, he should fail to make it good. The race problem, in other words, is not that the Negro is what he is in relation to the white man, the white man's inferior; but this, rather: how to keep him what he is in relation to the white man; how to prevent his ever achieving or becoming that which would justify the belief on his part, or on the part o other people, that he and the white man stand on common ground. The expression, "Good Nigger," means everywhere in the South a real Negro, from the Southern standpoint; the expression, "Bad Nigger," means universally one who in some respect, not necesarily criminal, does get out of focus with it. So, stated differently, the race problem is the problem, how to keep the Negro in focus with the traditional standpoint."

Race Problem—1934

United States.

MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR PHONE IS RINGING

A few months ago the Associated Press made international the story that Sylvester Harris, a lowly farmer of Mississippi of the black race, had put through a call to the White House acquainting the President himself with the fact that he was about to lose his small farm and the necessary implements used to promote its success.

Courier 12-1-34

Chronicle

The fact that this lowly farmer traveling his path of life should have been successful in communicating with the President occasioned unusual interest. It at once gave validity to the opinion that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had so tuned his human ear as to not escape hearing the sound made by even the falling sparrow.

Thousands of citizens of the same race to which this lowly farmer belongs are hoping that the President will tune in and be receptive to their messages, asking that he make some outward expression in condemnation of that class of our Southern citizenry whose conscience has become so calloused as to regard lynchings and wanton murders as a part of their pleasure and pastime.

We, the black citizens of America, Mr. President, recognizing you as the chief executive of the nation, are impressed with the belief that you are impelled with the motive of so conducting the affairs of the nation as to bring all racial identities within the circle of what you have been pleased to call "a more abundant life."

The black people of America can only share in that "more abundant life" in proportion to their ability to secure the influence of the President in seeing to it that they be made a party to its distribution. We recognize that political expediency ofttimes acts as a barrier in the proper explanation and advocacy of many social solutions, yet we have learned to believe that no influences motivated by personal or political gain would be effective in preventing the President from challenging wrong, injustice and murder.

During the past two years forty-five black men have been lynched in Southern states; a large percentage of them either taken from, or turned over to the lynchers by elected law officals. A statement from the President of the United States condemning this uncivilized and brutal disregard of law and order, we are led to believe, would have a wholesome effect in mitigating these crimes.

It is to be hoped that the President of all the people will find it convenient, timely and appropriate to say to the nation, in substance, that the existence of the nation itself depends upon its ability to maintain law and order and to sustain the rights of its own nationals against mob violence, and to guarantee every citizen without regard to racial identity an equal opportunity in the courts of law.

"THE SOUTHERNER ASCENDS"

MANY amazing unaccountable things are happening these days. Old institutions are crumbling and many of the custom and practices of yesterday that we htought were with us for all times have utterly changed their make-up. Under this lightning-like procedure the terrific strain that has been exerted upon the average personality has caused a breakdown in some of our sectionalism in good old America. Not the least among these changes is the mysterious something that is happening to the frame of mind of the young southern and northern white youth.

Chronicle 12-1-34

Over the long years that have transpired between the Civil War and the present day, very few of us have kept in mind the fact that terrible conflict wiped out a whole generation of white southerners of the first rank. It took from the South its best and most promising leadership and for a number of years they were forced to measure arms with the North through the efforts of those men who had the interest of their section at heart, but by no means represented the best that the South could have offered under normal circumstances.

But, lo, a new day is dawning in the South, they are gradually overcoming this great handicap while few outsiders are aware of this tremendous change. One of the forces is a natural one and is represented in the matter of TIME. The other is represented by the great beacons of education that are rising there in all their might. They are focussed upon the attention of the observant through Vanderbilt, Duke University, Tulane, Georgia Tech and a host of other institutions.

As we see it, the mere existence of these institutions may very well cloud the more significant happening. For it is not the beautiful buildings or large endowments that concern us most here, but it is a new type of YOUTH that continually marches forth from their doors to handle the destiny of the South. A startling number of young men and women are marching into the ranks of certain liberal and inter-racial organizations. If you doubt this, look at the back-grounds of many who are active workers in the F. O. R., the Y. M., Y. W. and many other organizations and will will find that a surprising number are Southerners; further, that they are much more whole-hearted in their approach to the problem than many a northern youth. Yes, we know that they still lunch and persecute the Negro there, but these young men and women are just moving into control. There is consequently every reason to believe that the days of the Vandamns, Coles and Bleases are in their twilight stages. That while there will be more villianies practised, more and tmore that type of savagery will be delegated to the pages of history rather than reality. For these young men and women see that many of the heavy burdens of the South can only be alleviated through abandoning some of the dual practises.

To those who say this is merely a "Tempest in a Teapot" we would briefly point to the lethargic reactions of the white youth of the North. There is a surprising lack of interest upon their part in the matter of race relations. Not only is this manifested by the youth, but the adults very seldom do more than go through the motions of maintaining their interest in this adjustment. In their efforts to avoid the issue on many occasions they will throw themselves into international relations and what have you. Not that we do not recognize the fact that such problems are of vital importance, but must assuredly the depth and extent of one's appreciation of these pjroblems will largely be determined by the cleanliness of their own household.

We are by no means prophets, but we do have the feeling that within the next fifty years the South is going to sweep past the North in matter of intelligent interpretation of better race relations. The Northerner is going to have nothing to gloat about, save the old Abolitionist Days that are past and gone.

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Lafayette 12-1-34

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PICKENS ATTACKS BYRNES JIM CROW IN S. CAROLINA

Courier 11-17-34

Tells Mixed Audience In Charleston of Senator's Hypocrisy In Being Indignant Over Hazelton's Massacre.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Nov. 15—(By ANP)—"It is the merest hypocrisy for Senator James F. Byrnes, of this state, to get hot under the collar when some Republicans are accused of shooting up parading Democrats in Pennsylvania and to be absolutely silent about the attack made by white Democrats on Negro voters in Missouri,—in southern Missouri, which is really Arkansas in spirit." The colored audience, with a few Charleston whites, were at first astonished, and then later resigned itself to laughter, as beginning with these words, William Pickens attacked the whole disfranchisement system of the south. "Does not Byrnes know that in South Carolina there are places where the Negro is not only driven from the polls by violence, if he presents himself, but feels so certain of the violence that he will not even present himself. Perhaps Pennsylvania should investigate South Carolina—there's more to investigate here. And, by the way, those Republicans in Pennsylvania, accused of shooting Democrats, are much more likely to be dealt with by law 'without outside interference' than are the law-breakers at the polls of South Carolina."

Then he turned his attention to the Daily News and Courier: "The Courier says that the Negroes should be given a place in Mississippi. Why not in South Carolina? The Negro is already fixed up pretty well in South Carolina; why does not The Courier move out and let the Negroes stay here, where they have been longer than they have been in Mississippi: It would be easier for the News and Courier to move than for the Negroes to move,—for there would be much less to move in case of The Courier. The Courier editorials on the Negro question have been silly like that ever since the days when their chief pastime was attacking W. E. B. DuBois and the Crisis."

The audience was in good mood by this time, even the whites present sharing in the laughter. "Jim Crow, all sorts of public jim crow, is economic idiocy: I once rode 200 miles in the state of Louisiana and was the only passenger in a car with 54 seats. The money I paid for fare did not reimburse the road for the grease on the ends of the axles. Everybody pays the wasteful cost of public jim crow. Of course, the Negro robbed by it both directly and indirectly: in the first place, he pays first class charges for third class fares and services.

"No civilizattion with jim crow in it will ever have the shadow of a chance to keep pace with free civilizations. The burden of jim crow alone will keep the south 50 years behind the procession. We might as well face the facts and stop our polite lying about it: we colored people hate jim crow, as both an insult and an injury."

About the schools, he said: "The greatest single robbery of the century committed against the Negro population of South Carolina, has been the robbery of their just share of the funds for education. Every worker creates the state treasury and Negroes have been paying for the education of white folks,—and then paying a second tax by putting their children into private schools, like Avery Institute, and paying tuition."

After an hour's attack in this vein, more vigorous than anything ever heard in the north from William Pickens, one white Charlestonian paid a membership in the Association, and another white gave a donation, and offered to help any five Negroes present to pay their memberships.

"We really want to make South Carolina, not only a better place for Negroes to live in, but a better place for white people to live together with Negroes in. Negroes cannot be happy, if white people are miserable in this state,—and white people cannot be happy if the colored population is miserable. This is a fifty-fifty state in its two racial groups. We do not aim to violate law, but to enforce, and we do not mean to stop, in spite of the Byrneses and the News and Courier."

Washington, DuBois Failed in Race's Dilemma—Jones

Temple University Students Hear Writer Tell of Same Grim Struggles Against Mr. James Crow in Life's Battle.

PHILADELPHIA—Pointing out that neither the late Booker T. Washington formula of "one in the hand but separate as the fingers," nor the W. E. B. DuBois preachment of fusion of the "talented tenth" has gone far in solving the race problem satisfactorily, William N. Jones of the AFRO-AMERICAN editorial staff, told sociology students at Temple University Monday that young thinkers are seeking their own panacea.

The race question in America is as much a tragedy for white youths as it is a source of injustice for the colored, said the speaker. Mr. Jones stressed that biological and sociological laws in fact favored the colored group because they must increase their strength to meet the unequal struggle for existence while white Americans are cracking under the strain of moral and ethical impact.

Sorely Disappointed

"Nearly fifty years ago," averred Mr. Jones, "Booker T. Washington came into the interracial wilderness preaching the doctrine that if colored youths properly prepared themselves for industry and became competent artisans America would give them an equitable place in the industrial world.

"Having a mandate from the white leaders above and below the Mason and Dixon line, young colored America felt that the Tuskegee sage could not be wrong. There were other voices, of course, crying in the wilderness, but the rank and file of black America pinned hopes to the Booker T. Washington formula.

"Now, fifty years later, the group is found facing the same grim struggle against Mr. James Crow in industry and life. A higher death rate, less cultural opportunities, and a rising tide of racial prejudice are also found.

DuBois Formula

"About the time Dr. Washington reached the zenith of his career, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois projected a formula which appealed to the militant new thought of the time. Through higher educational processes the DuBois plan was to prepare a kind of 'talented tenth to lead the way in a march across the color line.

"This idea was projected into the program of the NAACP. Although Dr. DuBois has announced that he has lost faith in this doctrine and favors the recognition of segregation as a basis for a racial achievement formula, the organization which he began staunchly clings to the policy of fighting segregation.

"In his most recent book, Dr. James Weldon Johnson indicates that the NAACP program is the ideal one for the solution of the color problem. While he does not say so directly, the inference is that this process of fusion of cultures and activities will lead to amalgamation as the ultimate solution.

Slow Process

"If I properly interpret the trend of racial objectives, there are well defined movements which refuse to depend solely on any one of these formulas alone. There is a growing realization that several of them must be used in well-directed minority group strategy.

"While appreciating fully the value of such movements as the NAACP, the Urban League, the Interracial Movement, the newer idea frankly recognizes that there must be some more militant blasting at the barriers of segregation and racial limitations.

"Even revolution and alignments with other groups and international set-ups must not be passed over if needed in a fight for a place which will give the group complete equality of opportunity.

"While the leaders of the group have no illusions as to the futility of trying to fight their way out by force, they realize that some more effective means than any used in the past must be found. They are therefore widening their search for ways and means.

"There is considerable opinion that if the whites insist that none but white-skinned people will enjoy full benefits of American civilization, the colored group must find means to lighten its pigmentation. There are thousands of colored Americans passing over into the white race under this pressure."

Racial Integrity

In answer to a barrage of questions following his talk, the speaker touched on Communism, the share crop system in the South, labor unions and amalgamation.

Mr. Jones stated that while the group would prefer establishment on purely racial achievement rather than lose themselves in an American white civilization, it rebelled at the price it was having to pay.

The share crop system in the South he characterized as but a slightly modified form of human slavery. There is every indication that the colored working group would have to organize especially to help destroy the American Federation of Labor in sheer self-defense, it was further declared.

On the question of Communism, Mr. Jones said that there could be no doubt that the Communists had made inroads into colored thought. Their stand on the racial question, which calls for complete equality, was one with which every colored citizen would agree if he gave free expression, the speaker declared.

He stated that it was far more important to white America that the race problem be solved properly than to colored folk. To keep the colored citizens an oppressed minority, white America is not only sacrificing deep-seated ethical values, but is having to scrap the very essence of its religions, Mr. Jones averred.

BALTIMORE, MD.

Sun

DEC 1 1934

The Negro's Need Of Sympathetic Influence

To the Editor of The Sun—*Sir:* Noting often the dreadful and distressing scenes accompanying the "lynching" of Negroes, I marvel that the new South has become more corrupt and barbarous than the old South. With the Negro politically lynched, and the Government entirely in the hands of the white race, one would imagine that a "superior" race could afford to be generous.

In the presence of this awful white demoralization, I like to recall the words of a friend of many years, which intimate the abiding effect issuing from "the great house" many years ago. The Rt. Rev. Dr. H. M. Jackson, some time Bishop Coadjutor of Alabama, more than a quarter of a century ago, in addressing a great missionary meeting in the North, said:

There is not throughout this country a more certain sense of security of life and property than there is in the Black Belt of Alabama. That section of Alabama, where the Negro is ten to one, is the only section of this country that I have visited where all doors are open and a lock is a strange thing.

If what are called the better class of whites could find some way more sympathetically to touch and influence the Negroes their labors would be well rewarded in more satisfying community life. Soon or later, if they do not, the lower class of whites may find it to their interest to cultivate more friendly relations with the black man, in the interest of some propaganda.

George F. Bragg, Jr.

Baltimore, Nov. 24, 1934.

Race Problem — 1934

West Indies.

GOVERNOR ASSAILED BY VIRGIN ISLANDERS

Paraders Demand Dr. Pearson Resign—They Will Submit Request to Roosevelt.

8-18-34

By The Associated Press.

ST. CROIX, Virgin Islands, Aug. 17.—A parade marching to the government building at Christiansted to demand the resignation of Governor Paul M. Pearson was stopped by police today before it had reached its destination.

The demonstration, one of a series against the Pearson administration, had been organized by Morris Davis, president of the Roosevelt-Garner Democratic Club, and Anselmo Fabio, member of the St. Croix Colonial Council.

At a meeting preceding the parade the Governor was denounced, and then the crowd, accompanied by a band, started to Government House to present a verbal request to Lieut. Gov. Lawrence W. Cramer for the resignation of Dr. Pearson, who was not present today.

The request later will be submitted in writing, those in charge of the meeting said, and a copy will be sent to President Roosevelt.

The demonstrators had a permit to march, but as their number increased the police decided to stop the parade. Armed police held the crowd back from the Government Building.

No Color Issue in Cuban Revolution

American Student in Havana University Finds Trouble Lies Between Poor and Rich. Most of the Poor Are Colored—as Are Also Many Army Officers, Cops, Motormen and Conductors. Black Students Raise Just as Much Hell. Banana Crackers.

I hope my article gets American students interested in the dark Cuban. I wish more colored students could come here. They would be well received.
EMMETT J. MARSHALL.

By EMMETT J. MARSHALL

For many months I had read in American newspapers about the Cuban revolution. At each reading I thought, and in my letters to my professors at Minnesota University and white friends elsewhere I insisted that fundamentally the disquiet in Cuba was caused by the pernicious American color propaganda which had caused the black and white Cuban to clutch at each other's throats.

I emphasized the probability that this propaganda had caused the white Cuban, who once honored and respected the dark Cuban official, to look upon him now with disdain and contempt. I asserted, moreover, that this race question had been ingeniously spread through the American newspapers, American films, and American tourists, their apology to the contrary notwithstanding.

Off to Cuba

Being unable to accept America's comment on Cuban affairs, I set out for Cuba; and am happy to report that, in a large measure, I was wrong. For at present there are more colored officers in the army and on the police staff than there were before the revolution.

Nay, more, there are a representative number of black street-car motormen, conductors, and municipal bus drivers whose duty takes them by the American Hotel Plaza. By way of suggestion, may those who have eyes to see, see; and seeing, may they have Americans behave accordingly.

Economic Troubles

Cuba's struggle, therefore, is not one based on color. It is a struggle between those who have and those who have not. It is at basis economic. But being economic in character, it goes without saying that most of those who have not are colored; for, in the main, the Cuban colored people were still slaves irrigating the farms of Cuba with the sweat of their brows and the blood of their bodies when the American colored man was free to look for his forty acres of land and a mule.

Therefore, the economic struggle here as elsewhere means that the former slaves are hardest hit. It means that the dark woman must wash two bundles of clothes for the price of one; that large families must live in a single room; that the dark girl must bend and crawl low while scrubbing her mistress's floor; that washing windows and scrubbing floors are two commandments that must be kept seven days each week by a large part of the Cuban colored population.

The Cuban youth declares this to be a problem that concerns all Cubans, and especially the Cuban worker; that Cuba must be for the Cubans, and that the workers must be paid and treated well.

Colleges Are Center

The center of this youth movement is in the institutions of learning. The influence of the Cuban student is felt in every nook and corner of Cuba. Consequently, the academically-written card which each foreigner pledges himself to obey on landing in Cuba reads: "El portador se obliga a no desempenar empleo ni trabajo de ninguna clase Cuba" (the holder also agrees not to engage in pursuit of work or employment in any shape or form, during his or her permanency in Cuba).

What an excellent suggestion for Uncle Sam! What a grand lesson for the American student! But the American student is content to be led by blind men stumbling in the dark while the Cuban student rebels against that leadership. He insists that old age has given us bloody war, a world-wide depression, and misery; that youth must be given a chance to do wiser and better things.

Students Wake up

Therefore, in this beautiful but unhappy land, the student and the revolution are inseparable, and the cause is not far to seek. The Cuban student, like his American confrere, was taught and blindly believed that the executives in charge of the government and the economic life of the nation had risen to that place of attainment and honor by virtue of their moral integrity, their innate prowess, and genius.

As long as the sea was calm, there was smooth sailing; but when the storm arose, there was no competent captain in charge of the ship of state. The billows rolled, faith was lost, the ship crashed. The students discovered that well-nigh all of those before whom they had reverently bowed—those whom they had considered to be upright, grand, and true—were cheap political grafters, common scoundrels, and crooks holding their positions by political trickery and base bribery.

These sins of their sires put the students' teeth on edge, and the black students raised just as much hell as the white ones.

Radicalism Identified with Books

So, 'tis an unpleasant task to be engaged in any academic pursuit. To carry a book in Cuba is to run the risk of identifying one's self with a group which is schooled in the art of rebelling. When the Cuban student chooses to be obstinate he is, in truth, the balkiest mule that was ever hitched up. Tell him six and six are twelve and he'll shrug his shoulders and swear your argument is based on something you heard yesterday or at some other distant time. Today six and six are less than seven.

At the other extreme, the police with their Cuban temperament refuse to accept twelve as the correct answer, and insist that the sum of two sixes was only twelve yesterday, but today 'tis fifteen. The police, being unable to convince the student by argument, try to persuade him with the club; but the police are not the only ones who carry guns and swing clubs. The student is a past-master at that, too. Consequently, force meets force.

Such was the nature of things at the Instituto de Habana on the third of September. The battle between the police and the students caused me to leave the Biblioteca Historica in such haste that Eddy Tolan going in the same direction would have made a poor showing. The shots were going in all directions. I fell to the ground and crawled a bit to be sure of safety. The shots continued and crawling was too slow. So I got up and got stretched out once more. A half mile away I stopped to catch my breath.

An old Cuban gentleman asked me what was the matter. I explained that the street-car line had been broken, the traffic was at a standstill, and the shooting between the students and police was so terrific that I had to lie on the ground and crawl to avoid injury. "Oh," he said, "that's nothing. Why didn't you stay there and help."

Life on Banana Crackers

On the ten of August a strike began in the post offices of Cuba. It was almost impossible to send or receive mail. I needed money in the worst way. I knew that there was a check for me at the post office which could be received if I had a note from the American consul which could be presented to the military officials who guarded the building.

In spite of the fact that I had all the papers that the American passport office and the Cuban government thought necessary and proper to establish my citizenship and identify myself, the consul refused my request, saying that my affidavit which bore my photo of recent date, my tourist card issued by the Departamento de Immigracion of Cuba, a pass issued me by the Union Pacific Railroad, and my United States postal savings account certificates did not prove to him that I was an American.

Consequently, I had to live on bananas, crackers, and water for almost a week. The fast was broken when I got some Cuban friends to intercede for me and get my mail. But, withal, it is great to live in Cuba; I like Cuba and the Cuban people, and I don't mind the thrills.

Cuba, a Land that Has No Color Line

Portrait of Black General Hangs in Havana Capitol Beside That of Theodore Roosevelt. Twenty-five Per Cent of Island Population Is Colored.

By EMMETT J. MARSHALL

HAVANA, Cuba — Most of the university-bred colored Americans of the North, at one time or another, and for one reason or another, have found themselves members of some class in American history — sociology, anthropology, or psychology.

Each of these social sciences deals in some manner with the human emotion, and since the color question in the United States is, in fact, a national religion, it is the root of that emotion called race hate, being omnipotent and omnipresent.

Consequently, these students have spent some time analyzing and hearing the professor interpret and explain away the why and the wherefore of America's color prejudice. Invariably, the fact that the colored man — in the land of the brave and the home of the free — was once a slave is given as a basic reason for America's social philosophy regarding the black man.

Too often the class accepts this without question. Too often the student and professor confuse cause and effect, and take the explanation for a justification.

Therefore, it may not be amiss to judicially review and calmly inquire into the comparative attitudes of peoples to this question.

No Jim Crow in Cuba

Just ninety miles from America's shore is the Island of Cuba. In the Cuban Republic there are no signs reading "For White Only." There are no trains carrying jim-crow coaches. There is no place of business or pleasure that is closed to the colored man. No trouble to get prompt and courteous service in whichever hotel or cafe one enters.

The colored man goes to any school he chooses, and causes no national sensation when he enters the military academy. Those who enter the medical schools are not denied any of the opportunities or privileges connected with obstetrical or any other kind of training.

The colored man can take his interneship in any hospital in Cuba. He does not have to get an organization with a hundred thousand liberal whites and colored to force him into school dormitories.

Army Comands Open

There is no problem created by black officers of a midnight hue whose commands are cheerfully obeyed.

Hanging on the wall of this beautiful Cuban capitol of ten thousand lights, just second from the picture of the late Theodore Roosevelt, is the picture of General Guillermo Moncada who was neither pink, nor cream, nor brown; but honest-to-goodness black.

The citizens of this republic think of him only as a great Cuban general. In Cuba, the black man can be a gentleman and enjoy any right or privilege enjoyed by any other Cuban and creates no problem.

Cuban Slavery Forgotten

Here in Havana, one sees black soldiers and black officers — not in the "Black Belt," for there is no such animal. The black officers and soldiers are everywhere, and they are not treated as black officers, but as Cuban officers, even by the Americans! For the black Cuban officer occupies every inch of his authority.

In the light of America's inhuman attitude toward the colored man, which she claims is due to his economic inferiority and his status as a former slave, it is interesting and enlightening to note that the black Cubans were, in the main, slaves. Slavery was introduced into Cuba about 1773 and was abolished by President Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, December 27, 1868.

Therefore, the colored American was free while his Cuban brothers were still slaves, irrigating this tropical land with the sweat of their brows and the blood of their bodies.

Economic Theory Blasted

If we claim the economic status has a lot to do with it, my reply is that the colored American probably — very probably — controls more wealth than any other group of colored people anywhere; and certainly many times more than the colored Cuban.

Nor can we claim that the small percentage of colored people in Cuba tends to minimize the color question; for in the United States, only ten per cent of the total population is of the colored race, while twenty-five per cent of the population of Cuba is colored.

No Intermarriage Rush

Moreover, the theory that social equality for colored Americans would lead to a mad rush on the marriage bureau for intermarriages is belied by the behavior of the colored Cuban.

According to the last census, there are only 461,000 mulattoes in this island. That can be multiplied many times in the United States, where nothing is on the level. Here no woman feels obliged to say she was attacked if she is caught breaking one of two commandments. Consequently, there are no rape charges in this island. And a Cuban is a Cuban for all o' that.

Race Problem - 1934

West Indies

Havana Bows to Washington

Cuba has again turned to the right. The new President, Carlos Mendieta, represents a triumph of Washington—not the new Washington revealed by Mr. Hull at Montevideo, but the old Washington which insists that law and order is above all else a requisite for Latin America and the *sine qua non* of American recognition. The mild-mannered physician, Dr. Grau San Martin, incurred the dislike of Ambassador Welles, who believed the Grau government immoral and unrepresentative. Mr. Welles' unpopularity, due to his backing of the American-made government of de Cespedes and his later opposition to Grau, made it necessary for him to resign as Ambassador. But somehow or other, even against the best judgment of Secretary Hull and of President Roosevelt, Welles' policy continued in effect. Mr. Caffery, sent to Havana by President Roosevelt, told the young Sergeant Batista, who became chief of Cuba's army after Machado's fall, that President Grau would not be recognized by the United States. This final word concerning the ultimate requirement for the life of any Cuban government led the army chief to shift his backing to Mendieta, whom, it was known, the United States would recognize.

Recognition of the Mendieta government is announced by Washington less than a week after it assumed power. The announcement does not reveal just how Washington is so sure that the new government represents "the will of the people"—any more than it reveals why it knew that the Grau government, which stood for some five months in spite of all kinds of difficulties, did not represent the will of the people.

From all the information we have, including that brought by keen observers of the last hectic week in Havana, it would seem we are back to the old policy of meddling in the internal affairs of Latin America. No doubt Sr. Mendieta represents the best of the old political groups of Cuba. He has an honorable record as an opponent of the disgraceful Machado regime and as a sincere advocate of honest government. But there is little to show that he understands the new forces governing the modern world. The point is that the Cuban problem has too long been settled—or unsettled—in Washington. Until Cuba is allowed to make her own mistakes, suffer the consequences of her own misdeeds, work out her own salvation by the trial and error method, she can make little progress. The new Washington knows this. Secretary Hull announced it at Montevideo. But the old Washington—the career diplomats—evidently still retains its hold.

10,000 Present At 4th Congress Of Cuban Labor

Daily Worker

Ford Pledges Support of TUUL and U.S. Workers in Struggles

1-15-34

BULLETIN

HAVANA, Jan. 14.—All gas and electric workers from Havana as far east as Camaguey have gone on strike.

The strikers turned down Col. Batista's proposals after a short conference with him and company officials.

Santiago public utility workers are expected to join the strike shortly.

* * *

(Special to the Daily Worker)

HAVANA, Cuba, Jan. 14.—In spite of repeated threats by the Grau San Martin government, the Fourth Congress of the National Labor Confederation of Cuba opened last night at the Cristal Stadium, with 10,000 in attendance.

More than 2,000 delegates representing over 300,000 workers, are already registered at the Congress, and more delegates are due to arrive.

The night before the Congress, word reached the organization committee that U. S. Ambassador Jefferson Caffery, dining wth President Grau San Martin and Col. Fulgencio Batista, asked that the Congress be smashed, on the ground that it was to lay plans for the organization of sugar strikes th oughout the island.

All evening and during the night delegations visited the president, finally forcing a permit for the Congress, although a sport demonstration and races were banned.

The Congress was opened by Cesar Vilar, national secretary of the Natinoal Labor Confederation, who gave a resume of the work since the Third Congress was held in 1925.

Following the election of the presidium, James W. Ford, Negro worker representing the Trade Union Unity League of the United States, and a member of the executive committee of the Red International of Labor Unions, addressed the delegates and assembled workers and through them the Cuban working class.

Tremendous Ovation

Ford received a tremendous ovation, and even before he began to speak he was asked to rise again and again, so that all in the huge arena could see him. Ford promised the full support of the American workers in the struggles of the Cuban toilers for liberation, and exposed the arguments of the reformists that the Cuban revolution was impossible without a revolution in the United States.

He told of the demonstration organized in New York against the Woolworth Company in support of the ten-cent-store strikes in Cuba and told of the arrest of a group of sailors on the S. S. Wyoming, who refused to stay in Cuban waters. Ford will make a thorough investigation of the work of the Cuban trade unions during the course of his visit here.

Following Ford's speech, the Congress was addressed by representatives from the Sugar Central "Nazabel," where the workers began their sharp revolutionary swing in 1932, by taking the Central and holding it for two days, as well as the Central Jarona, the largest in the world.

First Soviet

A stirring ovation was received by the representative of the workers from the sugar city Mabay, where the first Soviet in Cuba was established.

The delegates cheered Calderio, secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, who greeted the convention in the name of the Party. This was the first open speech by a secretary of the Party since the rise of Machado in 1925.

Struggle for Power

The speaker called upon the workers at the Congress to consider not only the fight for immediate demands, but also the intensification of the fight for power for the working class of Cuba. He showed in detail that it was possible for the workers of the island to take power, and said that the Communist Party was determined to lead the workers toward that goal.

The Communis leader called upon the revolutionary unions to combat the reactionary coup d'etat plans of the A.B.C., even up to the point of armed struggle and political strike, at the same time continuing and increasing the fight against the present regime.

Loud speakers carried all the speeches to thousands of workers assembled outside of the arena. The Congress continues today at the Tropical Arena.

* * *

N. Y. Pickets Arrested

NEW YORK.—Eight members of the Young Communist League and three from the International Labor Defense were arrested last Saturday for picketing the Woolworth store at Brighton Beach and Coney Island Ave., in support of the Cuban Woolworth strikers.

More than 1,000 workers gathered to listen to the pickets explain that they were supporting the struggles of the Cuban workers.

The police arrested the first picketline, and, as they were being taken away, another one formed immediately. When the second one was arrested a third line was formed.

The young workers were held on $500 bail each.

When the manager of the store saw the militancy of the pickets he said to a worker standing near him, "I wish Hitler would come down here and wipe out some of the goddam Jews."

Protest Caffery Plot

NEW YORK.—The hollowness of the recent Roosevelt statement that henceforth the United States will not intervene in the affairs of other nations is thoroughly exposed in the call of the new interventionist Ambassador to Cuba, Jefferson Caffrey, for the crushing of the current Congress of the National Federation of Labor, declares the Anti-Imperialist League, in making known several wires it had sent yesterday.

Wires sent to the Cuban President and President Roosevelt by the Anti-Imperialist League protested Jefferson Caffery's interventionist tactics and demanded complete freedom from interference in the Congress of the militant labor Federation.

Roosevelt Designates Advisory Committee Of 7 For Virgin Isles

Daily Worker 3-3-34

WASHINGTON, D. C.—President Roosevelt has designated an advisory council of seven to serve with Governor Pearson in putting over the new and comprehensive program designed to promote the economic and social advancement of the Virgin Islands. Two Cabinet officers—Secretary Ickes and Secretary Wallace—have been appointed along with George Foster Peabody of Saratoga Springs, Alfred K. Stern

of Chicago, Walter White and Charles W. Taussig of New York, and Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University.

The Federal Government has lent $1,000,000 to develop the rum trade, which was a thriving and profitable business on the islands before the advent of prohibition. President Roosevelt also has in mind educational and housing improvements which will mean much to the future progress and welfare of the natives.

George Foster Peabody has been deeply concerned in the Virgin Islands welfare for several years and was responsible for the sending of a commission there under the auspices of Hampton and Tuskegee which made a survey of conditions, chiefly educational. He is outspoken in his praise of the progressive administration Governor Pearson has given the islands.

NAME WHITE ON V. ISLES COUNCIL

3-3-34

Roosevelt Asks NAACP Sec'y to Serve on Advisory Group for Islands

Mobile, Ala.

DR. JOHNSON INCLUDED

WASHINGTON—Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was named as one of the seven members of an advisory council for the Virgin Islands by President Franklin D. Roosevelt today. He is a native of Atlanta, Georgia.

Other members of the council are Secretary Ickes, Secretary Wallace, Alfred K. Stern of Chicago, George Foster Peabody of Saratoga Springs, Dr. Mordecai Johnson of Howard university, Washington, and Charles W. Taussing of New York City.

President Roosevelt outlined the purpose of the council in his letter to Mr. White, saying:

"The administration has formulated a comprehensive plan for the social and economic advancement of the people of the Virgin Islands, which is being financed from public works funds. For the first time sufficient capital is available to develop a well-rounded program which will bring a permanent benefit to the islands if properly executed. The economic phases will be conducted on a non-profit-sharing basis and will include the development of cane lands and the operation of sugar mills and a rum distillery.

"Coincidentally, the social aspects will be cared for through adult education, nursery schools, homesteading and improved housing conditions. Cooperative methods will be used wherever practicable, which will enable these people to help themselves toward an improved standard of living.

"I desire to form an advisory council of seven members to assist in the program, and I would like you to serve with the Secretary of Agriculture, business and professional men and others interested in the economic condition of the Negro. As you know, the [illegible] of American citizens, white and black.

Impressive among those who spoke in favor of the enactment of a federal law were representatives and women from the Eastern shore. [illegible] active functions of management will be assumed by the Governor and his staff and by men who will be engaged for the purpose under the general supervision of the Department of the Interior. I believe your support will be helpful in this unique movement and that you will have an opportunity for accomplishment in a field in which I am sure you are interested. Will you please advise me whether you would accept an appointment to the council?

Daily Worker

Cuban Regime Uses Lynching to Smash Negro, White Unity

(Special to the Daily Worker)

HAVANA, March 8.—An organized campaign of lynching and terror against the Negroes of Cuba has broken out simultaneously in the cities of Trinidad, Manzanillo, Guira de Melena, Alquizar, San Antonio de los Banos and other parts of the island.

In Trinidad a Negro student, Jose M. Proveyor, was lynched in one of the main streets of the city, as the climax of a campaign of terrorization against Negroes.

Several armed men had attempted to prevent a Negro from walking through the Cespedes park.

3-9-34

A skirmish followed, during which shots were fired near the Hotel Canada and the headquarters of the chief of police. A white man was killed, who before he died said he had been shot from the police headquarters.

Negro Shops Wrecked

A white lynch gang was formed, in which were members of the police force, who marched down the streets shouting "Down with Negroes!" They attacked several Negroes, and destroyed five shops, owned by Negroes. It was at this time that Proveyor was pursued, stabbed several times, and hanged in the street.

This drive had been prepared for by discharging three Negroes from the police force. Later, 15 Negroes were arrested for 72 hours by order of the military supervisor, Cabo Pascual Perez, and they were threatened with death by the mayor Herman Patterson of the Nationalist Party, and abused by the judge Fabio Sanchez, of the ABC.

In spite of the fact that specific accusations have been made against the men responsible for these outrages, and in spite of the fact that Negro committees have gone from Trinidad to Havana to make protests, the government has not made any attempt to take any energetic measures against the guilty.

Communist Party Accuses

These systematic attacks on Negroes, which go completely unpunished, combined with a systematic chauvinistic propaganda carried out by the ABC, the Cuban Ku Klux Klan, created by the ABC for this purpose, actively protected by the Jefferson Caffrey-Carlos Mendieta government, are a part of the government's drive to smash the unity of Negro and white toilers which has reached a high level in the many struggles in Cuba.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba has prepared a detailed indictment of the organizations and men responsible for this lynch terror, and has launched a wide campaign to expose the facts to the Cuban masses and to force the punishment of the lynchers.

Governor Of Trinidad Bars Nancy Cunard's Book As "Seditious"

New York

PORT OF SPAIN, Trinidad, B. W. I.—Great surprise was expressed here Thursday when the Governor issued a proclamation in the Royal Gazette prohibiting the sale of Nancy Cunard's book entitled "The Negro" in that island on the grounds that it is "a seditious publication."

The proclamation says:

"Whereas the Governor and the Executive Council are of the opinion that the Negro anthology is a seditious publication;

"Therefore, I, Alfred Claud Hollis, Governor aforesaid, do prohibit the importation into this colony of said publication."

The Executive Council includes among its members two Negroes, both eminent lawyers.

ROOSEVELT CONFIDENCE.

Nothing could better furnish an example of what Roosevelt enthusiasm means and what confidence he inspires than his recent visit to St. Thomas and the Virgin Islands.

Constitution

He left behind him a people full of hope and a realization that something was being done for them; that measures had been initiated which would restore to the islands some of their former rich prosperity if not all of it.

7-12-34

President Herbert Hoover visited the islands about two years ago. He left them plunged into deeper gloom. Indeed, he helped plunge them there with the public utterance that they were veritable poorhouses of the nation. He offered no constructive words or suggestions.

The appearance of Roosevelt engendered an enthusiasm which the islands had not known for years. They were promised aid. They were told that it would take time, but they have confidence in the administration and look toward the future with optimism.

Practically the same thing happened to this country. Roosevelt turned the tide of human thought and replaced dark fears and despair with hope.

He turned, too, the tide of antagonism toward this country which was growing in all South American and Central American countries. The attitude of "the friendly neighbor" is the proper one.

Certain groups, knowing their toes will be stepped on, as promised by the president in his address before departing on his vacation, are openly critical of the New Deal. But the people know. They are following Roosevelt. No amount of selfish criticism will blind their eyes to progress in government and humanity.

Jamaica Is. Jails Two Ras Tafari Cult Leaders

Atlanta Ga. Constitution 3-4-34

KINGSTON, Jamaica — Two leaders of the cult of Ras Tafari, a movement for the freedom of colored Jamaicans from British rule, were convicted here last week, and sentenced to jail on charges of sedition.

Leonard Howell, organizer of the movement, received a sentence of two years, and Robert Hines, Howell's chief disciple, was sentenced to a term of twelve months. The pair were accused of attempting to teach the natives that Ras Tafari, Emperor of Abyssinia, is greater than King George of England, and inducing them to cease payment of taxes to the governor of Jamaica.

Sought to Oust Ofays

The purpose of the cult is understood to be the ultimate expulsion of white people from the island. The leaders, holding meetings in rural districts, would tell their hearers that Jamaica belonged to the colored people and that Ras Tafari, a descendant of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, was the real king of their race, and not King George.

At the trial, which lasted several days, witnesses for the prosecution told of having heard Howell tell his audiences that they were not British subjects, and instruct them to take off their hats and sing a song adapted from the British national anthem, with their minds on Ras Tafari.

Ras Tafari Called True Ruler

Testifying in his own defense Howell told the court that his countrymen loved him for his stand, and that since Ras Tafari is emperor of Ethiopia, they, as Ethiopians, must acknowledge him as their true ruler.

He stated that King George himself acknowledged Ras Tafari by sending Prince George, with gifts to the court, to the emperor's coronation. He declared that he would die defending the rights of his race.

Hines, when called to testify, denied having told the natives not to pay taxes because of loans made to white planters to aid them in a crisis, but admitted having said that the land belonged to the black people.

Haiti.

Race Problem - 1934

West Indies.

What Is Behind the Roosevelt Deal in Haiti?

By S. JUSTE ZAMOR

ALTHOUGH it would be the greatest pleasure for all workers to see Haiti, the small island Negro republic in the Caribbean, freed from the yoke of American imperialism, at the same time, one should have no illusion about the steps being taken by the Roosevelt government and Mr. Stenio Vincent, representing Haiti.

The move taken by Roosevelt, palmed off as "freedom for Haiti," is one of his strategical maneuvers for the preparation of the rapidly approaching imperialist war. Mr. Vincent and Roosevelt, sensing the widespread discontent and the anti-imperialist feeling stirring the broad Haitian masses, adopt a policy of concealed control over Haiti. Roosevelt is now putting in practice Napoleon's dictum when he said 131 years ago: "If I had known I would have never tried to control Haiti by force. On the contrary, I should have tried to control her through the medium of "Toussaint l'Overture." There was great doubt at that time as to how successful he would have been.

Now, the vicious fascist methods that Mr. Vincent is using against the Haitian masses have aroused their indignation to such an extent that he fears a revolutionary upsurge. In Haiti today freedom of speech, press have been suppressed. The right of assembly has been denied to the people. The mails are censored. If the workers make any attempt to organize themselves in order to fight against the low wages they receive from the American bosses, they are thrown into prison. In order for the Haitian prostitute politicians to further live on the backs of the toiling masses, they are actively carrying on a wave of demagogic propaganda, tinged with the fake ideology of nationalism, and at the same time they keep the overwhelming majority of the population in the most backward stage of development and exploitation.

One of the weapons used by these parasites for carrying out their demagogies, is Mr. Vincent's newspaper, "Haiti Journal."

Today in Haiti the government is building a big army. Due to widespread unemployment in the country, every young man is being forced to join that army. One thing I would like to know and many Haitians here also are asking: what will be the aim of that army? It is known that Roosevelt is very busily giving his support for the building of that army.

It has already been rumored that the Haitian army will be a reserve force for American imperialism, for the next coming world war, and also Haiti will be used as a strategic point for the naval base of the United States. No wonder the N.Y Times of April 18, says:

"Substantially the same arrangement which the Haitian Legislature two years ago had rejected in treaty form was accepted as an executive agreement."

"The steps agreed upon are much in advance of the agreement."

Besides all these facts, I will also point out another point to show how Mr. Vincent uses his omnipotential power against the Haitian masses for the servitude of the American capitalists. A few months ago, Mr. Bryiac, the head of the Haitian American Sugar Company, proposed a contract before the Haitian government, which would give Mr. Bryiac and his colleagues (capitalists) the right of investing hundreds of thousands of dollars for raising bananas in Haiti for export. When the Haitian people heard of that proposal their indignation sprang to such a height that the Congress was forced to vote it down. Mr. Vincent told Congress that "even if you vote against it, I will use my dictatorial power to enforce it, because it will mean thousands of jobs for the unemployed." Then the intellectuals and the middle class elements, asked: What provision has been made for us? They could not cultivate bananas. No answer was given them.

* * *

IF today you see the National Association for Advancement of Colored People officials so actively supporting the acts of Hoover and now of Roosevelt, it is precisely because they have the same identical policy, which is to serve capitalism.

Mr. Vincent is a former leader of the "Ligue Patriotique des Societes Haitiennes," an organization identical in policy and leadership to the N.A.A.C.P.

Two weeks ago, the United Front Committee of the Haitian workers sent a committee to the Minister of the Interior, demanding the right to collect signatures and to hold meetings in defense of the Scottsboro boys. This right was denied them. They should have demanded of the president the right of the Haitian workers to organize their trade unions, the right to publish their papers, the withdrawal of the censorship. It would be naive on the part of anyone to believe that everything is going to be sweet for the Haitian masses, because Haiti is going "to rule itself," under the watchful eye of Wall Street and the American navy. The Roosevelt government is now spending hundreds of millions of dollars for the production of war materials for the approaching imperialist world war, which aims to re-divide the world for markets for her. It would be stupid to think that Wall Street is to turn over the financial control of Haiti to the Haitians when Haiti is a ready-made market for American imperialism.

One thing must be clear in our minds. and that is that instead of American imperialism directly exploiting the Haitian masses, it is going to be done through the medium of the Haitian bourgeoisie undoubtedly, as soon as the Haitian workers begin to organize themselves to fight against the exploitation of the American bosses who are now in Haiti, the subservient policy of the Haitian government to the U.S.A. will manifest itself by opening the most terroristic attack against the workers.

American and Haitian workers must unite in demanding real, immediate and unconditional independence for Haiti, freed from every tie with Wall Street.

Roosevelt's "Gifts" to the Haitians

By SAMUEL WEINMAN

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT on his round of inspection of Wall Street's war bases palmed off as a vacation trip stopping on Haiti, splashed the front page of the capitalist press with a hypocritical promise that the U. S. Marines, stationed in Haiti since 1915, will be withdrawn "soon." This announcement was echoed by the capitalist press, which hailed the speech as evidence of Roosevelt's "good neighbor policy," an expression of "good will," a new interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine and whatnot; but especially did they strive to create the impression that the evacuation of the marines was something new in the imperialist scheme, that Wall Street stood to lose by the change, and that the 2,500,000 Haitian Negro masses will benefit by the "New Deal." The truth of the matter is that the capitalist press was spewing a set of lies in support of Roosevelt's imperialist program. Beware of Roosevelt, especially when he comes bearing "gifts."

To understand Wall Street's latest maneuver in Haiti it is necessary to review some historical and economic facts. As far back as 1847, the United States government tried to obtain control of Mole St. Nicholas, Haiti, as a naval base. In 1891, a Yankee fleet sailed to Haiti in an effort to intimidate the Haitians to lease Mole St. Nicholas, but without success. In 1914-15, Wall Street imperialism made six futile attempts to secure control of Haiti. William Jennings Bryan, then Secretary of State, strongly urged intervention.

In December 1914, American marines suddenly landed at Port au Prince and seized $500,000 belonging to the Haitian government from the vaults of the National Bank of Haiti. Early the next year several imperialist missions journeyed to Haiti to "negotiate" National City Bank domination; this also failed. Consequently, on July 27, 1915, under the pretext of a local revolution in Haiti, American marines once again landed and took possession of Haiti.

* * *

IT is significant that the rape of Haiti occurred during the World War, at a time when the Wall Street bankers, anticipating American participation in the conflict, desperately hurried to make the Caribbean a strongly fortified chain of outposts for Yankee imperialism.

The landing of the marines and the intrenchment of American imperialism aroused the indignation of the Haitian masses to the point of rebellion and in 1919 the marines drenched the country in a bloodbath, slaughtering over 2,300 natives. Josephus Daniels, then Secretary of the Navy and now U. S. Ambassador to Mexico, admitted before a Congressional Committee that he himself ordered Admiral Caperton to land the marines for the conquest of Haiti.

The imperialists forced Haiti to accept a treaty which made that "republic" a special preserve of Wall Street led by the National City Bank. The treaty provided that an American customs collector be appointed; that an American Financial Adviser be appointed; that Haiti was forbidden to increase her national debt without Wall Street's consent; that Haiti was not allowed to raise the customs duties without the approval of the American Financial Adviser; that Haiti was obligated to create a constabulary composed of natives but officered by Americans; that Haiti agreed not to sell or lease any of its territory to any foreign power. In a word, Haiti was thoroughly shackled to facilitate the unrestrained imperialist exploitation of the Haitian masses.

Who owns Haiti's money, resources and land? Who enslaves Haiti's workers and peasants? The National City Bank of New York owns the National Bank of Haiti, whose dozen branches, scattered over the country, have a virtual monopoly of the banking business, besides having the exclusive right to service the treasury and issue bank notes. The National City Bank also owns the National Railroad. The Haitian Corporation of America owns the electric works, the Haitian American Sugar Co., trolley lines, a wharf company with warehouses and freight handling equipment.

Other Wall Street interests include the Haitian Pineapple Co., North Haitian Sugar Co., Haiti Commercial Co., United West Indies Co., Haitian Co., Logwood Manufacturing Co., Haiti Telegraph and Cable Co., and many sugar, fruit and coffee plantations covering tens of thousands of acres of land.

UNEMPLOYMENT is widespread in Haiti. These who are work-

ing receive starvation wages. The Haitian-American Sugar Co. recently cut wages from 30c to 15c for a twelve hour day. "Atlattan" cotton plantation pays 15c a day for 12 hours. The Haitian-American Development Corporation has slashed the pay to 10c for 12 hours—**less than one cent an hour.** Unemployed workers who do not possess a dollar (and there are thousands) are arrested on the charge of vagrancy and sentenced to 30 days of forced labor; at the end of 30 days the "released" worker is rearrested and resentenced.

Haitian workers have begun to organize and struggle against the starvation and misery meted out by Yankee imperialism. Beginnings have been made at forming trade unions and developing strikes. Communists are in the forefront of the struggle against Wall Street's domination.

President Stenio Vincent, supported by the National City Bank and the U.S. Marines, has met the workers' resistance with a reign of terror that rivals Hitler's fascism. Freedom of speech, press and assemblage are denied. Mail is censored. The right to organize and strike is banned. The jails are filled with revolutionary workers. Even collections and meetings in behalf of the Scottsboro boys are prohibited.

• • •

WITH this background in mind, what is the meaning of Roosevelt's promise to withdraw the marines from Haiti? It means simply that President Vincent, the native bourgeoisie and the native constabulary officered by Americans are now in a position to perform the tasks formerly performed by the marines. Why then should the imperialists bear the expense of maintaining an armed force in Haiti? It is unnecessary. Let the Haitian masses pay taxes to support the native police, say the imperialists. Why should the imperialists bear the stigma of armed intervention? It, too, is unnecessary. Vincent and Co. will do the job. This situation is no different from the marine evacuation from Nicaragua where the native politicians, bourgeoisie and police have replaced the marines. If and when the Philippines are granted "independence" the same trick will be used there.

In any event, even if the marines are withdrawn, the $11,000,000 of bonds owned by Wall Street bankers will be the first consideration of the Haitian government; as President Vincent has already guaranteed they will have "adequate protection." The National City Bank will retain its monopoly of the country's capital and credit. The imperialists will still own the tens of thousands of sugar, fruit and coffee lands. The customs collector and the financial adviser will remain American imperialist agents. The officers of the Haitian police will be Americans. The American Navy will have its naval base at Mole St. Nicholas. The workers' wages will stay at 10c a day. Unions and strikes will still be outlawed. In a word, even after the marines embark for the "land of the free," there will be no change in Haiti until Wall Street parasites are driven out and a workers and peasants government is established.

Change Is Cited in Roosevelt's Haitian Policy

Marine Withdrawal Seen as Attempt to Efface Memories of Events Since 1915.

LOGAN CREDITS HOOVER WITH INITIAL FAIRNESS

Says Credit Is Also Due Mrs. Roosevelt and Armour.

By RAYFORD LOGAN
[Exclusively to the AFRO]

PORT AU PRINCE, Haiti.—A marked change in the attitude of President Roosevelt toward the Republic of Haiti, since his term of service as Assistant Secretary of the Navy is being discussed here, in connection with his recent order for the removal of the American marines.

On July 28, 1915, American marines under the command of Admiral Capperton were landed in Port au Prince. On July 28, 1934, the first contingent of the few remaining marines started back to the United States on the Bridge.

It is perhaps no mere coincidence that the beginning of the withdrawal should fall on the same day as the beginning of the occupation. Rather, some officials see a deliberate desire on the part of President Roosevelt—for he is generally credited with all of the favorable developments in Haiti—to efface, in every possible way, the unpleasant memories associated with the events since 1915.

Change Is in Roosevelt

Indeed, the most fascinating element in the recent history of Haiti is the change in Mr. Roosevelt himself. As every one knows, he is said to have boasted of the constitution forced on Haiti in 1918 as "the finest constitution ever written," for he had written it.

Some of his friends have since denied the remark. Dr. Cumberland, former financial adviser-general receiver of Haiti, flatly denied, in a debate that the writer had with him at Buffalo, that Mr. Roosevelt ever made the remark. But Mr. Roosevelt has never denied it in print.

Moreover, at the time that the voting power of the British dominions in the League of Nations was being discussed, Mr. Roosevelt is reliably reported to have said that the United States should not object to permitting Canada, South Africa and the other British dominions to vote since he, personally, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, would cast the votes of Santo Domingo, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Haiti.

Past Record Forgotten

Future historians will probe the reasons for the extraordinary change that has come over Mr. Roosevelt. Suffice it to say that in Haiti practically every one has forgotten Roosevelt as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. On the other hand, as President Roosevelt he is genuinely popular in this country.

A street has been named for him at Cape Haitien. Port au Prince is considering a similar step. Moving pictures, which I have seen of the visit of the President to the Cape, are being shown everywhere to the great joy of the crowds.

Mr. Roosevelt, personally, has been granted one of the highest compliments that can be paid a foreigner anywhere in Latin America. He is "tres sympathique"; "muy simpatico," as the Spaniards would say.

Armour Praised

Nor should one forget that Mrs. Roosevelt and Mr. Armour, the American minister to Haiti, have contributed greatly to the restoration of goodwill between the two countries. Mrs. Roosevelt is too well known to need any comment.

I should like to state, however, that one of the best guarantees of the future of Haiti is the presence of Mr. Armour. At first, the United States sent a pickle manufacturer to represent us in this country. Mr. Armour, on the other hand, is a career diplomat, former secretary of the American Legation in Paris, who has preserved in Haiti the same courteous and charming manners that he had in Paris.

On the tennis court the other [illegible] greeted Haitians with the [illegible]rtiality with which, I am sure, he would have greeted the Prince of Wales at Deauville or the Aga Khan at Longchamps. And, as every visitor to Haiti knows, manners count for a great deal.

Hoover Credited with Change

In order to keep the record straight, however, the historian must note two things. First, the initial credit for the change in our Haitian policy goes to Mr. Hoover.

For fourteen years, James Weldon Johnson, Mrs. Addie W. Hunton, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the Nation, the New Republic, Roger Baldwin, and other liberals and radicals had sought to keep America aware of the misdeeds of America in Haiti. But the McCormick Commission had whitewashed the occupation.

And then, in December, 1929 Mr. Hoover, just at the time that our Southern "experts" had goaded the Haitians into a revolt, declared the necessity for a new policy in Haiti.

Legislature Restored

It was Mr. Hoover who sent the Forbes and Moton commissions to Haiti; it was under Mr. Hoover that the Haitian legislature was restored. It was during his administration that the plan of permitting the Haitians to learn how to run their various administrative departments was begun.

The writer has no hesitation in bringing out these historical facts since he has frequently taken Mr. Hoover to task for his disdainful attitude toward the colored Americans.

New Financial Policy Cited

In the second place, however much Mr. Roosevelt has done for Haiti, it is regrettable that he feels compelled to give to the holders of the Haitian bonds more protection than is given to the holders of Chilean, Peruvian, or German bonds.

The banking contract that I have mentioned before, abolishes the office of financial adviser-general receiver (fiscal representative since January 1, 1934), through which the American government exercised dictatorial control over the Haitian finances. But the office is replaced by a governing board of the new Bank of Haiti.

This governing board is to have six members: two named by the Haitian government, and four by American banking interests. It is this governing board that is to exercise, if the contract is ratified, approximately the same control over Haitian finances that the financial adviser-general receiver formerly exercised.

Hope for Contract Dark

I shall give no more detailed analysis of the banking contract because its approval by the Senate of Haiti, I am reliably informed by a member of the Haitian Congress, is extremely doubtful even if the House approves it. The contract is still being laboriously discussed, article by article, by the House. Unless there is some future assurance of the approval of the contract, discussion of it at the present time seems futile.

Until the control of Haitian finances by either the American government or the American banking interests is abolished, Haiti will not be really independent.

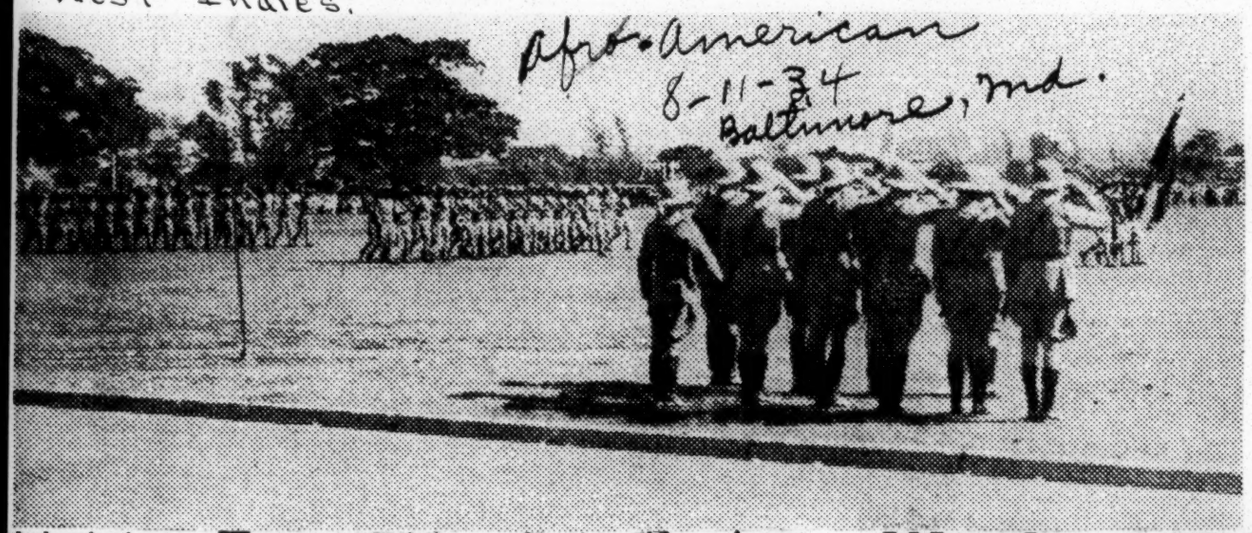
Americans Can Help

There are some Haitians who believe that Mr. Roosevelt will finally "step on the toes" of Wall Street again and tell the holders of Haitian bonds to depend upon the honesty and integrity alone of the Haitian government.

Colored Americans can help to keep alive this final question just as, fifteen years ago, a few fought nobly for the aim that is now being accomplished—the withdrawal of the American marines.

Race Problem - 1934
West Indies.

Haiti.



Afro-American
8-11-34
Baltimore, Md.

Haitian Troops March in Review Before New Commander

Marking a new era in Haiti's independence these black troops march before high ranking officers at Port au Prince following the withdrawal of U. S. Marines recently. The new army is under the command of former Colonel Calixte who was raised to Brigadier General by President Vincent.

Other exclusive photos on picture page.

AUGUST 15 is set as the date for the embarkation of the last United States marines to leave Haiti after having the situation more or less in hand for nineteen years. Already one flag has been hauled down and the other raised over the barracks at Cap Haitien, and before these lines are in print the transfer of authority and the evacuation will probably be complete. It was a benevolent blunder to assume authority and place American troops in the island under the treaty of 1915. The benevolence of the policy has been doubted, especially when it was charged that American bankers had forced loans upon the Haitian government to their own profit. However, the debt of Haiti has been greatly reduced during the period and its credit much improved. Certain practical advantages have followed from the occupation of the island and the administration of its finances under the treaty of 1915, but at the cost of much resentment and suspicion. The date of the withdrawal of American control was advanced by two years under a treaty negotiated by the Hoover administration in 1932. This is one Hoover policy which was heartily approved and promptly carried out under his successor. The experience will not have been wasted if it has taught us the folly of military occupation of a small neighboring country as a means of grace. Nothing in our occupation of Haiti became us like the leaving of it.

Marines Withdraw From Haiti

Christian Science Monitor
8-23-34

Wrath of Haiti Is Aroused by Hughes Article

Natives Say American Poet Exaggerated Account of Class Struggle.

Chicago Defender
8-18-34

FOREIGN CONTROL OF BUSINESS UNDENIABLE

Baltimore, Md.

Benefits from U.S. Invasion to Masses Questioned

By RAYFORD LOGAN
(Exclusively to the AFRO-AMERICAN)

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti. — Langston Hughes, after President Roosevelt, is the most widely discussed individual in Haiti today; but, while President Roosevelt is generally praised, Mr. Hughes is widely denounced.

The outburst against him is occasioned by the appearance, in a Haitian paper, of an article by Mr. Hughes, originally published in the Daily Worker of New York. Both the article and the discussion of it merit the closest attention.

As one would expect, the distinguished poet, novelist, and globe-trotter studied the Haitian situation from the point of view of the "class struggle."

He stated that there are two classes of Haitians; the barefooted, coatless masses, and the elite, who never go without shoes and coat.

He mentioned the great gulf between these classes and asserted that the gendarmes chase the barefooted scamps from the Champ de Mars when a band concert is given there. Mr. Hughes further declared that most of the business is in the hands of foreigners.

Foreigners Control Commerce

The last statement is substantially true, as one may see by reading the names of the proprietors of stores on the main street. A deputy told me the other day that La Rue Republicaine should be renamed Avenue des Italiens. In fact, the shoe trade is largely in their hands.

Moreover, Syrians, Germans, Frenchmen, Chinese, and Americans control an all too large part of Haitian business. There are, of course, many Haitians engaged in business.

It is hoped, however, that the Haitians — not as the Germans have done, brutally, but through peaceful measures — will succeed in acquiring a more important share in the business of their own country.

Concert Expulsion Denied

With reference to the driving of barefooted persons from band concerts in the Champ de Mars, I hesitate to be categorical. Most Haitians have flatly denied the truthfulness of the statement. It is possible that Mr. Hughes saw some chased by the police. I have not seen any running away from them.

I must say, nevertheless, that I have seen very few barefooted men, women, or children at the band concerts. Whether the gendarmes saw them or not I can not say, although I watched rather closely.

It is, however, the first assertion that has brought down upon the head of the author of "The Ways of White Folks" the most violent vituperation. Miss Perkins's comment a few months ago about the "shoeless South" produced no greater sensation than has Mr. Hughes's picture of Haiti.

Reactions Vary

The various reactions to this statement constitute, I believe, an important revelation of the Haitian mind. Let us analyze the different expressions of this mind.

There are, first of all, those persons who dismiss everything that Mr. Hughes wrote by saying that he is a Communist. This attitude is so well known in the United States that it merits no more discussion than this group is willing to grant to the article.

Second, there are those who, without analyzing the accuracy of the description, regret that Haiti should have been depicted in such an unfavorable light.

They would have preferred that Mr. Hughes glorify the Citadelle of Christophe, the beauty of Haitian women, the classical education of Haitian men, the superiority of Haitian rum, the variety of succulent fruits, the cool temperature of Kenscoff in July, and the Glorious Revolution.

In brief, in the mind of this group, friendship manifests itself only by compliments.

Colored Americans Made Victims

In the third place — and this is most unfortunate — the article has permitted a small group of blatant writers to vent their hatred on the colored American.

The rejuvenated Ku Klux Klan can hardly employ any more insulting terms than have the writers of articles that have appeared in the Temps, Haiti-Journal, and Papyrus.

I venture to hope that since many Haitians know the source of this animosity against the colored American, its effect will be in inverse proportion to its violence.

Typical of these articles was the following conclusion in Papyrus: "If it is a well-established principle that no Haitian can insult another Haitian, certainly no American colored man can do so."

Logans Welcomed

Lest it be concluded that this animosity against the colored American is general, I am forced to state that Mrs. Logan and I have been the recipients of every hospitality that one could wish. Both officially and privately, we have been given the keys of Port-au-Prince.

The mere fact that a colored American was the first to be given permission to work in the archives of the Haitian State Department is sufficient indication of the friendly attitude of the government toward us.

Moreover, I am convinced that a similar reception awaits any properly disposed colored American.

Let us, then, diagnose this outburst as an acute case of hypersensitiveness, aggravated by personal reasons known to most Haitians.

Many Agree with Hughes

Just so long as these attitudes prevail, Haiti's progress will be slow. But hope arises from the increasing number that is willing to discuss the article dispassionately. Above all, I have found a surprisingly large number of the elite who admit the accuracy of the description.

For, after all, no one can deny that the peasants go barefooted and do not wear coats. One might rationalize, if he wished, that the latter respect at least they are more intelligent than the elite.

Poverty Blamed

Such a statement, however, would merely evade the starkly economic fact that the peasants do not have money with which to buy shoes or a coat. There are, fortunately, an increasing number who wear sandals, which no doubt, moreover, whether any one knows. As nearly as I can recall from my visit in 1926, there has not been a great decrease in the number of barefooted masses as compared with the elite.

U.S. Benefits Questionable

Frankly, I hesitate to say. When we seek to make the final analysis of the accomplishments of the American occupation of Haiti during nineteen years, we shall have to accept Mr. Hughes's criterion of the barefooted masses as one of the indices.

Americans Can Help

Of course, all true friends of Haiti will want to see a great decrease in the number of bare feet. Colored Americans must not stand barefooted from necessity.

Haiti.

Race Problem - 1934

West Indies.

Afro-American 8-11-34 Baltimore, Md.

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Christian Century 8-22-34

Chicago Ill.

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Baltimore, Md. 8-18-34

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Such a statement, however, would merely evade the stark economic fact that the peasants do not have money with which to buy shoes or a coat. There are, fortunately, an increasing number who wear sandals, which can be bought for about thirty cents (a day's wage).

The principal question, however, is this: How many more Haitians shoeless go barefooted streets of Haiti prosperity or the point of a bayonet?

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Baltimore, Md. 8-18-34

aside and permit white Americans, some of whom are genuinely interested in Haiti, alone to ameliorate this condition.

If colored Americans will buy Haitian coffee, Haitian sugar, Haitian bananas, Haitian pineapples, Haitian sisal; if they will come to Haiti to spend their vacation, not only will they add to their own enjoyment, but they will also help to raise the standard of living of the one colored republic in the Western Hemisphere.

COMMISSION TO SAIL FOR HAITI SOON

Group Invited by President Vincent Will Leave On August 17

NEW YORK.—(ANP)—Reservations have been made for members of the commission representing the Haitian Afro-American chamber of commerce to sail from New York for Port-au-Prince, August 17.

Those for who passage has been booked include: Archie A. Alexander, well known civil engineer of Des Moines; Willis N. Huggins, New York educator; Augustine A. Austin, president of the Antillean Holding company and one of New York's most astute business men; Dr. Owen M. Waller Jr., George E. Wibecan, former Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks; Charles Govan, a mechanical engineer; Captain Joshua Cockburn, a master mariner; James Egert, president of the New York branch of the N. A. A. C. P. and Mrs. Ferol Vincent-Smoot.

Mrs. Smoot, who is a member of the Associated Negro Press staff, will serve the commission as secretary.

The visit of the commission to Haiti is a direct result of an invitation extended by President Stenio Vincent during his recent visit to America. Meeting a number of Negro leaders in Harlem at a luncheon, the president outlined the conditions facing his country and painted a glowing picture of the possibilities which lay before the Negro people of America and the Haitian population if a method of cooperation could be developed in raising and importing goods for export and import.

The idea fired the imagination of his hearers who formed a chamber of commerce to develop a plan. The commission will be the guests of the Haitian government while they are in the island. They expect to investigate commercial opportunities and to make contacts which in turn may be passed on to American Negro business men.

Race Commission Sails For Haiti Aug. 17, Many Notables In Party

Among those for whom passage has been booked to sail from New York to Port-au-Prince, Haiti, on August 17, as members of the Commission representing the Haitian Afro-American Chamber of Commerce, are Archie Alexander, well-known civil engineer; Willis N. Huggins, Ph. D., noted educator; Augustine A. Austin, president of the Antillean Holding Company; Dr. Owen E. Waller, jr.; George E. Wibecan, former Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks; Charles Govan mechanical engineer; Captain Joshua Cockburn, master mariner; James E. Allen, president of the New York branch of the N. A. A. C. P.; and Mrs. Ferol Vincent-Smoot, member of the Associated Negro Press, who will act as secretary for the commission.

This visit is the result of an invitation by President Stenio Vincent during his recent visit to Amercia, who, at a luncheon with several of the Negro leaders of Harlem, outlined in glowing terms the possibilities for the American Negro in Haiti, through cooperation. The chamber of commerce is the outgrowth of that conference and its is planned that they will spend their time in Haiti investigating commercial opportunities and making contacts which may be beneficial to the American business men.

Haitian Flag Is Raised Over Marine Barracks

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Aug. 6.—(ANP)—The United States flag which has flown for the last 19 years over the marine corps barracks at Cape Haitien, on the north coast of Haiti, was lowered today and the Haitian flag raised in its place.

Extreme good feeling was evident on the part of both the Haitian forces and the marines.

The Stars and Stripes were lowered by Lieutenant Colonel McClellan, of the marine corps.

By August 7, all the marines in Haiti will be concentrated at Pour-Au-Prince and the final ceremonies of withdrawal will probably take place on the morning of August 15, when the sea-soldiers are to set sail for the United States.

Bringing Home the Marines

Today the last of the American marines are leaving the island of Haiti, where they have been stationed for 19 years. The people of the black republic naturally breathe a sigh of relief at the end of this occupation which they have regarded as a humiliation and for the most part have deeply resented.

There can be no question that affairs in the island were turbulent for many years. One revolution succeeded another with great regularity. It was impossible for commerce and industry to get on its feet.

But American intervention was characterized by many varied incidents. There was wholesale slaughter of the peasants, sometimes estimated at 2,000. The Chacos were hunted into the hills and shot on sight.

Many of the episodes were ludicrous and amusing—to all but those immediately concerned.

The United States government can point to a record of material achievement. Good roads have been built to connect the principal cities of the island and sanitary improvements have made the place more habitable than it has ever been in its long history.

All this was small compensation to the intensely patriotic people whose ancestors rose in rebellion against the French under that marvelous Negro leader, Toussaint L'Ouverture, whom Wendell Phillips praised as one of the great patriots and military geniuses of all time.

It was folly for the Haitians of today to try to shake off the military occupation by force, but the people continued to protest and gradually our authority has been relaxed. The high commissioner was withdrawn and an American minister of the usual type accredited to the government. The Legislature was restored to its functions and nothing remained but to withdraw the American marines. More than half of them left the island several days ago and on Wednesday of this week the remainder were scheduled to depart.

The financial condition of Haiti is still bad. Bonds to the amount of $11,000,000, owed in this country, are still unpaid, but it is believed that banking arrangements will be perfected in Haiti to take care of this item.

Withdrawal of the marines is most important from the psychological point of view. It is notice to Latin-America as a whole that this country has no ambition of conquest under the Monroe Doctrine or anything else and that the volatile descendants of France, Spain and Portugal can trust us with absolute good faith.

MARINES FROM HAITI

That the United States finally believes that it is safe to remove the Marines from Haiti seems to please everybody who has the slightest interest in this country's trade relations with South America. It even seems to please the "anti-imperialists," as well as that capitalist group often dubbed "imperialists."

The truth is there are not many imperialists in these United States. There are few, if any persons—who would have this country send armed forces into the Latin Americas merely to exercise the power of a great country over a weak nation.

The so-called liberals who have been yelling for the removal of American Marines from Haiti have charged that our soldiers were stationed there to please Republican Administrations with imperialistic tendencies.

This has not been true. Or at least it has not been true as painted by the so-called liberals.

President Roosevelt is pleased with the removal of the American forces from that Island Republic.

First, President Roosevelt has long had an interest in Haiti. He helped write the constitution for the republic.

And again, the removal of American soldiers will not only ease the friction between Haiti and the United States, but it will help salve other Latin-American countries. South and Central America have resented the landing of Marines in the smaller countries south of us.

Of course, it was necessary to keep Marines in Haiti and in other independent countries which were unable to govern themselves, or to protect themselves from aggressive European nations.

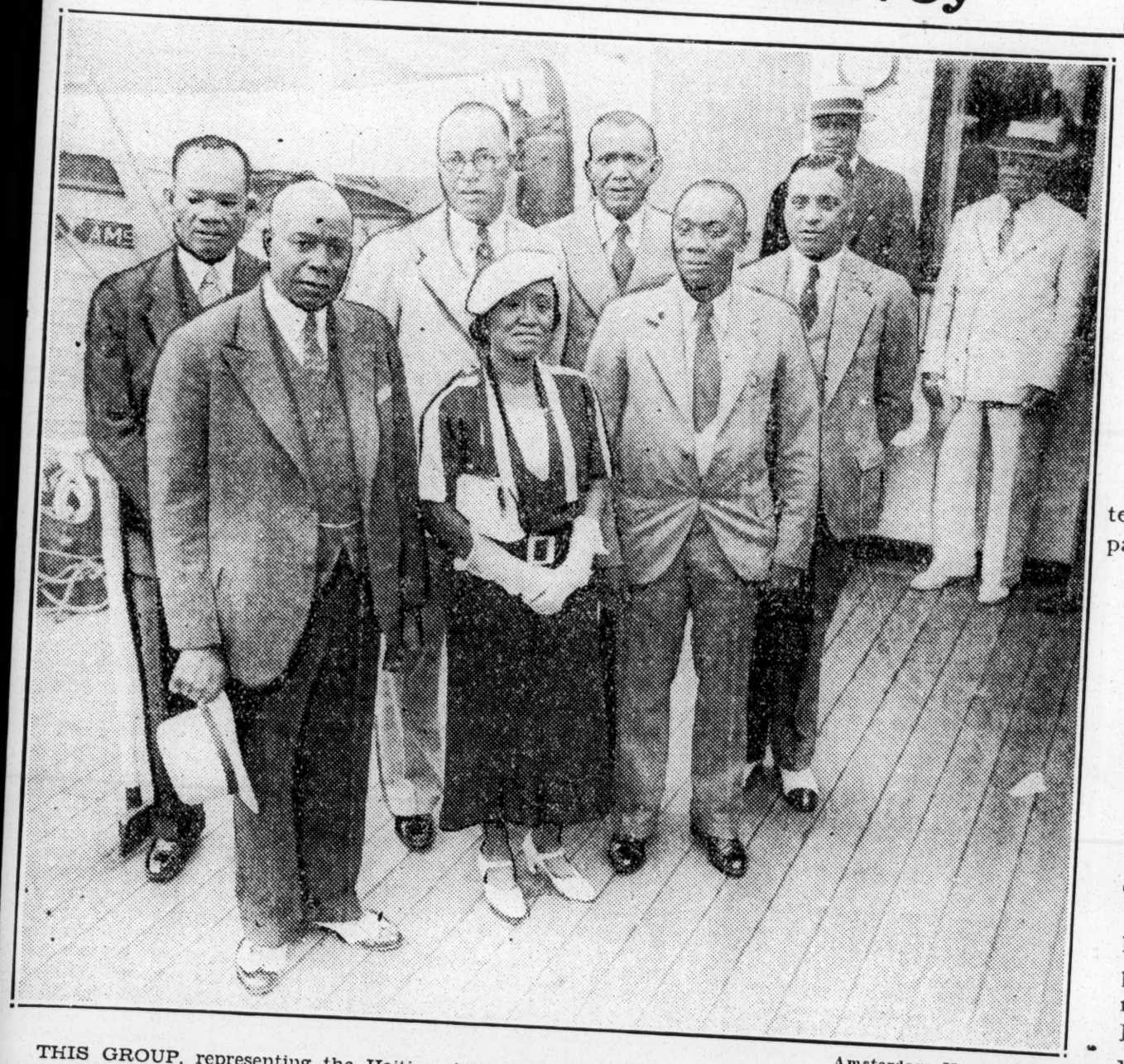
But everyone seems pleased now that it is no longer necessary to keep Marines in Haiti.

Race Problem - 1934

West Indies.

Haiti.

Making Haitian Survey



Amsterdam News Photo.

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MARINES QUIT HAITI

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After the impressive ceremonies of yesterday afternoon, which took place in a perfect atmosphere of friendship, I am happy at the moment when the last marines are embarking to renew to you the assurance of my gratitude, that of the government and of the Haitian people for your generous and intelligent policy of the good neighbor, which has effectively aided me in accomplishing national liberation and which assures the continuation of the cordial relations now existing between our two countries.

In commenting upon so important an international event, Secretary Hull of the Department of State said:

Today the withdrawal of our marines and naval forces from Haiti is being completed. Under an agreement between the two governments on August 7, 1933, the Haitian Garde, which has been trained and partly officered by our marines, would be turned over to the complete command of Haitian officers, October 1, 1934, and our marine and naval forces would be withdrawn during the month of October. However, when President Roosevelt visited Cape Haitian July 5, last, President Vincent requested that, if possible, the date for carrying out these movements should be advanced and President Roosevelt stated we would advance the date.

The evacuation of the United States marines from Haiti and the formal turning over complete command of the Haitian Garde to a Haitian officer designated by President Vincent will be hailed by colored Americans as an outstanding international accomplishment under the New Deal. Getting the marines out of Haiti has been their ardent wish for several years. It is extremely fortunate at so important a stage of Haiti's history the two Presidents—Roosevelt and Vincent—are liberal-minded, progressive officials, who are actually working to promote amity and good will between the two countries. That the present era of cordiality will continue is devoutedly wished.

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Before the Cottica sailed the commission was given the best wishes of George E. Wibercan of Brooklyn, president o fthe chamber, and William H. Davis, publisher of The Amsterdam News, a member.

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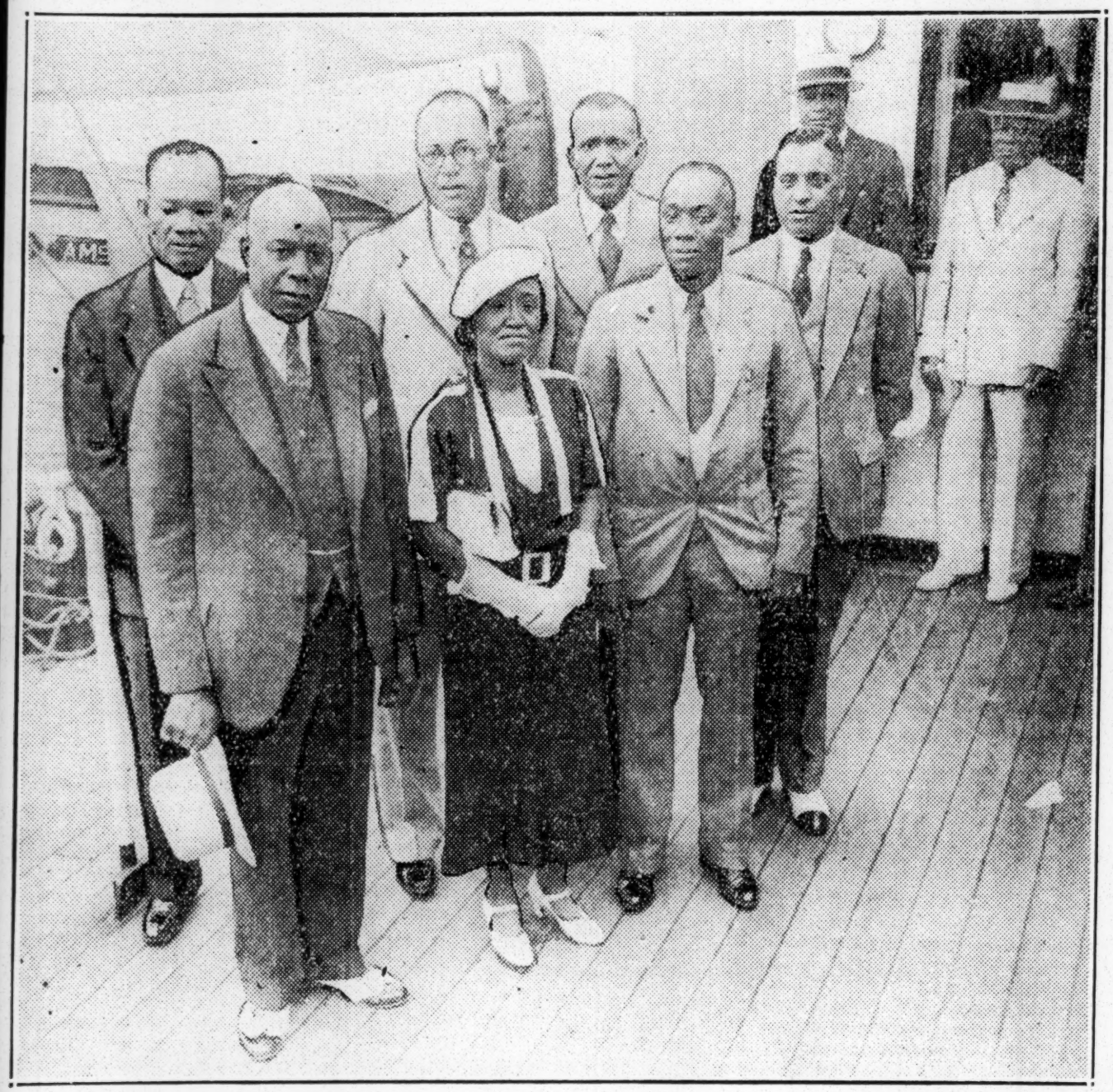
HAITI GREETS TRADE GROUP

Haiti.

Race Problem - 1934

West Indies.

Making Haitian Survey



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HAITI GREETS TRADE GROUP

Tattlefinder
Washington
SEP 1 1934

SLAVE COLONY IN HAITI

On the west coast of Haiti there is a most unusual colony. It consists solely of American negroes who went there following the Civil war in this country. While this colony practices voodooism, witch doctory and so on hey have never mixed with the natives of the island. They govern themselves and wonder of wonders have never been bothered, even during Haiti's many revolutions. Of course they are necessarily rather primitive, but the colony has prospered. They have shipping arrangements whereby they send their products direct to the United States. The preacher of the colony is also their school teacher. He sometimes comes to the States to catch up on what is new and takes back as many books, papers and ideas as he can afford.

Delegates Return from Haiti After Two-Week Survey

NEW YORK.—After battling storm and fog for fifty hours on the steamship Van Rensslear of the Royal Dutch Line, the seven delegates of the Haitian Afro-American Chamber of Commerce, returned here, Monday afternoon from a two-week stay in the island republic.

They expressed pleasure at the royal reception given them by President Stenio Vincent and the people of Haiti.

Headed by Dr. Willis N. Huggins, the delegation traveled to extend the goodwill of Americans of color and to enter into negotiations regarding the agricultural, industrial and commercial possibilities of the historic country which has just won a new freedom from the armed forces of the United States.

Reception Praised

"We are happy to report a wonderful reception by President Vincent in the presidential palace and by his official family in their respective administrative offices," Dr. Huggins told the AFRO on behalf of the delegation. The other members were:

A. A. Alexander, civil engineer, Des Moines, Iowa; A. A. Austin, president, Antillean Holding Company; Captain Joshua Cockburn, master mariner; Charles D. Govan, mechanical engineer; Dr. Owen M. Waller, Jr., veterinarian; Mrs. Ferol Vincent Smoot, journalist and secretary of the commission.

The commission divided its duties, each member gathering facts and figures, and making contacts, in his own field.

Studies Varied

Dr. Huggins, who holds the doctor of philosophy degree from Fordham University, and is a high school instructor here, worked with the education authorities, especially concerning backward and defective children; Mr. Austin was interested in the prospects for real estate and insurance;

Captain Cockburn, shipping and the banana trade; Mr. Govan collaborated with Mr. Alexander on roads, bridges, and irrigation; Dr. Waller, animal husbandry. Mrs. Cockburn accompanied her husband.

Educational Award Set Up

On behalf of the Federation of Literary Clubs of New York, of which he is president, Dr. Huggins also established the L'Ouverture Award, which will each year provide a round-trip passage for some teacher from Haiti to study in America during the summer. The Haitian Department of Education will administer the award.

The members of the delegation brought back as many souvenirs of Haiti as their purses (and each person paid his own passage) and the U.S. Customs would allow.

Dr. Huggins was loaded down with four large busts of L'Ouverture, who started Haiti on the road to independence; Dessalines, who completed the struggle of liberation; Pétion, organizer of the republic, and Christophe, the first emperor.

Public Report Made

Both Dr. Huggins and other delegates also brought back the one bottle of rum, "Rhum Sarthe," which would be admitted, and several brands of Haitian-manufactured cigarettes.

A public meeting was held, Tuesday night, at the West 135th Street Y.M.C.A., at which time the delegates made their reports. Dr. Huggins told that he would return in July, 1935, for a more detailed study in his field.

Of the Haitian people, Dr. Huggins said in his formal statement:

"In their present transition from the American occupation to a second freedom, they are going forth slowly but surely in the right direction, under the steadying hand of its democratic and deep-thinking president—the Hon. Stenio Vincent."

HAITIAN TRADE PROJECT OKEYED BY BELLEGARDE

Permanent Trade Relations to Be Discussed at October Meeting

PHILADELPHIA —Dantes Bellegarde, Haitian minister to this country, expressed his approval of the project to institute trade relations between Haiti and America, in an address before the 71st Anniversary Emancipation Celebration of Negro Progress at a meeting at O. V. Catto Hall, Thursday.

9-15-34

The Haitian minister praised the movements inaugurated by Major R. R. Wright of the Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company to import coffee into this country and to export laundry soap to Haiti as well as the forthcoming celebration of Negro Progress.

Big Movement

The celebration committee, which comprises men and women of all professions has lined up with Major Wright to make this October celebration the biggest affair of its kind ever held. Last year the Citizens' and Southern Bank and Trust Company sponsored the 70th Anniversary Emancipation Celebration of Negro progress when more than 12,000 people attended.

Although that celebration was said to have brought together the largest number of people ever gathered here in Philadelphia under one roof, the committee expects a much larger gathering this year.

To Organize

Out of this year's gathering Major Wright expects to form a permanent movement for trade with Haiti, Liberia, Abyssinia and the Virgin Isles. The first of these projects, trade with Haiti, is about to be inaugurated.

A committee from New York interested in a tourist movement to Haiti conferred with Major Wright Wednesday and assured him of cooperation. On Thursday, Dr. Willis Huggins, of New York, chairman of the committee of the Haitian Afro-American Chamber of Commerce, which visited Haiti a few weeks ago, conferred with Major Wright in the commericial relations between this country and Haiti.

Dr. Wright announced this week that he had made contacts which assured the sale of all Haitian coffee he can import in the near fut e.

gro Commission Leave For Haiti

:W YORK, Aug 16.—P)—Reservations have made for members of commission representing Haitian Afro-American nber of Commerce to sail New York for Port-au-ce, August 17. Those h passage has been booked le Archie A. Alexander, well n civil engineer of Des es, Iowa; Willis N. Huggins, ., New York educator; Au-ie A. Austin, president of the ean Holding Company and of New York's most astute business men; Dr. Owen M. Waller, Jr., George E. Wibecan, former grand exalted ruler of the Elks, Charles Govan, a mechanical engineer, Captain Joshua Cockburn, a master mariner; James Egert, president of the New York Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., and Mrs. Ferol Vincent-Smoot. Mrs. Smoot, who is a member of the Associated Negro Press staff, will serve the commission as secretary.

The visit of the commission to Haiti is the direct result of an invitation extended by President Stenio Vincent during his recent visit to America. Meeting a number of Negro leaders in Harlem at a luncheon, the president outlined the conditions facing his country and painted a glowing picture of the possibilities which lay before the Negro people of America and the Haitian population if a method of cooperation could be developed in raising and importing goods for export and import. The idea fired the imagination of his hearers who formed a chamber of commerce to develop a plan. The commission will be the guests of the Haitian government while they are in the island. They expect to investigate commercial opportunities and to make contacts which in turn may be passed on to American Negro business men.

West Indies.

Haiti to Control Own Finances; Marines Will Leave in October

James 4-18-34

Roosevelt and President Vincent Agree on Plan Under Which American Control of Island's Affairs, Exercised for 19 Years, Will Be Ended and Holders of $11,000,000 Bonds Protected.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 17.—Complete withdrawal of American official participation in the government of Haiti was in sight tonight at the close of the conference between President Roosevelt and Sténio Vincent, Haitian President.

The force of marines which has occupied Haiti for nineteen years will be withdrawn by the end of October, and the prospects are that the fiscal control exercised by the United States will be ended before that date.

A prominent administration official summed up the achievements of the conference and said they included adequate protection for the holders of $11,000,000 of Haitian bonds still outstanding.

The basis of discussion of the fiscal control was understood to be the Leger plan, under which supervision of customs and other receipts, now exercised by Sidney de la Rue, fiscal representative of Haiti, would be turned over to the National Bank of Haiti.

The Leger plan, originally proposed by a Port au Prince lawyer, was not satisfactory in its entirety to Sumner Welles, Assistant Secretary of State, and other State Department officials in touch with the Haitian situation. It was considerably modified at the conference.

This joint statement was issued by President Roosevelt and President Vincent at the conclusion of their talks:

"We have had an opportunity to discuss in the most friendly and cordial manner the different problems arising in the relations between the governments of the United States and of Haiti.

"In connection with the departure of the United States Marines from Haiti during the month of October next, as already provided in the agreement of Aug. 7, 1933, President Roosevelt intends to request authority from the Congress of the United States to make a gift to Haiti of a portion of the Marine Corps material which the Haitian Government feels would be useful to it.

"We have exchanged views regarding the possibility of a commercial agreement which would increase the flow of goods between the two countries; and finally, we have discussed a new form of financial administration which is satisfactory to our two governments and which should be equally satisfactory to the holders of the bonds of the 1922 loan.

"We are both inclined to the belief that the policy of the good neighbor which the Government of the United States is endeavoring to apply in its relations with the other American republics will be signally manifested in the results which will be obtained from this exchange of views and from negotiations which are now taking place with a view to the practical application of the decisions reached in principle during our present conversations.

"Certainly Haiti will now be in a position to look forward to her future with the greatest confidence."

If today's conference bears the fruit which is expected of it, one of the last remaining sources of bad feeling against this country in Latin America will have been removed, officials here believe.

An attempt at agreement during the last months of the Hoover administration failed when the Haitian Legislature refused to ratify the proposed treaty.

Efforts were renewed when Mr. Roosevelt became President, and Norman Armour was sent to Haiti as Minister. Substantially the same arrangement which the Haitian Legislature had rejected in treaty form was accepted as an executive agreement.

The steps agreed upon today are much in advance of that agreement. It was predicted by both Haitian and American officials that details of the arrangement will be ready for publication within a week.

Haiti and the "Good Neighbor" Policy

Complete Cessation of American Participation in Control of Republic's Affairs May Follow President Vincent's Visit

By H. P. DAVIS

The result of a conference in Washington on April 17 between Stenio Vincent, President of the Republic of Haiti, and President Roosevelt unquestionably will strengthen Latin-American confidence in the "good neighbor" policy which Mr. Roosevelt has been endeavoring to apply to our relations with other American republics.

Wide World

Stenio Vincent

After this conference it was predicted "by both Haitian and American officials" that a most satisfactory arrangement for complete withdrawal of American participation in the control of the affairs of Haiti soon would be announced.

In a joint statement with President Vincent, Mr. Roosevelt reaffirmed the departure of the Marines from Haiti in October next. The implication in this announcement that, in their exchange of views, the two Presidents arrived at a basis for an agreement on a new form of financial administration satisfactory to the two countries is exceedingly important.

It is understood that this "new form of financial administration" will involve the complete withdrawal from Haiti of American fiscal representatives and the substitution of an arrangement with the Banque Nationale de la République d'Haiti for handling the continued payment and amortization of the outstanding foreign bonds of the Republic, now amounting to approximately $11,000,000.

Hoover Commission Report

A commission sent to Haiti by President Hoover in the fall of 1930 to investigate as to "when and how we are to withdraw from Haiti" faced, on arrival, a situation which demanded immediate action not contemplated in its instructions. This commission brought together the contending factions. After negotiations with the leaders of the opposition, it succeeded in obtaining an agreement which resulted in a compromise program.

In a final report to President Hoover, in March, 1930, the Forbes Commission stated that, under American control, Haiti had made material progress, but expressed regret that educated Haitians showed little appreciation of the many services rendered. The report concluded with specific recommendations that "the President declare that the United States will approve a policy . . . providing for an increasingly rapid Haitianization of the services."

In May, President Louis Borno was succeeded by Eugene Roy, who had been chosen to serve provisionally until the election of a President by a properly-constituted Legislature.

Five months later, the National Assembly elected Stenio Vincent to the Presidency. His term expires on May 15, 1936, at the same time the Haitian-American Treaty of 1915 lapses.

In October, 1930, the transfer from American to Haitian control of three of the five treaty services was accomplished, leaving under American supervision only the Financial Adviser-General Receiver office and the Garde d'Haiti. Two years later (September 3, 1932), representatives of the two nations signed a "Treaty of Friendship," designed for the purpose of terminating American intervention "as soon as possible and in an orderly manner."

The Haitians, at the time, claimed that provisions for the withdrawal of the Marines and Haitianization of the Garde were designedly indefinite and that the financial provisions were most unsatisfactory and not in accordance with the announced policy of the United States Government. On September 15, 1932, this treaty was unanimously rejected by the Haitian Legislature.

"Executive Agreement" Signed

On August 7, 1933, after many months of patient negotiation, an "Executive Agreement" was signed at Port-au-Prince which provided for the transfer to the Haitian Government of complete control of the Garde d'Haiti by October 1, 1934, and the withdrawal of the Marines within thirty days from that date. No strings were attached to this agreement, which provided that, on January 1, 1935, a new official, a "Fiscal Agent," should carry on, with certain definite limitations, the services of the present Financial Adviser-General Receiver.

President Vincent's visit to the United States was for the purpose of obtaining a more complete withdrawal of American participation in the Government of Haiti. In this mission he apparently has succeeded.

The complete restoration of Haitian sovereignty in October of this year, coincident with the withdrawal of the armed forces of the United States, unquestionably would be accepted throughout Latin America as a proof of the sincerity of Mr. Roosevelt's new "good neighbor" policy.

Haitian Flag Is Raised Over Marine Barracks

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Aug. 6.—(AP)—The United States flag which has flown for the last 19 years over the marine corps barracks at Cape Haitien, on the north coast of Haiti, was lowered today and the Haitian flag raised in its place.

Extreme good feeling was evident on the part of both the Haitian forces and the marines.

The Stars and Stripes were lowered by Lieutenant Colonel McClellan, of the marine corps.

By August 7, all the marines in Haiti will be concentrated at Pour-Au-Prince and the final ceremonies of withdrawal will probably take place on the morning of August 15, when the sea-soldiers are to set sail for the United States.

PRESIDENT VINCENT'S VISIT.

The recent visit of Stenio Vincent, President of Haiti, to the United States was marked with success in more ways than one. He returns to his country with the definite assurance from President Roosevelt that American marines would be removed from the Caribbean Island republic in October. Haiti has been promised a new and more acceptable form of financial administration which contemplates the withdrawal of the American fiscal representative, nominated by the President of the United States, who supervises Haitian revenues as an insurance to American holders of $11,000,000 of Haitian bonds.

A joint statement was issued by the two Chief Executives in which Mr. Roosevelt reaffirmed his adherence to "the good neighbor" policy in Latin-American relations. Both agreed that the personal exchanges between them were manifestation of that policy.

To the American Negro the withdrawal of American marines from Haiti is of more concern than any new financial policy that may be evolved between the two republics. The cruelty and barbarity of the marines when they first went to Haiti and the killing and wounding of defenseless men, women and children will not soon be forgotten. Time has not effaced from memory these outrages committed under the pretext of preserving law and order. When the marines make their exit Haiti will be on trial. Already there are those who are making the prediction that the black republic cannot maintain peace and tranquilty unless it receives aid from without. The Haitian people of all walks of life and divergent political opinions should band themselves together and prove to the world Haiti's capacity for law enforcement.

No high representative of Haiti has been as warmly welcomed by colored Americans as President Vincent, and it further can be said that no other Haitian President has shown such a disposition to fraternize and socialize with colored Americans. During his stay in New York he vsiited various points of interest in Harlem and attended several private or semi-private luncheons. In one of his talks he urged a larger cooperation between Haitians and colored Americans, emphasized the advantages offered the two groups and extended a warm invitation to representative members of the race in this country to visit Haiti.

It is said that no other President of Haiti has been received with such eclat at Washington and extended so many social courtesies by a President of the United States. A White House luncheon was given in the vistor's honor by President Roosevelt, which was attended by Cordell Hull, Secretary of State; Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury; George H. Dern, Secretary of War; James A. Farley, Postmaster General; Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior; Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture; Daniel Roper, Secretary of Commerce, and other officials. The Secretary of the Navy was not present. President Vincent is said to have left for his home carrying with him many pleasant memories.

Mr. Vincent's Gesture

SPEAKING LAST WEEK in Harlem at a luncheon tendered by William H. Davis, publisher of The Amsterdam News, President Stenio Vincent of Haiti urged earnest effort toward the end of effecting a solidarity of interests between the Haitian people and the American Negro. Mr. Vincent, who discussed American financial supervision of his country with President Roosevelt in Washington this week, asserted that any group of American Negroes coming to his country would be welcomed, and expressed the belief that our agriculturists could find opportunity in the cultivation of cotton and coffee in the little West Indian republic.

The fact that the President expressed such warm regard for Negroes here before his talks with Mr. Roosevelt indicates his sincerity. In the days of President Borno black Americans were not wanted in Haiti and were ignored when that Haitian executive visited our shores. Negroes here may heartily wish Mr. Vincent success in his efforts to rehabilitate his country, not only because his people are of African descent, but also because he proffers the official hand of friendship.

President Of All The People

THE VISIT of President STENIO VINCENT of Haiti to the United States was significant because it afforded further proof, if any were needed, of the true statesmanship of our own chief executive, FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT.

The size of a man may be measured by his determination to be guided by principle rather than expediency. Many an astute politician will argue that Mr. ROOSEVELT unwisely invited Mr. VINCENT to be his guest at the White House.

The garden variety of vote-mongers will contend that Mr. ROOSEVELT has hurt the Democratic party by permitting himself to be photographed shaking hands with Mr. VINCENT. Yet the President, oblivious of dictates of expediency did for the President of Haiti exactly what he would have done for the chief executive of any other sovereign country.

MR. ROOSEVELT

Mr. ROOSEVELT did not side step these "delicate" situations if such they might be termed. To appreciate the genuine manhood and statesmanship of our President we have only to recall the late and lamented HOOVER administration. The Great Engineer, it will be remembered studiously avoided colored delegations, and he flatly refused to have his photograph taken with any Negro or group of Negroes until the despair of his campaign for reelection made it expedient.

Mr. ROOSEVELT is a statesman—the President of all the people.

Race Problem — 1934
West Indies.

Haiti.

NEWS

Kansas City
SEP 6 1934 Mo.

MARINES OUT OF HAITI

American military occupation of Haiti which came to an end when the last contingent of United States marines was withdrawn from the island republic recently was not, as many persons believe, an occupation of force and against the will of responsible Haitians. It was military occupation under treaty agreement. It was friendly and effective and was ended when its purpose had been accomplished.

A remnant of occupation, which is non-military in character and purpose, however, continues. Sidney de la Rue, American fiscal representative, and his staff of 17 Americans continue in control of Haiti's finances. So to that extent, at least, we still occupy Haiti under terms of the 1915 treaty, which was for ten years, with a renewal clause extending it another ten years if found advisable by either party. We are still jointly responsible with Haiti for the extinction of the $23,660,000 loan of 1922, which at the present rate of amortization should be discharged in eight or ten years.

As for the withdrawal of the marines, our sea soldiers leave a better country than they found 19 years ago. We had restored order and halted widespread massacres a short time before the signing of the treaty by which the United States agreed to assist Haiti in establishment of a responsible, orderly government. Since then great material progress has been made by the ~~Negro Republ~~ic. Hundreds of miles of highways have been built, an involved financial situation liquidated and the entire fiscal system renovated and modernized. An efficient public health and sanitary service was organized and has been maintained, a marine-trained constabulary has maintained peace and order, a budget system introduced and revenue and expense balance.

Following unfortunate incidents late in 1929 which resulted in a clash between Haitians and marines, a joint accord was arrived at by which control of the Service of Public Works, the Technical Service of Agriculture and Industrial Education and the National Public Health Service was, with certain exceptions, passed into the hands of the Haitian Government. Now we pass along to native hands full military control and bring our marines home. But we retain a degree of control of the purse strings as assurance that orderd plans do not fail.

The United States passed in and out of Haiti with no little satisfaction to itself and with great benefit to our neighboring republic. As Secretary of State Hull says, our marine and naval forces "have rendered invaluable, distinguished service to the Haitian Government and people," and are withdrawing from the island in an atmosphere of great friendliness and the best of understanding.

4 Whites Get Diplomatic Posts in Haiti, Jamaica

Also Jamaica 12-9-34 Baltimore Md.

WASHINGTON. — Four white members of the U.S. diplomatic corps have been assigned to posts in Haiti and Jamaica during the past month, according to an announcement by the U.S. Department of State.

George A. Armstrong, of New York, second secretary of embassy, Berlin, Germany, has been transferred to Kingston, Jamaica, as consul.

Carl Breur, of Long Island, N.Y., will serve in a dual capacity at Port-au-Prince, as vice consul and third secretary of legation.

Selden Chapin, of Erie, Pa., third secretary of legation at Quito, Ecuador, has been designated in a similar capacity to report at Port-au-Prince.

C. Burke Elbrick, of Louisville Ky., third secretary of legation a Port-au-Prince, has been assigned as vice consul at the same place to serve in a dual capacity.

Haiti.

Race Problem - 1934
West Indies

Wants Our People To Help Develop Little Republic

Defender
9-15-34
Chicago Ill

By DR. R. R. WRIGHT

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The recent plan to establish relations with Haiti will include a wide project of tourist trade relations, Major Wright told this paper this week.

In an interview with Major Wright, he stated the following:

"A recent letter from the president of Haiti contains two propositions which are to be uppermost in our celebration of seventy-one years of progress and emancination. The propositions are as follows:

'J'ai ete heureux d'y retrouver l'assurance de vos dispositions pour la propagande en faveur du developpement d'un mouvement touristique vers Haiti. Vous savez combien j'apprecie votre interessante initiative pour laquelle vous me trouverez toujours dispose a vous apporter le plus large concours.

"J'ai particulierement considere votre projet de lancer sur le marche des Etats-Unis et principalement dans le monde de nos congeneres americains le cafe d'Haiti dont l'arome et la saveur sont universellement reputes. Aussi j'ai demande a la Secretairerie d'Etat du Commerce de se mettre en rapport sans retard avec votre Office et les exportateurs d'ici pour envisager pratiquement la realisation de ce projet.'

In these two paragraphs, President Vincent invites and commends the effort to start a tourist movement of American colored people to the Republic of Haiti. Secondly, he commends the proposition of beginning the importation of Haitian coffee and other products by colored people to America, and the exportation of such products as we may be able to manufacture to Haiti.

In a Haitian paper which I have just read —LE MATIN—there is a complaint that the United States sells to Haiti certain cotton goods, various clothing and other articles to the Haitians, but does not buy a single bit of Haitian coffee, cotton or cocoa—that on the other hand, these Haitian products are being bought by Japan, and that the Japanese sell their cheap cotton goods to the Haitians at 30 per cent or 40 per cent less than the same goods can be purchased from the United States. What the paper indicates creates a strong presumption that a specially large and lucrative commercial business could be carried on between these two countries.

WISHES TO DEVELOP COUNTRY

President Vincent appears to be a strong, loyal, thoughtful statesman, who wishes to develop his country along with the development of other countries. His letter is a very definite indication of this desire.

In regard to the tourist movement from this country, I am satisfied that such a movement can be made very popular and very helpful. My visit to Haiti convinced me of the fact that Haiti is a most interesting country. It sits there among the hills carpeted with beautiful green grass, which sparkles under the setting sun. I stood on the shore of that fine and beautiful harbor of Port-au-Prince, and looked up at those attractive hills which reminded me of the Seven Hills of Rome, which I visited and admired. Rome with its Seven Hills has become extremely interesting and famous. Why should not the hills of Port-au-Prince become equally as famous? I stood upon the top of the Coliseum in Rome, and looked down upon Ancient Rome's wonders; and I thought of the many tragic events which had taken place in that city; but the Coliseum is no more attractive than is the Citedal of Christophe at Cap Haitien in the Republic of Haiti; and the Republic of Haiti's tragic events have been no less tragic. It is true that the monuments to the distinguished men of Haiti, as they are distributed around the city, may not be as imposing as the monuments that are erected to the distinguished men in our country or in other countries; but they are monuments erected to colored men who have wrought well, who have won their freedom and won their country, and whose children are destined to make that country as renowned and useful as any other country of its size in the world.

True, Haiti proper has only about 10,000 square miles; but it is 10,000 square miles owned and now controlled by Negroes. It is worth a visitation.

MANY OTHER ATTRACTIONS

It is unnecessary in this short article to refer further to the attractions of Haiti. The very fact that during this year of 1934 so many tourists have visited that country, and are visiting it, is evidence of its attractiveness. I regret to say that during my visit there last year there were but two colored tourists in the city, while there were hundreds of white tourists, not only from America, but from various other countries.

Our celebration on October 18th is to emphasize both this tourist idea and the export and import idea. Let us by these means awaken that beautiful spirit of self-sacrifice and brave adventure which will give to our people a broader view of racial development.

While it is true that we shall, at our great celebration on the 18th of October, 1934, make mention of Liberia, which has been struggling for many years, and which is now striving to get a donation from this country; and of Abyssinia which bravely bears up against Italy and other countries who would wipe it off the face of the earth; and of our little Virgin Islands where our people are struggling for their existence—yet the first thing will be this of contacting an independent Negro government, and letting our people feel and know that here is a government owned and operated by Negroes, where we can visit and trade with those of our kind.

Haiti, Island of Mock Kings and Black Magic, Now Free of Marines

Pittsburgh Courier
8-25-34

Away from the twin-spired white cathedral at Port au Prince that gazes up at a copper sky, the bumboats that peddle coral, sandals and fruits, the boys who dive for coins, and the women in red and blue dresses, the last contingent of United States Marines sailed to end the 19-year occupation of Haiti by American forces. It was the same island on which the Leathernecks landed in 1915 just two hours after a revolt broke out.

A long and troublous history lies behind this tropical isle which was discovered by Columbus in 1492 and named by him La Espanola, soon corrupted to Hispianola, and now officially called that. Successively occupied by the Spanish, French and English, independence was declared in 1804 and native rulers set up. The most picturesque, cruel, yet constructive genius in the island was Henri Christophe, the negro king, who created a royal court in a jungle wilderness and ruled from his citadel from 1806 to 1820. In 1843 the Dominican Republic, occupying the eastern end of the island, was founded, and from that time constant revolutions kept the black and mulatto inhabitants of Haiti in a ferment. The most serious outbreak occurred in 1915 when Vilbrun Guillaume Sam, the newly-elected president, put to death 200 of his political opponents. Horror-stricken at the wholesale butchery, the maddened natives revolted, and converged on the capital to take the life of Sam. In a panic the president fled to the French legation, but international law was swept aside by the blood-crazed Haitians who invaded the property of France, seized Sam and literally tore him to pieces in the streets. Intervention by foreign powers was threatened and within two hours the United States had a detachment of Marines landing on Haitian shores.

Former Marine Gunnery Sgt. F. E. Wirkus enthroned after the coronation ceremonies that made him King Faustin II of La Gonave, and a group of royal followers.

In that first landing party were three Leathernecks who have been there ever since; that is, up until this month, and during those 19 years they have seen many changes. Latin-American critics had much to condemn in the American occupation, and while it may not have been all a bed of roses, neither was Haiti in that roseate state in 1915 when the Marines stepped in. Rather, it was a primitive, backward country the Americans encountered.

Financial and civic conditions were in a chaotic state, sanitation almost non-existent, and any roads more useful than tortuous mule trails were also lacking. To improve the roads an old French law was resurrected and all Haitians bent their backs to work the required number of days on the highways these crazy Americans insisted they build. This and other incidents caused a spirit of revolt again to brew and several times the Marines had to put down their constructive tools to take up weapons to suppress revolutions in the steaming forests, or banditry in the hills.

Bridges, trails, harbors, public buildings, irrigation and the telephone, telegraph and lighthouse services as well as sanitation have been improved, much of it under Brig. Gen. John H. Russell, now commandant of the Marine corps. Education has lagged sadly behind the other achievements because no provision was made for it under the terms of the Haitian-American treaty of 1916. Only two schools are in operation beside the government ones which are very poor indeed.

Largely mountainous, much of the land is covered with thick woods, except the plains and great valleys that take up one third of the area of the country. Tropical flora and fauna abound in the jungle while exotic fruits and vegetables are cultivated in Haitian gardens and fields. The climate varies greatly with the altitude, but at no point is there so much as even a frost. Port au Prince, a city of 125,000 people, is the capital and the second largest town is Cap Haitien of 25,000 souls. Most Haitians pursue farming with a large part of their produce consumed locally. Those products which they do export are mostly found in a wild or semi-wild state and collected in off-seasons.

Probably no less a picturesque figure than Henri Christophe is Ser-

geant Faustin E. Wirkus, the Pennsylvania-born Marine, who became "King" of an island near Port au Prince. The first king of this island was named Faustin, who rode off to war and never returned. Legend had it that he would return miraculously. He did—in the person of Wirkus who by some prank of fate had the same first name, and who returned in an airplane to collect taxes for the American government. He was soon crowned Faustin II by the natives of La Gonave where he reigned for a number of years when he was succeeded by another Marine.

Topping the summit of Le Bonnet a L'Eveque is the citadel which the Black King Christophe built as his palace. For over a hundred years tangled vines and tropical shrubs have grown unchecked about the walls which are covered with a brilliant orange lichen. This massive forbidding fortress of brick and stone erected by the slave who rose to be king was built by the Haitians under the driving lash of the Black Christophe. Men and women, young and old, struggled through the forests and up the steep ascent of Le Bonnet a L'Eveque with loads of bricks on their shoulders that Christophe might have an impregnable fortress. It is whispered about by the natives even today that every brick cost a human life.

In design the citadel is admirably suited to the summit of the mountain, giving the effect of being a continuation of the peak itself. Huge, iron-studded doors guard the entrance to the vast vaulted chambers now musty and silent in loneliness. Lines of cannon point through loopholes in the walls and piles of rusting cannon balls lie inside and outside the fortress just where they were dropped when news reached the citadel the cruel Christophe was dead. It is a dark mysterious building from the broad flat roof which is high above the tallest trees on the mountain peak and from where all Haiti lies spread out as if seen from an airplane down to the lowest subterranean dungeon. Bats now are the principal inhabitants of this palace were black nobles once strutted in mock splendor.

Always associated with mention of Haiti is the practice of voodooism, a form of sorcery, which calls for worship of the devil, sometimes aided by a human sacrifice, or by the celebration of a Black Mass, a degraded parody on the Mass of the Roman Catholic Church.

CHICAGO, ILL.
NEWS
AUG 15 1934

ADIEU, HAITI!

An interesting experiment was ended and another was begun today when the American marines pulled down the stars and stripes in Haiti and sailed for home. After eighteen years of control of Haitian affairs the United States is turning the government of the historic Negro republic back to its inhabitants, without compulsion from without or within. We have radically altered our international policy. We are no longer undertaking to uplift backward neighbors against their will, or to collect the money due our nationals by stationing our own agents at the receipt of customs and reenforcing them with marines.

Singularly, the man who dispatched the marines to revolution-ravaged and bankrupt Haiti in July, 1915, started the marines home today. Franklin D. Roosevelt as assistant secretary of the navy under Woodrow Wilson took control of Haiti to restore order and collect imperiled American private debts. Now, in keeping with the good-neighbor tenets of the New Deal, Mr. Roosevelt, as president, is leaving Haiti to the Haitians. Henceforth American investors in Haiti must take their chances, the same as in other parts of the world.

Though our own antiimperialists and some critical Latin Americans may not admit it, we leave many creditable memorials of our sojourn in Haiti. We have built roads, cleaned streets, installed sanitation and protected public health. We have rehabilitated Haiti's chaotic finances and made life and property more secure. We trained the national guard, to which we have handed over responsibility for preservation of law and order there. We sold to Haiti at a reasonable price a well-managed bank. All told, we spent in Haiti many times the amount that was recovered for Haiti's American creditors.

But little is heard of that aspect of the intervention. Our rule is mentioned in many circles merely as exploitation of a backward people by a foreign government bent on protecting its investors. It is conveniently overlooked that prior to the intervention four Haitian presidents had been disposed of by violence in two years—the last having been dragged from the French legation by a mob which chopped him in pieces and paraded through the capital with bits of the remains. It is perhaps indelicate to recall that the provocation for that outrage was the bayoneting of 200 political prisoners on the previous day.

The Wilson administration doubtless believed that it could show the Haitians the way to a better and more abundant life. Subsequent administrations did what they could, but the Haitians, quite understandably, resented our interference in their affairs, and the Hoover administration definitely decided upon and began the withdrawal which is scheduled to be happily completed today.

The American people hope that their Haitian neighbors will enjoy their new situation, and that some, at least, of the institutions created by the intervention will prove of enduring benefit. Most of all, they hope it is adieu, and not au revoir, which the marines are bidding Haiti.

West Indies.

HAITI CONTRACTS TO PURCHASE BANK

Times

Reaches Agreement to Take Over National City Bank and End Our Fiscal Control.

4-29-34

LEGISLATURE MUST RATIFY

New York.

Move Will Provide Continued Protection for American Holders of Bonds.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 28.—An agreement between the Haitian Government and the National City Bank of New York, whereby the Banque Nationale d'Haiti, a branch of the New York bank, is to be sold to Haiti, has been completed.

The contract of sales is en route by air to Port au Prince, in the custody of Albert Blanchet, the Haitian Minister.

The arrangement will have to be ratified by the Haitian Legislature, which will also have to vote funds to carry out the purchase. Details were withheld but the agreement is understood to provide for payment over a period of years.

If carried out, the sale of the bank will remove one of the chief obstacles to an early end of American fiscal control over the financial affairs of Haiti. Along with the withdrawal of the last of the United States Marines by the end of October, 1934, this would end the American occupation of Haiti started in 1915.

When the Haitian Government proposed, several months ago, to have the fiscal control and receivership of customs transferred from the fiscal representative, Sidney de La Rue, appointed by the President of Haiti on the nomination of President Roosevelt, to the Banque Nationale, objection was made at the State Department to the American ownership of the bank.

To Pay in Installments.

It was felt that, if American nationals were to supervise Haitian finances, they should be appointees of this government, under government control.

James L. Perkins, chairman of the National City Bank offered about two months ago to sell the Haitian branch to the government of Haiti. This appeared to solve the problem, except that the Haitian Treasury did not have the funds. Instalment payments were then worked out.

From unofficial descriptions of the contract of sale, it would appear that the transfer of fiscal control from Mr. de La Rue to Banque Nationale will provide continued protection for the American holders of $11,000,000 worth of Haitian bonds outstanding.

It is understood that the governors' board of the banque will, until the external indebtedness is liquidated or funded, have a majority of American members, selected from slates nominated by the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council and by the National City Bank, as fiscal agent of the Haitian Government in the United States.

Aid From State Department.

Sumner Welles, Assistant Secretary of State; James Clement Dunn, special assistant to the Secretary of State, and other Latin-American experts of the State Department have cooperated closely in the negotiations. The contract agreement is that hinted at in the joint statement issued by President Vincent of Haiti and President Roosevelt after their recent conference here.

The Roosevelt administration has been eager since its beginnings to end American participation in Haitian affairs, but has held the position that the holders of the Haitian bonds, having bought them under assurance of American control of the Haitian budget, should have all possible protection. The withdrawal of the marines was agreed upon soon after President Roosevelt took office.

Negotiations looking toward termination of financial control were started by Secretary Hull, who, en route to Montevideo last November, worked out with Haitian delegates to the Pan American conference the general outlines of the plan now agreed on.

COOPERATION OF AFRAMERICANS AND HAITIANS NEEDED TO REACH IDEALS SAYS ISLAND CONSUL

Negro Journal

SALES DROP OFF $900 PER DAY BEFORE JUDGE ISSUED BAN

Survey To Be Made By American Committee

NEW YORK CITY, June 21.—(ANP)—Charles B. Vincent, consul general of Haiti, was the special guest of the Haitian Afro-American Chamber of Commerce on Tuesday evening at the Y. M. C. A. Mr. Vincent discussed at length the possibilities offered by cooperation between American Negroes and Haitians.

The Haitian Afro-American Chamber of Commerce is composed of a group of nationally known business and professional men in New York City, who for several weeks have been meeting to discuss the potentialities of an organized effort by American Negroes to assist Haitians in developing the agricultural, industrial and commercial resources of their country for the mutual benefit of both groups.

Through the assistance of Henri Roseman, Haitian press representative ,the committee has been able to discuss intelligently many of the questions which involved an intimate knowledge of the country. The idea has received the stamp of approval of many well known agriculturalists, bankers, business and professional men in other parts of the country. Many have promised cooperation in developing the organization.

The committee which is working on organization plans will sponsor the sending of a commission to Haiti some time this summer. This commission will be composed of experts in several fields who will study the situation and confer with President Vincent, who has stated that he would be pleased to entertain such a commission in a semi-official manner. The officers of the temporary committee are: Geo. E. Wibecan, temporary chairman; Dr. Walter N. Beekman, vice chairman; Albon L. Holsey, secretary; Mrs. Ferol V. Smoot, assistant secretary; William H. Davis, treasurer.

ROOSEVELT IN HAITI RENEWS HIS PLEDGE TO RECALL MARINES

In Luncheon Speech He Asks the Citizens to Remember Troops as Friends.

HAILED BY STREET CROWDS

President Vincent Officially Welcomes Him as Houston Puts In at Cap Haitien.

By The Associated Press.

CAP HAITIEN, Haiti, July 5.—After promising the prompt withdrawal of American marines from Haiti, President Roosevelt joined the Chief Executive of that country today in a toast to the restoration of complete independent relations between the two republics.

The President came ashore from the cruiser Houston, which is taking him to the Pacific on his vacation, and was escorted to the Union Club, where President Stenio Vincent toasted the visitor and pledged friendship between the two countries.

President Roosevelt then accepted a glass and drank to the new friendship signified by the imminent removal of the marines after a long stay.

He made a brief address—partly in French—at the club, in which he said that the marines would leave Haiti within a month or six weeks.

He expressed the hope that they would be remembered as friends who tried to help Haiti.

"I was especially glad to come back to Haiti when relations between the two countries are being restored to a complete basis of independence," the American President said later.

Crowds Line Streets.

A large barge, prepared by Haitians and draped with Haitian and American colors, brought the President ashore from the Houston. He was met at the dock by President Vincent and Haitian officials en masse.

A twenty-one-gun salute was fired, after which President Roosevelt motored with President Vincent through the streets of this ancient town, founded at the base of mountains by Christopher Columbus. Throngs along the flag-draped streets cheered.

Later President Vincent called on President Roosevelt aboard the cruiser.

Norman Armour, American Minister to Haiti, arrived by plane from Port au Prince, but was ill with dengue fever and was unable to take part in the ceremonies.

The Houston set out late today for Mayaguez, Puerto Rico.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

In his address at the Union Club President Roosevelt spoke as follows:

"Mr. President, I am very happy to come back to Cap Haitien. I shall always remember as long as I live the week I had the privilege of spending in the Republic of Haiti. I am glad to come back, especially at a time when the relationship between the Republic of Haiti and the Republic of the United States will be restored to a basis of complete independence.

"I am glad that as a result of the visit of President Vincent to Washington, as he has so well said, two out of three points which we consider have already been consummated or are about to be consummated.

"Very soon, within a month or six weeks, I think, the last Americans who have served here with the Garde de Haiti and with the Marines will leave the Republic of Haiti. That is not all. I am very hopeful and very certain that when these Americans leave your shores you will think of them with a spirit of friendship, and that you will be happy in the days to come remembering that they tried to help the people of Haiti.

"And so when they go, Mr. President, I am certain also that you will carry with the same spirit of friendship between our peoples which must alwasy exist in the future.

"We shall have the same confidence, close relations as in commerce, and that is a spirit of understanding and a spirit of friendship between not only our two peoples but also our two governments.

"And so, Mr. President, I am happy to come here once more. I wish that I had the opportunity to go from one end of the republic to the other. On this short visit I want to thank you for your hospitality, and I want to thank you for the great pains to which you have gone to make my visit comfortable.

"I want to drink to the health of the President of Haiti, to the Government of Haiti and to the people of Haiti. May our friendship ever continue."

Roosevelt Feted At Haitian Port

President Promises Quick Withdrawal Of Marines; Visits Republic's Capital

ABOARD THE U. S. S. GILMER, July 5—The United States Cruiser Houston taking President Roosevelt on a vacation voyage tonight was speeding at 21 knots through a heavy sea toward Mayaguez, Puerto Rico. The Houston is due to reach Mayaguez at 6 a.m. The President will land and motor to San Juan where he will remain tomorrow night.

By FRANCIS M. STEPHENSON
Associated Press Staff Writer

CAP HAITIEN, HAITI, July 5.—(AP)—After promising the prompt withdrawal of American Marines from Haiti, President Roosevelt joined the chief executive of Haiti today in a toast to the restoration of complete independent relations between the two republics.

The President came ashore from the U. S. S. Houston, which is taking him to the Pacific Ocean on his vacation.

During the visit he made a brief address—partly in French—at the Union Club, saying the Marines will leave Haiti within a month or six weeks.

He expressed the hope that the Marines would be remembered as friends who tried to help Haiti.

Later President Stenio Vincent called upon President Roosevelt on the Cruiser.

During his two-hour visit here President Roosevelt motored with President Vincent through the streets of this ancient town founded at the base of mountains by Christopher Columbus.

At the club President Vincent toasted the visitor and pledged friendship between the two countries.

President Roosevelt then accepted a glass and drank to the new friendship signified by the imminent removal of the Marines after a long stay.

"I was especially glad to come back to Haiti when relations between the two countries are being restored to a complete basis of independence," the American President said as he reboarded his ship.

A 21-gun salute was fired as the visiting President arrived, and crowds turned out in the flag-draped streets to cheer him.

The Houston set out late today for Mayaguez, Puerto Rico.

LOUISVILLE, KY.
COURIER JOURNAL

JUL 7 1934

HAITI'S ENTHUSIASTIC WELCOME

President Roosevelt's visit to the little Negro republic of Haiti, following on the noisily acclaimed visit of President Senio Vincent to the United States, was a good will mission, which should do much toward removing the remaining friction between the two countries. There was no doubt about the cordiality on both sides. The enthusiasm of the reception was spontaneous. Natives as well as Government officials were wholehearted in their ovation and the spirit of international friendship was mutual.

"To your Government and people—may our friendship ever continue," was Mr. Roosevelt's toast to the Caribbean island.

"The relations between America and Haiti have been restored on a basis of complete understanding," declared President Vincent. "And," he added in explanation of the cause of the ill-feeling between the countries, "very soon, within a month or six weeks, the last of the American Marines will have been withdrawn."

In a measure President Roosevelt went out of his way to visit Haiti. It was one of the few stops on his vacation voyage where the American flag does not fly. Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands, the Canal Zone and Hawaii are all under the protection of the United States. Haiti, together with Panama and Columbia, is a marked exception to the rest of the itinerary and the little republic was thus honored.

The stop however was in the nature of a return visit. At the invitation of President Roosevelt, President Vincent recently visited the United States. A twenty-one gun salute greeted him. New York outdid itself to welcome him. Sirens screamed and confetti and paper streamers filled the air. As a prelude to the discussions at the White House there was a fitting spirit of cordiality. International differences were thus easily obliterated in an atmosphere of good will and understanding. The withdrawal of the Marines was agreed upon—the last will quit the island before the end of the year—and control of the republic's pursestrings to insure the payment of its debts to American bondholders will be eased.

Haiti's long protest against American meddling has at last been heeded; its insistence that it be allowed to work out its own destiny has found a sympathetic hearing.

A New Day for Haiti

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S decision to have our marines off Haitian soil by August 15 is a gesture certain to improve Latin-American relations and remove some of the odium attached to the United States by our little neighbor republics. Haitian sovereignty has been wholly abstract for two decades, and that country's rulers have been little more than figure-heads receiving their mandate from Washington.

Under a new agreement the Haitian government will purchase the National Bank of Haiti, now owned by the National City Bank of New York. The eventual withdrawal of the American adviser to Haiti is another goal calculated to contribute no small measure to the self-respect and independence of the Haitian people.

The American government should be happy at the prospect of quitting the role of iron-fisted dictator.

MARINES OUT HAITI; ISLANDERS ELATED

Last Unit Ceremonially Marks End of 19 Years' Occupation and Sails for Home.

VINCENT VOICES GRATITUDE

Thanks Roosevelt for Policy of 'Good Neighbor'—Hull Cables Our Best Wishes.

By The Associated Press.

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Aug. 15.—The United States Marine Corps evacuated Haiti today, the last detachment sailing at 9 A. M. aboard the transport Argonne and the storeship Bridge.

The evacuation was one of military solemnity and civilian enthusiasm.

As the last company of marines, units of which have been stationed here nineteen years, marched through the streets of the capital to the docks, the civilian population thronged the thoroughfares to cheer them. Everywhere were evidences of an increased good-will toward the United States. Farewells were said in the most friendly spirit.

The Haitian constabulary band itself led the parade of marines, marching to the fore as the smartly stepping "leathernecks" marched to music.

At the docks, the commanding officers held their last review on Haitian soil. Then the marines went aboard.

There were cries of farewell as the navy ships moved out. Haiti had been evacuated.

Haiti Thanks Roosevelt.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 15.—The departure of the last of the United States Marines from Haiti today and the return of the government to native control was made the occasion of a message of felicitation from President Vincent to President Roosevelt and a congratulatory statement by Secretary Hull.

The marine unit, consisting of thirty officers and 469 men, is due at Hampton Roads on Aug. 20. Brig. Gen. Louis McC. Little, commanding, in a dispatch to marine headquarters said the "most friendly feeling" was shown by the populace as the marines left.

Eleven planes, composing Marine Observation Squadron 9-M, which has been stationed in Haiti since 1919, arrived at Anacostia this afternoon in the midst of a thunderstorm. They brought eight officers and eighteen enlisted men. They were reviewed by marine officers and navy officials as they landed and then proceeded to the marine base at Quantico, Va.

Telegram from Vincent.

In his telegram to President Roosevelt, President Vincent, referring to the ceremonies yesterday when the Stars and Stripes were lowered at Port-au-Prince, said:

After the impressive ceremonies of yesterday afternoon, which took place in a perfect atmosphere of friendship, I am happy at the moment when the last marines are embarking to renew to you the assurances of my gratitude, that of the government and of the Haitian people for your generous and intelligent policy of the good neighbor, which has effectively aided me in accomplishing national liberation and which assures the continuation of the cordial relations now existing between our two countries.

Hull Hails the Event.

Secretary Hull, in his statement, stressed the disinterested character of the services our marines and naval forces have rendered in Haiti, and expressed the hope that Haiti would have "stability, progress and all success." He said:

Today the withdrawal of our marines and naval forces from Haiti is being completed. Under an agreement between the two governments of Aug. 7, 1933, the Haitian Garde, which has been trained and partly officered by our marines, would be turned over to the complete command of Haitian officers on Oct. 1, 1934, and our marine and naval forces would be withdrawn during the month of October.

However, when President Roosevelt visited Cape Haitian July 5 last, President Vincent requested that, if at all possible, the date for carrying out these movements should be advanced, and President Roosevelt stated that we would advance the date for turning over the command of the garde to Aug. 1 instead of Oct. 1 and would withdraw our forces from Haiti in the following fortnight.

Agreement Is Fulfilled.

In accordance with President Roosevelt's statement and with a subsequent exchange of notes between the two governments, complete command of the Haitian Garde was formally turned over on Aug. 1, 1934, to a Haitian officer, designated by the President of Haiti as commandant of the garde. Since that date the withdrawal of our forces has been taking place and is being completed today.

Arrangements have also been made whereby President Roosevelt, acting under authority expressly conferred upon him by Congress, is making a gift to the Haitian Government of a considerable amount of material and property belonging to our marine and naval units in Haiti and which the Haitian Government felt would be valuable and useful to it.

In the nearly twenty years during which our marine and naval forces have been stationed in Haiti they have rendered invaluable, disinterested service to the Haitian Government and people. At this present moment they are withdrawing from the island in an atmosphere of great friendliness and the best of understanding. We wish for the government and people of Haiti stability, progress and all success."

Race Problem - 1934

Haiti.

West Indies

How Haiti, "Magic Island" Welcomed the Wrights

Mountains Chilly, but City Basks in Mid-Summer Heat. Visit to President Vincent. Protestant Churches Hard to Find. Belleview Club Has a Real "400." Experiences with a Donkey.

By HARRIET WRIGHT LEMON

EDITOR'S NOTE:—Mrs. Lemon and her father, Major R. R. Wright, Sr., president of the Citizens and Southern Bank have just returned from a vacation trip to Haiti

Haiti (high land, sometimes called the "Magic Island) is said to be one of the most beautiful countries in the world. I can easily believe it now. Its mountains, water front, valleys, flowers and trees are almost indescribable. The mountains seem to envelop you on all sides, those on one side which are not inhabited seem too beautiful to be real. They appear to have been something painted on a screen—so beautiful.

The flowers are gorgeous and as plentiful as they are gorgeous, all kinds and colors. But the poinsettias attracted my attention more than any other type of flowers. They grow just like wild flowers and as tall as trees with their beautiful rich and velvety red leaves.

It you want to have a gay time if you want to rest, if you want sunshine all day, and July and August warmth all winter, if you want beauty of nature, if you want ancient street scenes, and an experience with odd customs, you'll find all that in Haiti.

Black Republic

You know, Haiti is a colored country owned and controlled by colored people; that is why it is referred to as "the Black Democracy"; the population is 2,500,000 I was simply thrilled when my father and I were received by President Vincent. Imagine a colored head of an entire country on the American Continent.

When we first entered the national palace I was amazed at the massiveness of the building, the beauty of structure and the entire structural plan. It appeared to me more beautiful than the White House at Washington, D.C. and quite as large. The gardens at the national palace are simply exquisite, with flowers of varied colors, laid off with the real skill of a Haitian landscape gardener. We were received in the blue and gold reception room. President Vincent entered, escorted by two aides, to greet us. He is a handsome brown man and was dressed in a white linen suit. At the conclusion of our visit he directed one of his secretaries to send his photograph to the hotel to us this was a mark of appreciation of our visit to Haiti.

Our visit to the president received quite a bit of notice in the capital city, Port au Prince. As the news spread of our visit the telephone at our hotel began to ring, and people were calling to make appointments and to extend invitations. Our first visit to the mayor of the city was especially interesting. The city hall is a large beautiful building overlooking the sea. The mayor was delighted to have our visit and had both my father and me sign our names in the Gold Book and presented us with a report of the city addressed to us with his signature attached. The next day, Dr. Camille L'Herisson, a personal friend of Raymond Pace Alexander, showed us through the medical school where he is a member of the faculty, and also one of the directors of health.

The departments of pharmacy and dentistry were especially interesting to me. The up-to-date modern equipment makes it indeed a beautiful place. The hospital also adjoining the medical school just across the lawn is the best I have ever visited.

The Schools

The schools of Haiti are interesting. There are elementary, high, normal, private schools and colleges. One of the most interesting private schools was that of Dr. L'Herisson's father, School of Ouverture. At this school a fine little fellow made a speech and sent a message to colored Americans. The principal of each school took great pride in conducting us through his school. Only one or two of the schools teach any English at all.

At the normal school, I shall never forget how happy the English teacher, who is a Haitian, was to see us; and when the principal presented us, he was so afraid we would get away before talking to a class in English.

A very few Haitians speak English. Some of those who learn English, learn it in Jamaica, but I was surprised to know that they are far less concerned about learning English than the Americans are about learning French.

The Churches

One must look hard to find a Protestant church, for Haiti is a Catholic country. The Cathedral is magnificent and overlooks the city and its surrounding mountains. Mr. L. Roy, the architect guided us from tower to cellar of the Cathedral. It is a thing of beauty. We did find an Episcopal and a Methodist and a Baptist church. The Methodist church was deserted. The Baptist church was holding its services. We met the Baptist preacher, the Rev. Mr. Marc who is a native. He later carried us sight-seeing and Mrs. Marc sent us a beautiful bouquet of roses.

Social Life

We were guests at several receptions and a ball. The ball was the prettiest I have ever witnessed and was held at the Belleview Club. The club-house is situated amid the trees and clusters of flowers, and had large verandas, open porches and a large dance hall. During the entire evening there was serving of sandwiches, cakes and wines, both at the small tables around the dance hall and on the verandas and open porches. All the men wore white tuxedos, linen suits; and the many pretty girls, for which Haiti is noted, wore organdies, chiffons, organdie hats and silk hats. It all made a beautiful picture. The membership of the Belleview Club is 400. The membership fee is $100 and $10 monthly dues.

The Country Club

Mr. Sylvain Cator, head of the Haitian Tourist Bureau, and Dr. Harrison entertained for me at the Country Club House "Trocadero." It is a beautiful place on the sea front, built amid the palm trees, poinsettias and banana trees, with the sea in front, and the hills just back of it.

The party was a dancing party with a dinner which consisted of nine courses. No wonder I have gained six pounds. All the dinners consisted of at least five courses—whether served at noon or midnight. We were also the guests of the former Minister to the United States, Mr. Dantes Bellegarde and his family at his beautiful home surrounded by flower gardens.

Businesses

We visited the lard factory, sugar factory, pineapple factory, furniture factory and the coffee house where coffee is separated and bagged.

Women sit on the ground in the coffee and pick and separate it. The men fill the bags and sew them up. We watched all styles of furniture being built at the furniture factory, and my father was given a beautiful mahogany table set made there. Sewing is a great occupation among the women. One cannot buy ready-to-wear clothes in Haiti.

The leading business street is Republica where one finds drug stores, shoe stores, auto stores candy peddlers, hat shops, tailor shops, six newspapers and all types of businesses.

Banks

Just around in the next street are the two banks. The Bank of Canada and the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti. My father sent his card bearing the name of president of the Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company, Philadelphia, Pa., into one of the officials. Immediately the president came forth and greeted us most cordially and showed us around from one end of the bank to the other. I was overjoyed and thrilled to see the bank There are 100 persons working there, real colored people. It was an inspiration beyond expression.

Every department, accounting loan, commercial, savings, and investment, was carried on by our group. After going through the entire bank, Mr. Voorhies, the president, presented me with a small box of Haitian money which had been defaced by burning. This was a souvenir. We were invited to tea at his home up in the hills where he had a beautiful garden typical of only Haiti.

Mr. Voorhies had much to tell my father. He represents the National City Bank of New York City, and naturally wanted to impress my father with the good work he was doing in training the Haitians to become bankers, so that my father in turn could pass it on to the president of Haiti We were also invited to the home of the financial advisor, who is also a white American. My father will tell you about the banking situation as well as the white man's financial manipulations of the country.

The Temperature

To give you some idea of the temperature of Haiti, here is what happened one evening. We were invited up to spend the night at a very popular place called Kenskoff, 2,000 feet above sea level.

To me it was a perilous and unforgettable trip, right on the edge of the mountains, with mountains both above and below. You know, Haiti has mountains 9,000 feet high! It was really cold up there, too severe for us to remain overnight, while right down in the city it was scorchingly hot. We attended a soccer game in the city the very next afternoon and were almost burned up by the heat. I actually thought that we could not survive, but after finding the national football game between Cuba and Haiti played entirely with their heads and feet, and not their hands, we soon became so deeply absorbed by the game that we paid less attention to the heat

The Peasants

Please, I must not forget the peasants, for they indeed form seven-eighths of the population. And my, how interesting they are!

First, the peasants are crazy about land and they all own little plots of land and have coffee trees and banana trees. They transport everything on their heads, the heaviest kind of baskets filled with cocoanuts, bananas, oils, sugar cane, milk, coffee, sisal, vegetables charcoal, etc., walking barefoot over the mountains and over the hills all going to market to sell their wares.

The Market Places

The market place is one of the most important spots of the city It is very interesting and is the place where the peasants sell their products. There are two market places: one open and a large one enclosed. The peasants sit on the ground or, if inside, sit on the floor. Few of them stand or sit on chairs. I stood for a long while and watched the women paint and weave all types of baskets and rugs.

When one drives up to the market place the children in the streets surround the car begging. Some of the peasants walk all night to market. Some of them have their own donkeys and they let their donkeys carry the heavy loads to market, and if they are successful in selling all—then they ride back home on the donkey.

Riding a Donkey

Just here, let me tell of my experience with a donkey—or rather with some of the peasants. I was very anxious to experience a ride on a donkey. When I was a child my brother and I had ponies and enjoyed a ride every day. So here was my chance for a donkey ride. It was not so easy as we had thought.

M. Baily, one of the leading business men, who was taking us sight-seeing, attempted to stop several peasants before he succeeded. When he found a willing peasant, such a protest was raised it frightened me. They were mumbling in broken French. Finally, we understood that to have a donkey ride would cost

money, even if it was only a step or two. Some of the peasants never allow strangers to do anything, hardly look at them, without pay.

They live almost entirely in the country or along the road sides which lead to the country. Their huts are built with triangular tops made of grass, very small with only one room.

Candles Used

Driving along the road for miles one night, we saw the candle lights. The peasants sit out on the ground in front of their homes until 9 or 10 o'clock, doing various jobs by candle light. Almost each home has a small candle down on the floor or on a chair or perhaps on a table outside in front.

On other streets through the peasant district, one will see men making sandals out of leather, and women sewing on Singer sewing machines. It is a common thing to see the women sitting down on the ground washing clothes in any stream of water.

Exports

Haiti is noted for its coffee and really one cup of Haitian coffee will make a dozen cups of American, the flavor is so strong. Almost all of the coffee is exported to France, some, however, to Spain and Italy, but none to the United States.

France has certainly left her stamp on Haiti. The homes, buildings and gardens are patterned on the French style, and, of course the Haitians all speak French. It is real interesting to see and hear colored people talking French entirely.

Customs

We were guests at a number of homes, and I noticed that always the chairs are placed in a small rectangular form in the middle of the floor in the living room or parlor.

Another very noticeable thing is that everybody shakes hands When you meet and when you part, even if it is only for a minute's talk, you shake hands. It is an insult not to. I must say, the hand shake certainly carries with it the spirit of good will, even in the business houses and stores.

Resort

Very few colored Americans visit Haiti. It is flooded with white visitors. They seem to prefer to visit Haiti because it is the one different country. It would be a fine thing if our people would make Haiti their Palm Beach, because it is much warmer and far more beautiful and desirable in-

MORE

BRINGS PLEA FOR HAITI.

President Vincent Due Monday to Seek Withdrawal of Marines.

President Stenio Vincent of Haiti will arrive in New York on Monday morning on the Haiti of the Colombian Line, according to announcement yesterday by the Haitian Consulate. He will be accompanied by the members of his staff. President Vincent will stop for a short time at the Hotel Pierre, Fifth Avenue at Sixty-first Street, before proceeding to Washington, where he plans to confer with President Roosevelt on the possibility of the United States withdrawing its marines from Haiti.

PRESIDENT OF HAITI TO SEE ROOSEVELT

Executives Will Confer Tuesday on American Control of Island's Finances.

NEW LOAN ATTEMPT FAILS

Washington Believes Bank May Supplant American Officer as Fiscal Officer.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 11.—Arrangements were completed today for a meeting of President Roosevelt and President Stenio Vincent of Haiti, to discuss American control of Haitian fiscal affairs. The two Chief Executives will meet for the first time at luncheon at the White House on Tuesday.

President Vincent will arrive in Washington from New York late Monday afternoon, will spend Tuesday and Wednesday in conferences at the White House and State Department, and will return to New York in time to sail on Thursday, under present plans.

It is understood that President Vincent has been unsuccessful in his efforts in New York to arrange a new loan to refinance the $11,000,000 outstanding Haitian indebtedness, which is the cause of the maintenance of American fiscal control in Port-Au-Prince. Such refinancing was recommended to President Vincent by President Roosevelt in an exchange of correspondence last December, when the Haitian Chief of State approached this government with a view to ending the fiscal control.

It is assumed in official circles that President Vincent will urge on Mr. Roosevelt at least some modification of the existing arrangements, and it is predicted by experts that the request will meet a more sympathetic reception than was accorded to the feelers put out five months ago.

In the circle of the President's advisers on Latin American affairs are some officiols who take the view that the Haitian bond issue, originally $23,000,000, has been cut more than half at a rate which will extinguish the indebtedness twelve years sooner than is called for the the debt contract. The interest charges have been promptly met, and these advisers feel that the American holders of the remaining bonds might be willing to take their chances that the remainder would be as satisfactorily met without American supervision of the entire revenues of Haiti.

The so-called Leger plan, originated by a Port-au-Prince lawyer, is the compromise which is at present viewed most favorably, it was said today.

Under this plan the Bank of Haiti, which is a subsidiary of the National City Bank, would take over the fiscal supervision now exercised by the fiscal representative. Under the protocol of 1919, added to the treaty of 1915, fiscal supervision is exercised by appointees of the President of Haiti, made on the nomination of the President of the United States.

Should President Roosevelt nominate the Bank of Haiti, it is contended, the agreement would be observed and the bondholders would receive as adequate protection as they now have.

HAITI BANK OFFERED BY NATIONAL CITY

Sale to Island Republic Is Under Consideration by the State Department.

FORMED TO AID FINANCES

Tender Is Made to Further the Return of Control to the Haitian Government.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, April 17.—An offer by the National City Bank of New York to sell the National Bank of Haiti, a subsidiary, to the Haitian Government, is under consideration by the State Department. The plan is regarded as a step in the movement toward less stringent supervision of the island republic's customs and finances by Americans. The offer is said to have been made as an outgrowth of the feeling among officials of the National City Bank that the Haitians should own their bank.

James H. Perkins, chairman of the board of the National City Bank, originally made the offer to sell the Haitian Bank three months ago, but the facts were not learned until today. State Department officials refused to discuss the offer tonight.

The stock of the National Bank of Haiti has been wholly owned by the National City for several years. The latter bank has been active in Haitian finances more than twelve years. In 1922 the National City Company, affiliate of the National City Bank, offered $16,000,000 of Republic of Haiti customs and general revenue external thirty-year sinking fund gold bonds for the purpose of refunding Haitian loans outstanding in France, and to provide funds to pay internal floating debts.

The Banque Nationale de la Republique d'Haiti, which is the official name of the national bank of Haiti, was incorporated in August, 1932, in Haiti as the successor to the Banque National d'Haiti, a French corporation. It conducts a general commercial business, is the sole bank of issue in Haiti and is the depository of customs receipts. The head office is at Port au Prince. The bank has eight branches and three agencies in Haiti. It is not a member of the Federal Reserve System.

The bank is controlled by the National City through its subsidiary, the International Banking Corporation, which holds the foreign banking units of the National City.

On Nov. 30, 1932, the National Bank of Haiti had total assets of $6,919,394. Its deposits totaled $3,176,192, and its notes in circulation amounted to $1,332,107. Its capital was $2,000,000, and its surplus and undivided profits, $251,621

Times Wide World Photo.

A VISITING PRESIDENT AT WHITE HOUSE.

President Vincent of Haiti being welcomed by President Roosevelt. With them is Capt. Walter Vernou, naval aide to the President.

Race Problem - 1934

Virgin Islands.

West Indies.

VIRGIN ISLANDERS HONORED BY ROOSEVELT

The proudest family in St. Croix, Virgin Islands, is shown here, standing solemnly by as Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., hangs a sign commemorating the visit of his father to their PWA-constructed home, built in the U. S. homestead program.

Virgin Islands Now Experimental Lab for Long Term Planning

Since the purchase of the Virgin Islands by the United States in 1917 and until the New Deal came absolutely nothing was done for them in the way of economic support. From a prosperous condition under the Danish rule we allowed the islands to deteriorate until they were exactly what Hoover termed them, "an effective poorhouse." The only interest the United States had in these "beauty spots of the Caribbean" apparently was the part they might play in defense of the mainland. The islands were not desired as a naval base but only to prevent some other nation from getting them and using them for such. This is why in 1916, when it became apparent the United States would eventually be in the war, she changed her bargaining tactics and told Denmark she must either consent to sell the islands or have them taken from her forcibly. As a result of this ultimatum the islands were purchased in 1917 by the United States for $25,000,000.

7-14-34

Under these circumstances this country has shown the exact amount of interest as was to be expected—none at all. When a deficit was incurred by the Colonial Councils of the islands Congress paid it without trying to determine why these islands which were fought over for so long by several nations of Europe because of their wealth should incur such deficits. After the American purchase all capital which had been put into the island industries by the Danes was withdrawn. When there was no American capital forthcoming to take the place of that removed and which was so sorely needed to keep the island industries on a paying basis, the inevitable occurred. Prohibition killed their only big industry. So the entire economic system of the islands underwent a slow but sure decay until at the beginning of the Roosevelt rehabilitation movement all industries were in a state of practical paralysis.

This poverty-stricken state was something entirely new for the Virgin Islands. In the early days when slave trading was a thriving and profitable industry St. Thomas, which is the commercial one of the three important islands in the group, reaped large profits. Lying in the stategic position which made it a point of reshipment the island formed one of the points of the triangle of trade which existed between Africa, the Virgins, and America, and gathered in a large share of the profits from the trade in the slaves which were in great demand for the cotton fields of America and elsewhere. In addition to this St. Croix, the more industrially inclined of the islands built up a thriving industry based on the growing of sugar cane which was so easily done in the fertile soil of the island. Besides exporting large quantities of sugar each year St. Croix rum was made from the native sugar and became a favorite all over the world diverting the flow of more gold into the island coffers.

No chance to benefit by the islands' position was missed by the far-seeing Danes. In the early days when pirates roamed the seas burdened down with gold looted from many ships the islands contrived to get their share. The pirates found it almost as difficult to spend their gold as it was to get it since they were hunted in nearly all ports and to be recognized meant death or capture with a bare chance of escape. St. Thomas was therefore opened up to them. They could come and go as they chose as long as they observed the rights of the natives of the island. In case they did not they were unceremoniously hanged. A few of the pirates chose the island as their home building expensive houses and living in lavish splendor during the latter days of their lives. Some even lived there while continuing their marauding. There are still underground store rooms along the waterfront through the openings of which have been shoveled thousands upon thousands of dollars worth of gold, silver and precious stones. It is on the site of the castle of the famous Blackbeard where the new rehabilitation movement plans to erect a modern hotel to attract the tourist trade.

Such deplorable conditions as existed on the islands at the beginning of the movement were hardly in keeping with the beauty which inspired Columbus to name them Las Virgines in honor of St. Ursula and her 11,000 virgins when he first discovered them in 1493. At the time of the last census, on the island of St. Croix there were 2,623 one-room houses. When this number is compared with the 4,545 families living on the island some idea of the conditions can be formed. Many of these one-room affairs housed as many as 12 people. That such conditions would give rise to many serious social evils goes without saying. One of the results is that 65 per cent of the children of the island are illegitimate. The care of these many homeless waifs constitutes one of the chief problems of the movement.

The first serious thought given to the Virgin Islands since their purchase by the United States was by President Hoover after his "poorhouse" declaration and at the time of the appointment of Paul M. Pearson as governor. A plan was then formulated by which the rehabilitation was to be effected but it never got very far.

The New Deal plan which is now being worked out is to effect the complete economic rehabilitation of the islands over a long period. In order that the plan might work freely and unhindered a company was formed which was given the powers of a complete monopoly. The Virgin Island Company is a Federal corporation organized under the laws of the islands of St. Thomas and St. John. Supplied with $1,000,000 of PWA funds it has undertaken to revive the industries of the islands and erase the sore spot which has existed so long. The sugar and rum industries will receive most of the attention of the company. Plantations, refineries and distilleries have been purchased and put into condition for immediate operation.

Operation for the good of the natives is the chief aim of the company. All profits will be used to improve conditions and raise the people from the low level to which they have sunk. Half of the profits accruing to the company from the operation of the island industries will be divided among the employees (practically the entire population) in the form of bonuses. The other half will be used in welfare work such as sanitation projects, etc.

In addition, but not least in importance, the company is undertaking a homestead project to provide each family working for the company with a decent home. Large tracts of land have been set aside for the purpose and divided into 10-acre plots. On each plot is being built a comfortable two-room house. This program will create a condition conducive to good home surroundings which should develop the future generations into a much higher type. The houses make sanitary and moral living conditions possible and the land provides room for gardens which should make the people practically self-sustaining as far as most of their food is concerned. Occupants of these subsistence homesteads will not use the property as tenants but as owners. Payments will be arranged so that they can easily be met and will be deducted periodically from their wages. This status as landowners should serve to create a great interest among the people where the desire to own land has grown to become a controlling factor in their lives. Growth of this desire has been prompted by such conditions as existed on the island of St. Croix where out of a population of 12,000 more than 80 per cent of the land was owned by about 20 of the people.

The success of this undertaking, which has been started largely due to the great personal interest of President Roosevelt, will mean that these little islands not many hours east of Florida will again know some of their former prosperity. Instead of being examples of what should not be they will approach the position which made them so desirable in the early years.

Virgin Islands.
6

Race Problem-1934

West Indies.

New York Times
JUN 3 1934

LONG-RANGE PROGRAM FOR VIRGIN ISLANDS

The United States Government has embarked on a large-scale effort to bring prosperity to the Virgin Islands. The effort is here described by the Governor of the islands.

By PAUL M. PEARSON,
Governor of the Virgin Islands.

WHEN Herbert Hoover described the Virgin Islands as an "effective poorhouse," it must be admitted that from a material point of view he spoke the truth. Although the islands are wealthy beyond words in the beauty of their coral reefs, the exquisite coloring of their tropic waters and the charm and character of their people, their economic condition has been deplorable. But what Mr. Hoover failed to add was that this condition was due almost entirely to the neglect of the government, which seventeen years ago purchased the islands from Denmark and then promptly forgot them.

It is to give some measure of compensation for this neglect that President Roosevelt has launched his rehabilitation program, including the revival of the rum industry which once made St. Croix famous from Bombay to Boston.

In charting this work we have been able to profit by the experience of the Danes, who faced a somewhat similar situation at the turn of the last century. For years prior to that time the Virgin Islands had prospered. Forming one corner of a lucrative triangular trade, they bought Negroes from Africa and sent rum and sugar to New England, which in turn sent fish and manufactured goods back to Africa. But with the ending of slavery, the port of St. Thomas, once the busiest entrepot in all the West Indies, sank into a coma from which the Danes attempted to revive it.

Danish Investments.

Four leading banks in Copenhagen united in raising $1,000,000 for a new bank for the Virgin Islands. Danish capitalists were persuaded to invest another million in the Bethlehem Sugar Factory. The East Asiatic Company, another Danish firm, was prevailed upon to put another million in a dock company, while the Danish Government guaranteed bonds for the improvement of the harbor. A total of $4,000,000 of Danish capital was invested; all of it not only remains intact but has paid regular dividends to its investors.

During this period once again the islands prospered.

Then came the war. Even before the United States entered it, the American Minister at Copenhagen, Maurice Francis Egan, made numerous overtures at the Danish Court for the purchase of the Virgin Islands. This was not a new move; as far back as 1867 their purchase by the United States was discussed. Again in 1902 a treaty to this end was ratified by the United States Senate but was rejected by the Danish Parliament. Finally in 1916, with American entry into the war imminent, it was feared that Germany might seize the islands as a submarine base. And with a virtual ultimatum given to Denmark that she must sell either her Caribbean possessions or have them forcibly seized, the Virgin Islands became the property of the United States. The purchase price was $25,000,000.

Troubles of Last Decade.

After which we virtually forgot about their existence. During the next fourteen years all of the carefully built-up economic system of the islands slowly disintegrated. Danish capital withdrew and no American capital came to take its place. American shipping lines were invited to call at the once thriving port of St. Thomas. The Shipping Board, although directed by Congress to provide "adequate shipping service at reasonable cost," has done nothing. At present there is no American passenger service between the Virgin Islands and the continental United States.

The harbors remain as they were under Danish rule. The United States Government has spent no money on them, nor provided any way by which money could be obtained for the purpose. Private capital has been sought in vain for the languishing sugar industry. The once flourishing rum industry was killed by an unwelcome Prohibition Act.

Though the population (93 per cent Negro) of the islands is only 22,000 and though the total area is only 132 square miles, we have in miniature most of the economic educational and social problems that puzzle States in the Union.

Interest Revived.

With the visit of President Hoover at the beginning of my administration three years ago, we suddenly woke up to the fact that one of the most beautiful of all American possessions had been most neglected. A long-time rehabilitation program was then formulated, and persistent efforts were made to obtain both private capital and funds from Congress, but it was not until the beginning of the New Deal that this program could effectively get under way.

Since then we have been making genuine progress, owing, first, to the very real personal interest which President Roosevelt and Secretary Ickes have taken in the islands, and, second, to the fact that they have supplied the funds with which to transform our program into accomplishment.

That program is founded on the basic principle of helping the islands help themselves. Too often has Congress merely made up the deficit incurred by the Colonial Councils without a thought by which that annually recurring deficit might be wiped out. The Virgin Islands were merely given a dole.

In contrast, we have now worked out a partnership program, by which the Government of the United States and the people of the Virgin Islands cooperate in a long-range social and economic program, the profits of which are immediately resown in the islands. The social phase of the program calls for:

First—The homesteading of tenant and unemployed labor on small parcels of land which they are enabled to purchase from the government over a period of years.

Second—The construction of two-room houses in order to relieve a tropical slum condition which parallels any existing in the most crowded cities of the United States.

Third—A system of old-age and unemployment compensation modeled somewhat along the lines of those discussed by President Roosevelt.

Fourth—A supplementary educational system to provide both for adults and those in the preschool age.

Reviving Industries.

The second part of the program—the economic—envisages the manufacture of rum, the improvement of the bay-rum industry, the increase of the Winter vegetable crop during the off season in the United States, the improvement of handicraft industries and the furtherance of the tourist trade through the building of a new hotel.

It should be emphasized that all of these plans, except the one for reviving the rum industry, were in our program of three years ago; but they have been given important impetus by the termination of prohibition and the simultaneous decision of the Public Works Administration to allot funds for the construction of the hotel and the revival of the rum and other industries.

The capital allotted for the latter is $1,000,000—enough, we hope, to restore to the Pearls of the Caribbean some part of their former economic wealth. This money has been placed in the hands of the Virgin Islands Company, chartered by a special act of the Colonial Council of St. Thomas and St. John. The directors are Secretary Ickes, Oscar L. Chapman, Paul M. Pearson, Judge D. Hamilton Jackson of St. Croix and Lionel Roberts of St. Thomas. To assist in carrying out the permanent rehabilitation program the President also has appointed an Advisory Council, which includes Miss Joanna C. Colford, Secretary Ickes, Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University; George Foster Peabody, Alfred K. Stern, Charles W. Taussig, Henry A. Wallace and Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Rum and Sugar Cane.

The work of the Virgin Islands Company will be not merely that of reviving the famous stills of St. Croix which for a dozen years have been covered with tropic vegetation, but also cooperation with cane growers in the harvesting of their crops, the crushing of their cane and the sale of the finished product. The company will attempt to preserve the quality of the rum which once made St. Criox famous. It will attempt to give the American public this quality of rum at a price below the present prices charged by the liquor interests in the United States. And, finally, it will cooperate with the people of the islands in the production of other crops.

The Three Islands.

It is our hope to divide the advantages of the program in such a way as to benefit the people of all three islands. Since the economic development of the three is not similar, this requires a diverse program. St. Croix, the largest island, is agricultural. Its chief industry has been and will continue to be sugar and rum, and here the Virgin Islands Company will concentrate on the development of these two commodities. St. Thomas, famous as a shipping centre, will receive the benefit of the new hotel, and tourist trade, and harbor improvements. St. John, the smallest of the islands, is a picturesque jungle, the haven of fishermen and inhabited by only 700 people whose chief industry is charcoal burning and the growing of bay trees for bay rum. Both here and in St. Thomas the Virgin Islands Company hopes to encourage the further development of the bay-rum industry.

The Virgin Islands Company is incorporated under a unique charter. Its management is under obligation to make all the profits which legitimately can be made, but to use them for the benefit of the islands. The trustees hold the stock of the company in trust for the people. The charter provides that from the earned surplus the company may spend funds to further homesteading, housing and other features of the social program.

Attitude of St. Croix.

It was only natural that a program as unique as this should be subject to some misunderstanding, and this we found to be the case in St. Croix. Here exists a social condition which is the direct heritage of those of slave days. The economic cleavage between the descendants of the landed aristocracy and the descendants of the slaves is almost as great as it was during the days of bondage. Until recently seventeen men owned 70 per cent of the land of St. Croix; only 400 owned 300; but despite this fact only 25 per cent of the entire island. In 1933 only 400 paid taxes. Sixty-five per cent of the people in St. Croix paid income taxes. Sixty-five per cent of the people who are buried as paupers, while 25 per cent of the people who die are buried as paupers, therefore, it was not surprising, therefore, that the Colonial Council of St. Croix, who are elected by a small proportion of landowners and are themselves estate owners, should have looked askance at any such project.

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The basic principle of the government of the Virgin Islands is that it does not seek to impose any part of its program which may be unfavorable to the entire island. In 1933 only 400 paid taxes. Sixty-five per cent of the people in St. Croix paid income taxes. Sixty-five per cent of the people who are buried as paupers, therefore, it was not surprising, therefore, that the Colonial Council of St. Croix, who are elected by a small proportion of landowners and are themselves estate owners, should have looked askance at any such project.

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In charting this work we have been able to profit by the experience of the Danes, who faced a somewhat similar situation at the turn of the last century. For years prior to that time the Virgin Islands had prospered. Forming one corner of a lucrative triangular trade, they bought Negroes from Africa and sent rum and sugar to New England, which in turn sent fish and manufactured goods back to Africa. But with the ending of slavery, the port of St. Thomas, once the busiest entrepot in all the West Indies, sank into a coma from which the Danes attempted to revive it.

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Then came the war. Even before the United States entered it, the American Minister at Copenhagen, Maurice Francis Egan, made numerous overtures at the Danish Court for the purchase of the Virgin Islands. This was not a new move; as far back as 1867 their purchase by the United States was discussed. Again in 1902 a treaty to this end was ratified by the United States Senate but was rejected by the Danish Parliament. Finally in 1916, with American entry into the war imminent, it was feared that Germany might seize the islands as a submarine base. And with a virtual ultimatum given to Denmark that she must sell either her Caribbean possessions or have them forcibly seized, the Virgin Islands became the property of the United States. The purchase price was $25,000,000.

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The harbors remain as they were under Danish rule. The United States Government has spent no money on them, nor provided any way by which money could be obtained for the purpose. Private capital has been sought in vain for the languishing sugar industry. The once flourishing rum industry was killed by an unwelcome Prohibition Act.

Though the population (93 per cent Negro) of the islands is only 22,000 and though the total area is only 132 square miles, we have in miniature most of the economic educational and social problems that puzzle States in the Union.

Interest Revived.

With the visit of President Hoover at the beginning of my administration three years ago, we suddenly woke up to the fact that one of the most beautiful of all American possessions had been most neglected. A long-time rehabilitation program was then formulated, and persistent efforts were made to obtain both private capital and funds from Congress, but it was not until the beginning of the New Deal that this program could effectively get under way.

Since then we have been making genuine progress, owing, first, to the very real personal interest which President Roosevelt and Secretary Ickes have taken in the islands, and, second, to the fact that they have supplied the funds with which to transform our program into accomplishment.

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The second part of the program—the economic—envisages the manufacture of rum, the improvement of the bay-rum industry, the increase of the Winter vegetable crop during the off season in the United States, the improvement of handicraft industries and the furtherance of the tourist trade through the building of a new hotel.

It should be emphasized that all of these plans, except the one for reviving the rum industry, were in our program of three years ago; but they have been given important impetus by the termination of prohibition and the simultaneous decision of the Public Works Administration to allot funds for the construction of the hotel and the revival of the rum and other industries.

The capital allotted for the latter is $1,000,000—enough, we hope, to restore to the Pearls of the Caribbean some part of their former economic wealth. This money has been placed in the hands of the Virgin Islands Company, chartered by a special act of the Colonial Council of St. Thomas and St. John. The directors are Secretary Ickes, Oscar L. Chapman, Paul M. Pearson, Judge D. Hamilton Jackson of St. Croix and Lionel Roberts of St. Thomas. To assist in carrying out the permanent rehabilitation program the President also has appointed an Advisory Council, which includes Miss Joanna C. Colford, Secretary Ickes, Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University; George Foster Peabody, Alfred K. Stern, Charles W. Taussig, Henry A. Wallace and Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

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It was only natural that a program as unique as this should be subject to some misunderstanding, therefore, the basic principle of the government of the Virgin Islands is that it does not seek to impose any part of its program which may be unpopular. And despite the fact that only 400 of the entire island can qualify as voters, it was not surprising, therefore, that members of the Colonial Council of St. Croix, who are elected by the entire island, should be not only members of the Colonial Council of St. Croix, but also members of the Legislative Council of the Virgin Islands. In 1933 St. Croix paid the charter of the Virgin Islands Company did not need to come before a legislative body, but merely required registration with a court, the entire question was submitted to the Colonial Council of St. Croix on the land-owners and owners, at any such proposition. Sixty-five per cent of the people in St. Croix paid taxes. Only 25 per cent of the people who are buried as paupers, while 25 per cent of the people who are elected to vote. It was not surprising, therefore, that the members of the Colonial Council of St. Croix, who are elected by the entire island, should be not only members of the Colonial Council of St. Croix, but also members of the Legislative Council of the Virgin Islands. The economic cleavage between the descendants of the slaves is almost as great as it was during the days of bondage. Until recently seventeen men owned 70 per cent of the land of St. Croix valued at $300; but despite this

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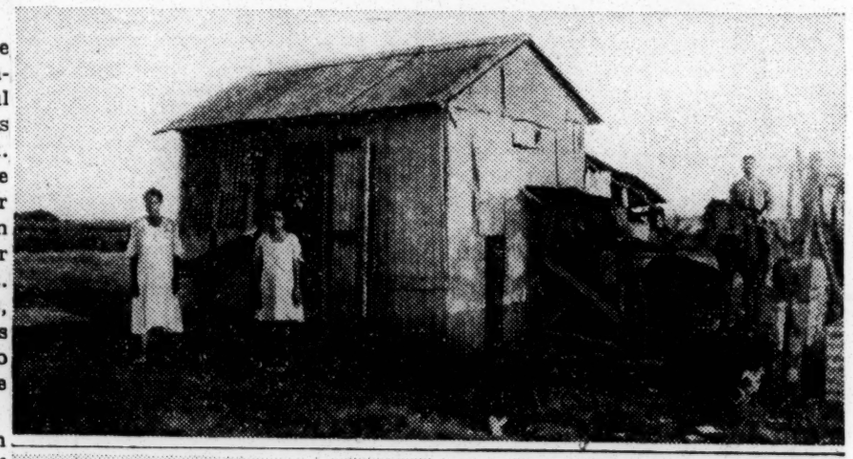
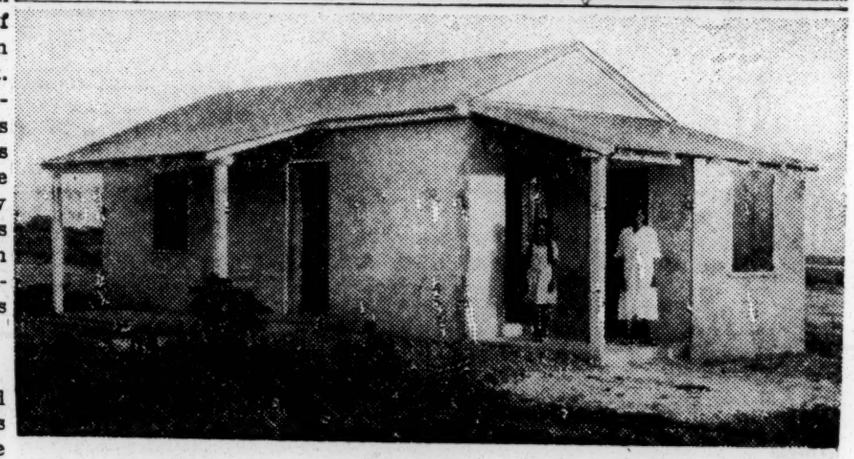
Their Governor Tells of the Efforts to Aid Industry and Make Life Better





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Work for the Jobless in the Virgin Islands—Building a Road.

Race Problem — 1934

Virgin Islands.

West Indies.

LONG-RANGE PROGRAM FOR VIRGIN ISLANDS

Their Governor Tells of the Efforts to Aid Industry and Make Life Better

The United States Government has embarked on a large-scale effort to bring prosperity to the Virgin Islands. The effort is here described by the Governor of the islands.

By PAUL M. PEARSON,
Governor of the Virgin Islands.

WHEN Herbert Hoover described the Virgin Islands as an "effective poorhouse," it must be admitted that from a material point of view he spoke the truth. Although the islands are wealthy beyond words in the beauty of their coral reefs, the exquisite coloring of their tropic waters and the charm and character of their people, their economic condition has been deplorable. But what Mr. Hoover failed to add was that this condition was due almost entirely to the neglect of the government, which seventeen years ago purchased the islands from Denmark and then promptly forgot them.

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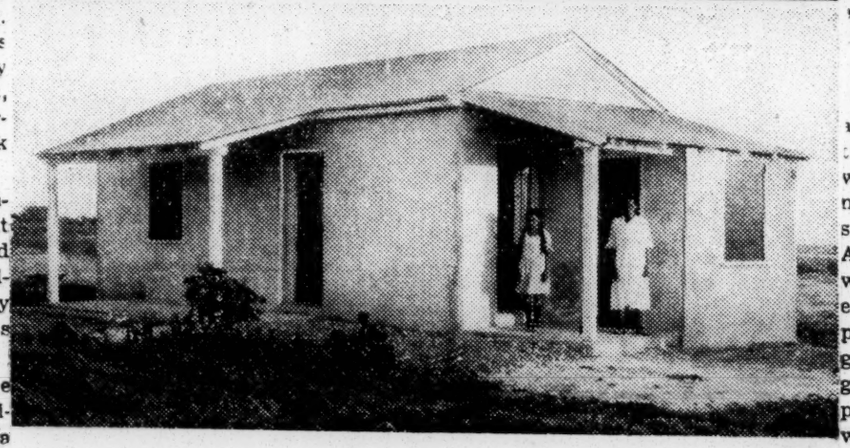

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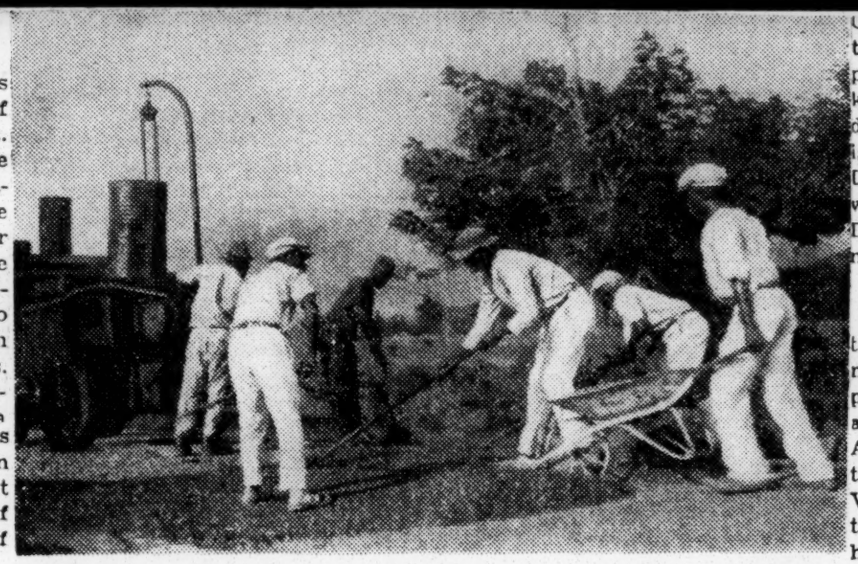

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It was only natural that a program as unique as this should be subject to some misunderstanding, and this we found to be the case in St. Croix. Here exists a social condition which is the direct heritage of slave days. The economic cleavage between the descendants of the landed aristocracy and the descendants of the slaves is almost as great as it was during the days of bondage. Until recently seventeen men owned 70 per cent of the land of the entire island. In 1933 only forty-three people in St. Croix paid income taxes. Sixty-five per cent of those who die are buried as paupers, while 25 per cent of the funds from the St. Croix municipality go to poor relief. The property qualification for suffrage in St. Croix is an annual income of only $60, or else ownership of property valued at $300; but despite this infinitesmal requirement only 400 men on the entire island can qualify to vote.

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Race Problem - 1934

West Indies.

Virgin Islands.

VIRGIN ISLANDERS TELL PROBLEMS TO FIRST LADY AND BRING GIFTS

Mrs. Roosevelt Leaves by Plane For Puerto Rico After Day of Inspection

ST. CROIX, VIRGIN ISLANDS March 8 (AP)—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt found time in a busy round of activities today to explore two native villages and add details of island cookery to her study of the Indian economic and social conditions.

In one of the villages—now being remodeled into federal homesteads—she asked Hilda Benjamin, a native housewife, what she was cooking.

"NRA pork," answered Hilda, who complained she got rained on in going from the living room to the outdoor kitchen in her two-room home, built by Uncle Sam.

"Have your man build a gallery," suggested Mrs. Roosevelt in reply.

The president's wife told other housewives they must keep flies out of the food. She showed them show her how they used their crude utensils, and drank cocoanut milk offered by natives by the roadside.

The day began for Mrs. Roosevelt at 7:30 a. m., when she went swimming and later, with members of her party, visited the lofty "Bluebird Castle" at St. Thomas, which is being built into a hotel with federal money to lure tourists' dollars to the impoverished islands.

She inspected farm projects around Lindbergh bay, watched the building of roads, draining of swamps, and repairing of schools, untiringly asking questions.

Then, at 9:30 a. m. she, her friends, and Governor Paul Pearson hopped from St. Thomas for St. Croix, the arrival here being 28 minutes later.

They stepped ashore at the spot where Columbus is reputed to have landed from his first crossing of the Atlantic. A Negro child gave Mrs. Roosevelt a big bouquet.

She received two other gifts—a bottle of 45-year-old St. Croix rum "to take to the president" and an inlaid mahogany and sandalwood tea table—the latter a gift from the Democratic club.

When she took the bottle Mrs. Roosevelt said she hoped the islands would continue to produce commodities of high standard. She told club members she appreciated the table because she knew about island furniture.

After shaking hands with 300 persons in the Christiansted legislative hall—where Mrs. Roosevelt was given a photograph of her late Uncle Theodore Roosevelt and the late R. L. Merwin—who bottled the rum—the president's wife and the other visitors left, at 3:45 p. m. for the return.

They returned to St. Thomas from St. Croix at 3:30 p. m., E. S. T. and departed immediately for San Juan, Puerto Rico, where they planned to spend the night.

Everywhere in the islands they were cheered.

Puerto Ricans Welcome Her

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico, March 8 (AP)—Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt arrived here this evening after a trip to the Virgin Islands whose delighted residents acclaimed her and proudly showed her evidences of their recent progress.

On the two-hour flight from St. Croix the president's wife declared that "the day was well worth while, and I got a very good picture of the Virgin Islands, past and present, whose people seemed happy and healthy."

VIRGIN ISLANDS COMMITTEE HAS NO NATIVE BORN

New York Group Resents Being Overlooked by the President.

PROBLEMS NEED NATIVE INSIGHT

Mass Meeting Will Protest Action.

NEW YORK CITY— The Virgin Island Civic Association announced last Wednesday that it is opposed to the commission named by President Roosevelt for the rehabilitation program in the islands, on the grounds that it does not include an islander.

There are 5,000 or more islanders to be found in Harlem, according to Mrs. Juanita Trigue Gallway, executive secretary of the association.

The members of the commission named by the President are: Alfred K. Stern, George Foster Peabody, Charles W. Tassig, president of the American Molasses Company; Mrs. Joanna Colcord, of the Russell Sage Foundation, New York, all white, and Walter White and Mordecai Johnson.

The islanders are not opposed to any of the members on the commission but contend that the problems of the islands can best be solved by islanders.

There exists in the islands a sharp line of demarkation between the laboring masses and a faction of the landlords and employers, Mrs. Gallway explains.

A resolution calling on all Virgin Islanders to register their protest at a public mass meeting to be held April 15, was adopted.

First Lady Tells Afro That Natives Need Initiative

By FREDERICK S. WEAVER
(Exclusive to the AFRO)
(Reprinted from late editions of last week)

WASHINGTON—That the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands should be given the privilege of voting was the opinion expressed by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, in an exclusive interview with an AFRO reporter in the reception room of the White House, Wednesday afternoon.

Mrs. Roosevelt, who made a recent visit to the Islands, could not speak authoritatively on the subject, she said, but made it clear that all her statements were the result of impressions received during her brief visit.

"I think the inhabitants of the Islands deserve the franchise," she stated, "but I believe that it would take a few years for those in authority to feel that the rate of literacy has increased sufficiently to allow them such a privilege."

Government Does Thinking

That the government had been doing most of the thinking and the rendering of decisions for the inhabitants was quite evident, Mrs. Roosevelt stated, relating the following incident:

"The old homes of two rooms and kitchen combined are being changed to two rooms, and the kitchen saparate from the house proper. Stucco is being placed on the homes.

"One person told me, 'I get wet when I go from the house to the kitchen,' to which I replied, 'Why don't you get your husband to put up an awning from the kitchen to the house?'

"'That's right, I hadn't thought of that,' came the woman's reply."

This, Mrs. Roosevelt said, is an indication that the natives lack initiative and self-thought. However, their initiative is being developed, Mrs. Roosevelt stated, and the inhabitants show an inclination to want to learn and develop.

Asked whether, in view of her recent trip, she received the impression that the Virgin Islands could be better understood in this country if they had an official spokesman here as the Philippines have, Mrs. Roosevelt said:

Governor Spokesman

"I believe that the governor of the Islands should act as their spokesman, and I believe he does represent them very well. He has presented himself in Congress, and has started a good many things for the betterment of the Islands. My impression is that he is making a good spokesman."

Asked whether she did not feel that in view of the number of trained Virgin Islanders in this country that one should be named as resident commissioner of the Islands, the First Lady said:

"I believe that they should be given the same privileges that are given the Philippine Islands and Puerto Rico."

Undergoing Crisis

Mrs. Roosevelt expressed the belief that the Islands were undergoing a crisis as great as the one in this country, if not greater. She said that the crisis in the Islands was of a longer duration and had been going on longer than the one in America.

In comparing the Islands with Puerto Rico, Mrs. Roosevelt said that the wages of cooks and other servants are higher in the Islands, and that the inhabitants of the Islands appear to be in better health.

School Facilities Poor

Speaking of the educational facilities, the First Lady said that her impression was that the facilities were very poor, but that they were being improved. Especially is this true of the education of women in the Islands, she said.

"With a new program instituted, it is my impression that the Islands should become self-supporting and a good and healthy place to live in," Mrs. Roosevelt said in concluding her interview.

Received at the White House, the AFRO reporter, accompanied by Emmett J. Harmon, Howard University student from Liberia, was accorded all courtesies.

First Lady Late

They were met at the door by John Mayes, stately doorman of 40 years, and ushered into the reception room of the First Lady. Mrs. Roosevelt was a few minutes late, but approached the room apologizing. She had just arrived at the White House half an hour earlier from New York.

Cordial, congenial and gracious, she willingly, and with dignity, answered every question asked her.

Virgin Islanders Call on F. D. R.

LIONEL ROBERTS, left, and JUDGE D. HAMILTON JACKSON as they left the executive mansion last week where they had a conference with President Roosevelt. Mr. Roosevelt told his visitors that he would be glad to lend financial aid to the Virgin Islands through his rehabilitation program.

VIRGIN ISLANDS NATIVES CURSE, PRAISE PEARSON

Afro-American

Harlem Mass Meeting Attracts Audience of Five Thousand.

5-19-34

HEAR SPEAKERS FOR FIVE HOURS

Baltimore Md.

New Rum Company Is Opposed.

By G. JAMES FLEMING

NEW YORK. — Two thousand Virgin Islanders sat and stood through a five-hour mass meeting here last Sunday when members of the Colonial Councils of the islands, a judge, and others interested in the islands' welfare spoke here under the auspices of the Virgin Islands Congressional Council and allied societies.

The meeting was held in the auditorium of the Harriet Beecher Stowe Junior High School, 135th Street and Edgecombe Avenue, which was filled to capacity and over.

Governor Lambasted, Defended

The present administration of Governor Paul M. Pearson, a Hoover appointee, was both lambasted and defended.

Some considered him, an ex-Swarthmore College professor, a good man, but a mere administrator; others saw him as the wrong man at a time when both the Senate and House are Democratic, and said that a Roosevelt Democrat should be given the position.

Judge D. Hamilton Jackson, for many years a militant editor and labor leader, came to the defense of the governor, explaining at the same time that he could not be removed by the governor.

Considers Underdog

Judge Jackson said that, although he had made mistakes, Governor Pearson "is the first governor to take the underdog under consideration."

The speaker said he stood by the islands' executive because "he has sent native children to American colleges to train them to come back home and be of service to their people."

He pointed out, however, that "Governor Pearson has yet to learn that there are to be no more appointments of mainlanders for jobs as long as there are natives who are capable available."

While no name was called, Judge Jackson and other speakers evidently had in mind the most recent appointment to the islands of Paul C. Yates, white Texan, to be administrative assistant to the governor.

In general, the islanders are fearful or suspicious of Southern whites.

Holstein Presides

The other speakers were:

Casper Holstein, president of the Congressional Council, who presided; Andrew C. Pedro, a special delegate from the islands; Floyd Walliker, white, of the United States Department of Agriculture, and a native of the islands;

Folmer Anderson, white, formerly a director of the Bethlehem Suga Concern; Arnold M. Golden, chairman, and Joseph Alexander, both white, member of the St. Croix Council, and Lionel Roberts, member of the St. Thomas Council, and, with Judge Jackson, a director of the new Virgin Islands company.

Mr. Alexander, who is also chairman of the national Democratic committee of the islands, cautioned his "fellow Virgin Islanders" that there is no race prejudice in the islands, except among the American officials, and asked them not to inject the American brand of racial approach into the islands' problems.

Mr. Walliker, with good old political oratory, told the audience that the Virgin Islands can thank the Democrats for whatever they get from now on; and he said the islands must have a new deal, and that the first step would be to get rid of the Hoover-appointed governor.

Pedro Outlines Needs

Mr. Pedro outlined the things which he said the people in the Virgin Islands want, including limitations on the new corporation to manufacture sugar and rum.

Mr. Anderson predicted that unless the plans for the Virgin Islands Company were changed, it would in the end not be the blessing it is expected to be.

Sees Slavery Again

Mr. Golden said he could not get enthusiastic about any plan that would use the islands as an experiment, and he explained that the Colonial Council of St. Croix had turned down the bill because "it meant turning every native into a slave again."

Against Self-Perpetuation

Mr. Holstein, who is the chief spokesman on the mainland against Governor Pearson, said that "there can be no self-perpetuation in office."

Music for the meeting was furnished by Herman Wallace's V. I. Concert Band; Miss Beatrice Wade recited "Smiting the Rock"; Alex Dougherty, Jr. sang, accompanied by his father, and the Revs. Paul West and Louis Jeppe pronounced the invocation and benediction, respectively.